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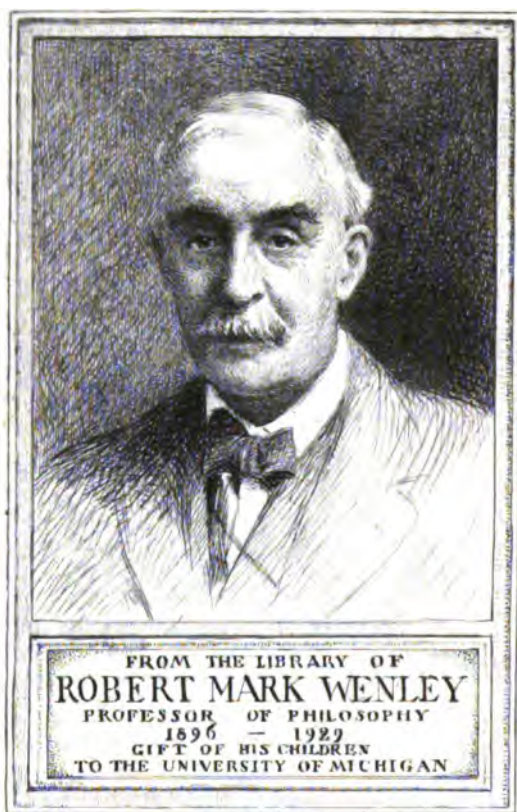
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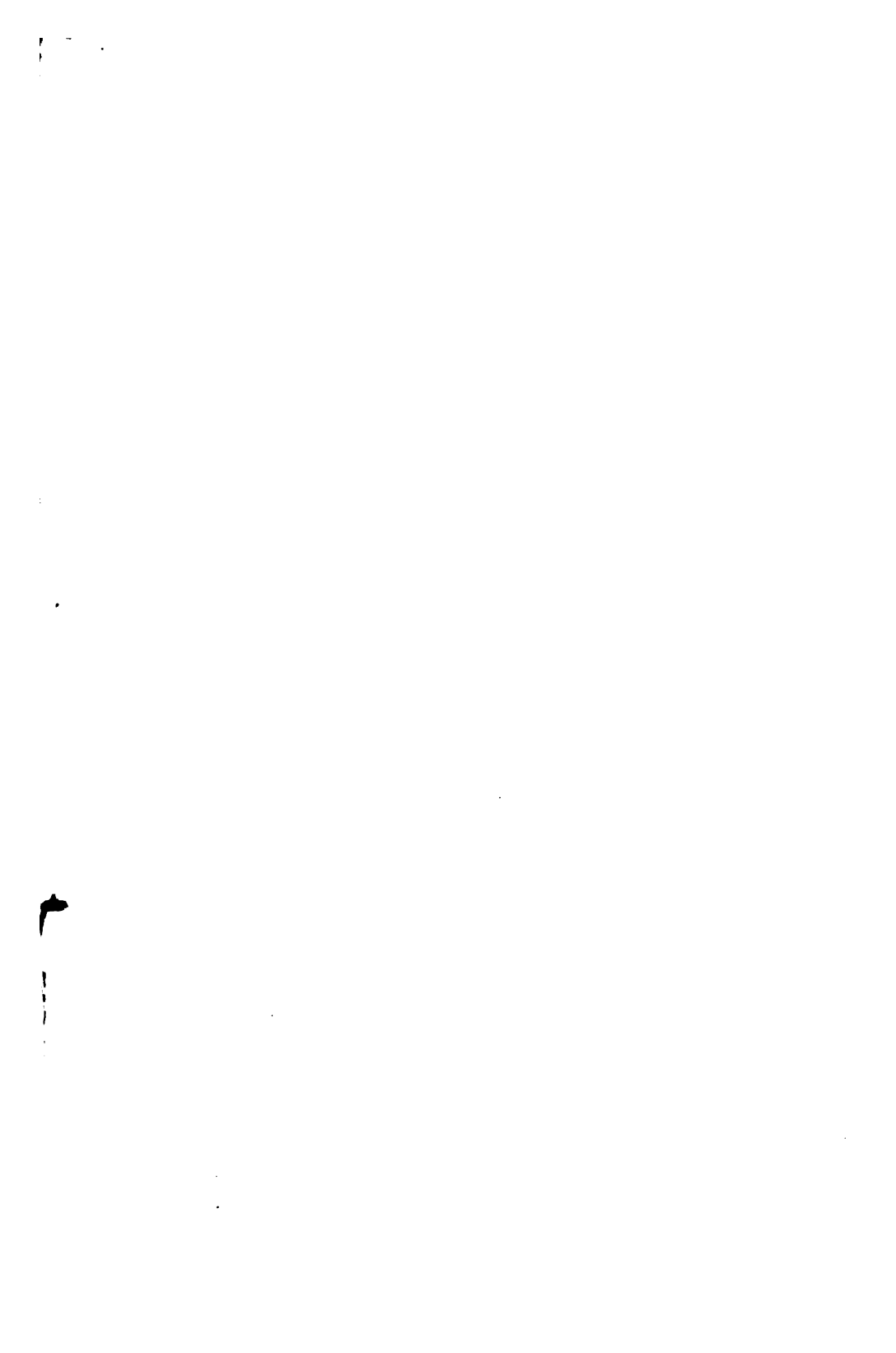
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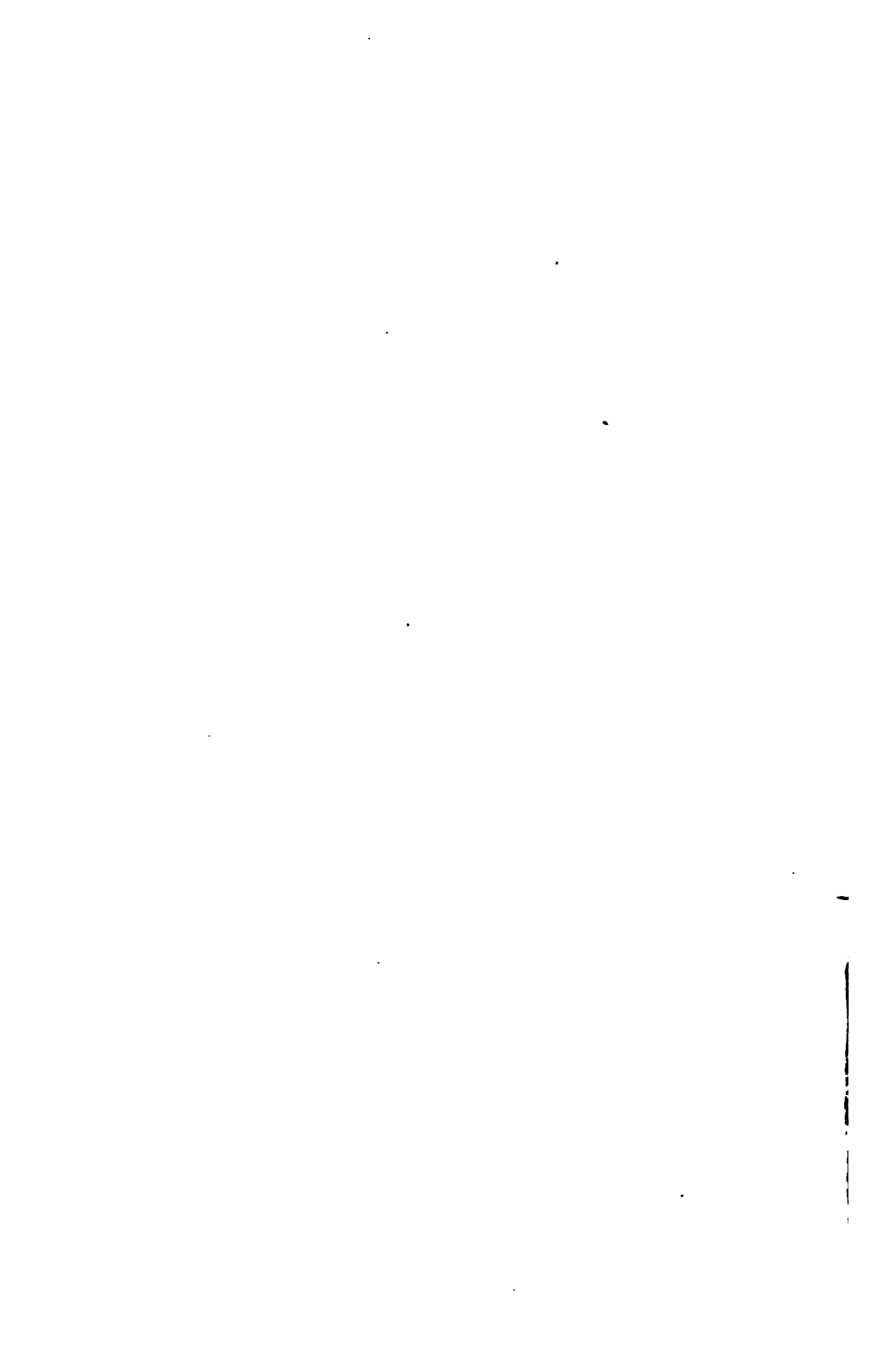


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THE
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW:
A JOURNAL
OF
RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND LIFE.

“Our fathers worshipped in this mountain ; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.” * * *

“The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. * * * But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth : for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit : and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.” (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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L—NARRATIVE OF A VISIT TO THE UNITARIAN
CHURCHES OF TRANSYLVANIA,

ON OCCASION OF THE THREE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FIRST PROCLAMATION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AT TORDA IN 1568.

IN the spring of 1868, I and my colleagues in Manchester New College received a very cordial invitation from the Bishop of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, speaking in the name of the Consistory over which he presides, and warmly seconded by the urgent request of some of our former pupils from that country,—to be present at the approaching celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of their Church, with the first proclamation of Religious Liberty at Torda in 1568. Circumstances prevented my two colleagues from complying with this request; but the occasion was in itself so attractive, and the opportunity of visiting a remote and interesting region, peopled from the very dawn of the Reformation by the professors of Unitarian Christianity, which under any public and organized form is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the Western world, seemed to me so little likely to occur again—that I determined, under the provisional conditions of continued health and strength, to accept the invitation. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, hearing of my intention, requested me to be the bearer of an address of congratulation to their Transylvanian brethren, and to represent the English Unitarians on this occasion. A similar address was confided to me by the members of the West-Riding Unitarian Association. Both these commissions I very heartily undertook. Such were the circumstances under which I visited Transylvania.

It will perhaps facilitate the better understanding of some particulars in the ensuing narrative, if I premise a very few remarks on the peculiar institutions and mixed population of Hungary generally—and on the past history and present condition of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania, its sharply defined and strongly featured south-eastern division, at one time an independent principality under sovereigns of its own. The Hungarians proper or Magyars, though they have given their name to the wide extent of territory which is enclosed on three sides within a natural boundary by the Carpathians, form a decided minority of the population of the country, which they share with races differing from them in language, religion and origin—Wallachs, Slavonians and Germans. Mr. Paget has marked the *habitat* of these several races by different colours in the excellent map which he has prefixed to his account of Hungary and Transylvania, and which exhibits a complete mosaic work, inlaid as it were in separate groups or masses on the face of the soil, though the Wallachs are pretty equably diffused as a peasantry through the districts occupied by the Magyars and the Saxons. The Magyars are an intrusive and conquering race, and till lately formed a dominant or noble class, enjoying political and social privileges above the other inhabitants of the land. This has been altered since the recent revolution, which has put all these different races on a footing of legal equality. It was the old policy of the Austrian government, by fomenting the mutual jealousies which this state of things produced, to keep the country divided and weak. The Wallachs, who claim a descent from the old Roman provincials of Dacia, and who like to call themselves Dako-Roumani, speaking a Romanic dialect closely allied to the Italian and Latin, were, prior to the revolution, in a condition little superior to actual serfdom. They were not indeed attached to the soil, *ascripti glebæ*, subject to be bought and sold with the estate; but a certain amount of unrecompensed labour was due from them every week to their lord, and they could not remove to another locality without some arrangement for furnishing him with an acceptable substitute. He exercised a summary jurisdiction over them, with the power of imprisonment and of inflicting a certain number of stripes. They bore, moreover, with the corresponding class throughout the

land, the entire weight of taxation. By recent changes, they have been converted into a free peasantry, and the taxes are now levied equally on all classes. Education is slowly spreading among them; and they have journals in their own language, which often advocate, it is said, views not altogether in harmony with the objects of the present liberal government, and inspired, it is suspected, by the secret influence of Russia. Without great wisdom in the treatment of this susceptible population, danger may arise from this quarter to the steady progress of constitutional freedom in Hungary. These were the semi-barbarous people whom the camarilla at Vienna twenty years ago, to blind Europe to the true character of the Hungarian movement, wickedly stirred up in secret against their legal masters, and indirectly urged on to the commission of horrible atrocities. I was assured again and again, that if the present state of things, with the reforms now in progress, could be maintained for ten years more, so as to give the once subject races an opportunity of fairly testing the blessings of equal law, diffused education and peacefully remunerated industry, the cause of constitutional freedom in Hungary would be secured.

The Wallachs belong, I believe, exclusively to the Greek Church, of which there are two divisions—one acknowledging the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head, the other in communion with the Church of Rome. Of these, the latter is decidedly the most cultivated and intelligent. The Wallachs are a wild, fierce-looking people, with sharp aquiline features, and long black hair hanging in dishevelled masses over their cheeks and shoulders. On the whole, they have a striking appearance, and their women are often handsome. Their picturesque costume, and heavy-roofed cottages with an aperture in the overhanging thatch for the escape of the smoke, and their small churches surmounted by graceful little belfries, furnish capital subjects for the artist, and gave the charm of novelty to several striking points of view in the romantic wooded district which we traversed between Grosswardein and Clausenburg. When we passed through that region, the Wallachs were busy carrying, in their rude waggons drawn by magnificent oxen, the materials for the railway which is now in process of construction, and which it is proposed to carry ultimately

beyond Clausenburg to the Black Sea—a work which, when completed, will have a wonderful effect in developing the vast resources of the country through its whole extent. As I looked one day on the grotesque groups of Wallachs reposing with their cattle at noon in the market-place of the little town where we stopped to dine, I could not resist the thought, how strange it was to see, as it were, the second and the nineteenth century brought thus into immediate juxtaposition—the representatives and possibly the descendants of the provincials of the age of Trajan, employed in carrying into effect the very last results of modern engineering skill.

The Germans, or, as they are called in Hungary, the Saxons, from a very early date formed settlements in the country. They are dispersed in small insulated knots or clusters of population all over the land, tenaciously retentive of their language, manners and customs. Their chief district is in the far east, under the Carpathians, and adjoining the Seklers. It is called Saxonland, well cultivated, and filled with an industrious and intelligent people. Hermanstadt, its capital, which I regret I had not the opportunity of visiting, is, I am told, in every respect a completely German town. The Saxons are, I believe, everywhere adherents of the Lutheran faith. The Slavonic races which are dispersed along the northern and southern frontiers of the country, are, with some exceptions among the Slowacks of the north, attached to the Greek Church. The rest of Hungary, exclusive of the Unitarians, of whom I shall speak presently, is divided between the Catholics and the Calvinists or Reformed. They form the richest part of the population; and to these two communions most of the gentry and nobility now belong. The Catholic clergy, I was told by an extreme liberal, are as a body tolerant and patriotic, and not at all infected with ultramontane tendencies. In fact, the common struggle for freedom has had a great effect in softening down religious antipathies, and causing the members of the four different religions recognized by the laws, to look on each other with mutual kindness and sympathy.

As yet, the Unitarians have not a single church in Hungary proper. They are confined entirely to Transylvania, or, as it is called by the Germans, Siebenbürgen, from the seven great fortresses which it once possessed, when it

had to protect itself almost daily against the invasions of the Turks. It is remarkable, that the most decidedly Hungarian district in the country, where the oldest and purest Magyar blood is said to flow in the veins of the inhabitants, should be at this day the chief seat and stronghold of Unitarianism. The Hungarians affirm that there have been three immigrations of Magyars into their country; the earliest under Attila in the fifth century; that of a tribe of the same race, the Avars; and the last and most general one, which spread the Magyars over the whole surface of the land. We slept one night on our return home, at a small town inhabited by people of Avar descent, who still retain some peculiar usages, and intermarry among themselves, though they speak Magyar and belong to the Reformed Church. They keep themselves aloof from the Wallachs, to whom they are said to be superior in manners and cultivation. As travellers passing through the town, we should not have been struck with any marked difference of appearance. The Seklers, who occupy the extreme east of the country, close under the Carpathians, claim to be descended from the immediate followers of Attila, and are not a little proud of the distinction. It is, I am told, a beautiful and well-cultivated region, peopled by an intelligent and energetic race. Here Unitarianism is in great force, defended perhaps by its remote and secluded position from the influences which have undermined it elsewhere. Its churches cover the land. Here is one of the three gymnasias, which are alone left to the Unitarians of the many which they once possessed. The Fő-ispan, or Lord-lieutenant of the county, Gabriel Daniel, a gentleman of very prepossessing manners and appearance, to whom I was introduced at Torda, is a zealous Unitarian, and has been a most liberal benefactor to the gymnasium at Keresztur, a town in Seklerland. From the same district come Bishop Kriza and his wife; and the pulpits of the Unitarian churches are chiefly furnished with preachers from Sekler families. I regret nothing more than that I had not the opportunity of visiting a district so full of interest.

It would be highly satisfactory to know more of the origin of the Magyar race, and of their beliefs and manners when heathens. Some think there was a predisposition in them from the first to a grand and simple monotheism; and that,

like the ancient Germans, they had already thrown off the thralldom of some of their original superstitions, when they came in contact with Christendom. Their speech is unique among the languages of Europe, connected only by a few slight affinities with the Finnish and the Turkish. Those who have studied it, say that it possesses great power and expressiveness. To the ear it is rich and sonorous. To judge from their facility of extemporaneous utterance, the people seem born orators. The words flow in a full and gushing stream from their lips without hindrance or hesitation; while their animated action and dark flashing eyes render their eloquence impressive even to those who cannot follow its sense. The question, whence they came and where the roots of their mysterious language are to be found, is already stimulating the researches of their scholars. An enthusiastic Magyar, disguised as a dervish and helped by a marvellous mastery of Asiatic dialects, penetrated some years ago, at the constant risk of his life, into the very heart of central Asia, to investigate this ethnological problem, but returned, I believe, without completely solving it. Bishop Kriza's favourite researches point in the same direction, though they do not carry him quite so far. He has been employed for years in collecting the remains of the popular poetry and legends of his native Seklerland, and he enjoys a high reputation among his countrymen as a writer on such subjects. The first volume of a work published a few years ago, with the alluring title, "Wild Roses," he has kindly presented to the Library of Manchester New College; and I trust that ere long we may have access to its contents through the medium of some German, French or English translation.*

With respect to the early conversion of the Magyars to Christianity, I was requested by my friend Mr. Samuel Sharpe to inquire, if there was ground for believing that George of Cappadocia, the Arian, (sometimes identified with the patron saint of England,†) had contributed to bring about that event. I could not find that there was any evidence pointing to such a conclusion. I observed, indeed,

* Its full title is, "Wild Roses; a Collection of Ancient Popular Poetry of the Sekler People. Collected and edited by John Kriza. 1st vol. Klausenburg, 1863."

† See Gibbon, ch. xxiii., with Dean Milman's note.

on the tympanum of the western porch of the principal church in Clausenburg (an elegant Gothic structure, once possessed by the Unitarians) a spirited bas-relief representing a conflict between some saint or hero and a monster, and it occurred to me that this might be St. George. On inquiry, however, I found it was the archangel Michael, who in Catholic times was regarded as the tutelary saint of Transylvania, and to whom many other churches in that country are dedicated.* It seems to me on general grounds highly improbable, that George of Cappadocia could have had anything to do with the conversion of the Magyars. He belongs to the fourth century, when Arianism, as the religion of the court, was fashionable and dominant. Attila did not invade Europe till the fifth, when the reign of Arianism was already over. Moreover, the Hungarians continued heathens for five hundred years after this time. Their general conversion dates, if I mistake not, from the tenth century, when they became the objects of a competitive proselytism from the Greek and Roman Churches. George, after all, Arian as he was, and saint as he may have been, was not a very respectable personage; and for the credit of our Transylvanian friends we need not, I think, be very anxious to establish any close spiritual relationship between them.

It is difficult to describe the singular impression produced by finding oneself among a people whose political sentiments and religious belief so closely resemble our own, but whose language is so entirely novel and strange, whose traditions carry them back to some unexplored depth of central Asia, and whose features bear to this day a marked oriental type. In spite of this difference of origin, the institutions and the manners of the Magyar race have a remarkable similarity to those of England, and for England they entertain a reverential regard. Their ancient institutions, though resting on a basis essentially aristocratic, are instinct with the same spirit of manly freedom which inspired our own barons

* I may notice, however, as a singular coincidence, that in the "*Scriptum Fratrum Transylvanorum*," giving an account of the proceedings against Davidis, and forming a part of the documents printed in the "*Defensio*," &c., mention is made, p. 248, of the Feast of St. George, as a day on which a meeting had been appointed: "*instabat festum divi Georgii ad quod partialia comitia indicta erant.*" But as this meeting was hostile to Davidis, the supposed Arianism of George availed him nothing.

when they wrung Magna Charta from John. The *Bulla Aurea*, which, among other remarkable articles, contains a provision against arbitrary imprisonment by the crown, and authorizes armed resistance to its encroachments, secured the personal liberties of the whole body of their nobles or freemen as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, only seven years later than the famous meeting at Runnymede. With the growth of the true spirit of liberty, their patriotic nobles are renouncing their exclusive privileges. The invidious distinction of races is legally abolished. The peasantry are emancipated from subjection to the lords of the soil and relieved from exclusive taxation. The equality of all religions before the law is being proclaimed; and the release of commerce from its old bonds will be among the certain results of achieved and consummated independence. In the manners of the Hungarians there is a certain air of reserve and latent hauteur which is thoroughly English, and the unmistakeable indication of self-reliance and determination. Judging from those with whom I had the opportunity of conversing, I should say, the predominant tone of political sentiment was strong Constitutionalism, equally remote from American Republicanism and French Imperialism, something corresponding to the more liberal and advanced type of English Whiggism—with a revived and ardent loyalty, since the recent change in Austrian policy, to the person of the sovereign as King of Hungary, not as Emperor of Austria, with whom as such they profess to have no political relations.*

Unitarianism, our Transylvanian friends think, had probably an origin in their country independent of the influence of Blandrata. Blandrata was in every sense a bad man, whom no one would like to regard as the founder of any Christian church. His history is so well known, that I need not repeat it here. Francis Davidis, whom he so

* I met with a curious instance of their extreme sensitiveness to this distinction soon after I arrived in Hungary. Standing on the suspension-bridge at Buda-Pesth, I asked a gentleman who was passing, if the building I saw opposite was the Imperial palace (*kaiserlicher Palast*). He turned sharp round, and said, "Emperor! we have no Emperor; that is the King's palace" (*königlicher Palast*). I apologised for my mistake, and said I was an Englishman, and the English, he knew, had always had strong sympathies with the Hungarian struggle for freedom. He immediately held out his hand, and said with a significant smile, "I am a bad German" (*Ich bin ein schlechter Deutscher*).

treacherously betrayed and ruined, was an eloquent and learned preacher in Clausenburg, who had already passed through the preliminary stages of Lutheranism and Calvinism. The Unitarian question had already been discussed in Hungary proper, where it excited great interest. It was a disputation conducted by Blandrata and Davidis at Alba Julia, the modern Stuhlweissenburg, against the orthodox, which made such an impression on the mind of the young sovereign of Transylvania, John Sigismund, that he embraced Unitarian views, and was induced to issue the proclamation of general religious freedom at Torda in 1568. Some remarkable men appear to have agreed with Davidis as to the impropriety of praying and offering divine homage to Christ—regarding it in the same idolatrous light as the worship of the Virgin and the Saints. Among these were Somerus and James Palæologus, successively Rectors of the Gymnasium at Clausenburg. The latter was a Greek from Chios, of the imperial line at Constantinople.* He was burnt at Rome for his opinions in 1585. Blandrata was said at first to have entertained the same views; and he had united with Davidis in inviting Somerus from Germany to Clausenburg. It is interesting to remark, that in the earliest notices we meet with of the Unitarian church at Clausenburg, it is constantly associated with a gymnasium; as if one of the main objects of its founders had been to secure the continuance of sound learning, as indispensable to the growth of religious knowledge and the safety of religious freedom. The influence of the *humanists* of those days is distinctly perceptible in all these movements. It is supposed, therefore, not without good grounds, that influences must have been already working strongly in the popular mind in favour of simple Unitarianism, which the following circumstance is said to have brought all at once to a head. The people were assembled in the market-place, all alive to the exciting questions which in that age kept men's minds in a perpetual ferment, when Davidis, suddenly mounting one of those curious rounded boulders which may still be seen scattered over the face of the country, addressed the multitude with such earnestness and persuasiveness on behalf of the Uni-

* "Ex imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum prosapia satius." Sandius, *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitarior.*, p. 58.

tarian views which he had himself embraced, that they hailed his sentiments with acclamation, and, raising their pastor on their shoulders, rushed with him into the adjoining church, which had hitherto been Catholic, but of which the Unitarians henceforth kept possession till 1718. On what authority this story rests, whether it is contained in any written document of the time, or is simply a local tradition, I do not know. It was narrated to me as a fact, of which there was no doubt, by some of the present Unitarian ministers of Clausenburg, when I was shewn the boulder from which Davidis is said to have preached; nor does it appear to me in any way incredible. The boulder itself has passed through several migrations. It was removed from its original site in the market-place, to the house of an Unitarian gentleman outside the walls; and thence it has been brought to one of the side doors of the Unitarian church, where I saw it, and where it is proposed to have an inscription graven on it recording the tradition of which it is the subject. Davidis, I need hardly say to the readers of this Review, differed from the Polish Unitarians or Socinians in carrying out to its legitimate consequences the doctrine of the simple humanity of Jesus Christ, and denying that religious worship could properly be rendered to a human being. For this logical consistency he incurred the malignant hostility and persecution of Blandrata, in which, unfortunately for his own reputation, Faustus Socinus, indirectly at least, joined. Davidis was suspended from his ministerial functions, and died in confinement. A great reaction followed. Out of two hundred and fifty ministers, only sixteen or eighteen stood firm by the principles of Davidis, and refused to subscribe the formula introduced by the influence of the Polish brethren through Blandrata and Faustus Socinus.* This is a dark page in the history of Unitarianism, which one would gladly, if possible, erase, but which serves to shew that the spirit of persecution, when motive and opportunity occur for indulging it, is not confined to any form of doctrinal belief.†

By the present generation of Unitarians in Clausenburg,

* Script. Fratr. Transylvan., p. 278.

† The following epitaph, purporting to have been written by Davidis himself, was given me by Bishop Kriza. It would appear from this that he was not thrown into the public prison, but confined within the walls of a private house. For the credit of his persecutors, we are glad it was so. The lines have

Davidis's name is held in profound veneration. They look up to him as the real founder of their church. His works, both in Latin and in Hungarian, which are becoming rare, are hunted up with great eagerness, and are said by those who have studied them, to contain some very advanced views, quite in anticipation of the present day. For myself, I am only acquainted with his replies to Blandrata, which are necessarily limited in object. He has, however, in these replies, effectually repelled the charge of Judaizing and

nothing to recommend them beyond being a curious and interesting record of the belief and feeling of the time. They breathe, as the reader will perceive, an intense Unitarianism.

"Epitaphium Francisci Davidis, qui propter Religionem Unitariam officio suo degradatus est; Dece inter privatos parietes reliquum vitæ exegit; idque in marmore exculpendum desideravit.

*"Servivi patriæ bis decem impiger annos,
Integritasque mea est sæpe probata Duci;
Nunc patriæ invidus: si crimen queris, id unum est,
Unum non trinum me coluisse Deum.
Sic pietas crimen, dum non imitabile Numen
In plures timui multiplicare deos;
Dumque individuum ac totum sine partibus ullis
In tria parti religione vector;
Finitum immenso misceri et numen in unum
Confundi sancte dum pia lingua negat;
Dum veritus genitam ingenito exæquare Parenti,
Qui sibi sufficiens nescit habere parem;
Captivare meæ jussus dictamina mentis
Dum falsum cæca credere nolo fide;
Quod quondam evomit petulante Sabellius ore,
Dum pius infandum dogma recuso sequi;
Dumque Infinitum, quem non complectitur æther,
Virgineo erubui claudere ventre Deum;
Hunc dum diffiteor vagiisse, famemque sitimque
Infantem in cunis lacte levasse nego;
Dum nego possibile, hunc diros tremuisse dolores,
Et tandem infami succubuisse neci;
Dum linguam temerare piam, dum falsa fatendo
Ingenuam mentem conscelerare pudet.
Aserui verum, et mysteria ficta negavi;
Hoc scelus, impietas; hoc mihi causa mali;
Hoc merui pœnas. Sera hoc mirabitur ætas
Quando Deum pura religione colet;
Quando omnis cedit cæci persuasio falsi;
Quando superstitio vana relinquet humum;
Quando Deum verum, non trinum hominibus Orbis
Antiqua rursus simplicitate colet.
Da, Deus, ut redeat prisci constantia veri
Terrasque antiquum fas pietasque regat.
Nunc captivantes nostræ dictamina mentis
Errores, sanctam credimus esse fidem."*

Mahometanizing brought against him by his accusers. No one who reads what he has written, can doubt the depth and sincerity of his Christian faith, whatever they may think occasionally of the soundness of his scriptural exegesis. He has argued also most powerfully and conclusively against a duality of divine persons. Mr. Alexander Jakab, brother of the Mr. Jakab who visited England several years ago, and whom some may perhaps recollect as present at the laying of the foundation-stone of Hope-Street church in Liverpool, is a great collector of rare old Unitarian books, of which his library in Clausenburg possesses a considerable number. Out of this collection he very kindly presented me with an exegetical work of Davidis on the Bible, printed in a clear, firm type, at Clausenburg in 1571, which he described as *liber rarissimus*, and which, from its being written in Magyar, I regret I am unable to use.

Although I apprehend most of the present Unitarians in Transylvania, at least the younger portion of them, hold the views of Davidis respecting the worship of Christ, yet there was at first, as I have shewn, and so there has continued to be down to the present century, a considerable difference of opinion on the subject,—the majority perhaps till lately professing views more in accordance with those of the Socinians of Poland. There subsisted for a long time a close connection and constant intercourse, political and religious, between Hungary and Poland. The mother of John Sigismund, the Unitarian sovereign of Transylvania, who first proclaimed a general religious freedom, was a Polish princess. After the Jesuits had succeeded, in the course of the seventeenth century, in driving the Unitarians out of Poland, many Polish families of distinction sought refuge in Clausenburg, where they permanently settled, and where, till quite a recent period, they had a church of their own, in which the service was conducted in Polish. The descendants of these families have for the most part continued faithful to their Unitarian principles, but through marriage and other inevitable influences have been gradually absorbed into the general mass of the Magyar population. I was shewn in the principal street of Clausenburg, the spot where their church and school once stood. Bishop Kriza's wife is descended from a female branch of the family of the well-known Socinian writer, Wisowatius, one of the "*Fratres Poloni*." It may be assumed

that these Polish exiles would adhere to the peculiar type of Unitarianism which they brought with them out of their native country ; and as they were persons of culture and good social position, they would naturally exert some influence on their neighbours. It seems, therefore, in itself most probable, and this is confirmed by documentary evidence still extant, that the phase of Unitarianism prevalent in Transylvania down into the present century, agreed in the article of the worship of Christ, with proper Socinianism ; though it is at the same time not unlikely, that there were always individuals, perhaps even a congregation here and there under the influence of particular ministers, who adhered to the simpler and more consistent views of Davidia. A manuscript Confession of Faith, translated from the Magyar into Latin, given me by Bishop Kriza, and bearing the name of Michael Szent Abraham, of the date 1752, which, though generally regarded as apocryphal, the Bishop thought might be taken as evidence of the views of some leading persons among the Unitarians at that period,—opens with a complaint of the fluctuating and unsettled state of popular opinion respecting the articles of faith, so that many, it says, are Unitarians only in name ; and it proposes as a remedy for the evil, to set forth a general declaration of belief, which may serve as a guide to Unitarians through life.* This Confession requires belief in Christ as born of a Virgin by the Holy Spirit, i.e. “*ex virtute sive voluntate Dei*,” and as the author of all things in the new creation or regeneration—as having nothing in common with the essence, person or nature of God the Father, but still God in a simple sense, and worthy of adoration ; denies, on the other hand, the personality and the adorableness of the Holy Spirit, as being only the power or virtue by which God spake in the prophets, and still guides the faithful into all truth. It is mainly directed against the peculiar dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, denying original sin, the real presence, the worship of saints, the use of the rosary, and the absolving power of the priesthood—conceding, at the same time, to the ministers of the Unitarian communion,

* It has the form of an episcopal encyclic, and the title in Latin runs thus : “*Confessio fidei Unitariorum in Transylvania, quam Michael Szent Abraham, Superintendens anno 1752 suis asseclis hungarice hinc litteris encyclicis proposuit.*”

the power of dissolving marriages and of granting to the parties separated the permission to marry again, "quotiescunque necessitas tulerit." The persons to whom this circular is addressed are entitled, "Honorabiles Domini, dilecti in Christo Fratres," and must have been, I presume, the heads of the churches or local consistories throughout Transylvania. When we keep in mind the present simple and comparatively humble condition of the Transylvanian churches, the somewhat stately style of the concluding paragraph is amusing. But it must not be forgotten, that the Unitarians as a body belonged then to a higher social position than now, and the old mediæval phraseology was still current. "This, then, is a true Confession of our sacred Unitarian Religion, which it was right to communicate to your Lordships (*vestris Dominationibus*). Wherefore, let your Lordships frequently meet together, and communicate it to one another, and imprint it on your minds, and firmly abide by it."

In a Confession of Faith put forth with the sanction of the government towards the end of 1782 (in consequence probably of the recent Toleration Act of Joseph II.), we find a similar article respecting the worship of Christ. "In his most holy name," it is declared, "we invoke the Father." "Him, as our eternal King and Lord, to whom the Father has given all power in heaven and on earth, we address with the supplications of a divine worship and adore" (*supplices divino cultu adoramus, et invocamus*). Christ, it affirms, suffered for our sins on the cross, and was a victim and a propitiation; but the chief stress is laid on imitating his example, and on obedience, of which the substance consists in the love of God and our neighbour, for faith can only become operative through love.* The short notice at the end of this Confession is interesting and instructive. "Such is the brief and simple Confession of Faith put forth by our ancestors, who did not hesitate to seal it by various sufferings and even by their own blood. In which if any one should seem to find anything wanting, we refer him to the source from which these statements are drawn, we mean Holy Scripture; for that we acknowledge

* "Quorum" (scil. præceptorum Dei) "summa in eo continetur, ut Deo et Proximo debitam charitatem exhibeamus; Fides enim per charitatem debet esse operans."

as our sole Rule of Faith, clear and full, and containing all things necessary to salvation—the final standard and criterion of belief and hope and practice. The Old and New Testament we embrace with our whole heart and profess with our lips, and the Apostolic Symbol we follow with supreme veneration. Whosoever, then, shall affirm that we profess any other doctrine than this, we are prepared to shew in every place and on every occasion, with God's help, that he is both the subject and the cause of the greatest misapprehension" (*longe eum falli et fallere*). The same view of Christ's relation to the human race after his ascension into heaven, is more scientifically developed in the very clear and able Exposition of Unitarian Belief, published anonymously, under the imperial sanction, at Clausenburg in 1787, but generally understood to be from the pen of the learned Michael de Szent Abraham, whose memory is still cherished with profound veneration in the Transylvanian churches.* In this work, while Christ's nature is declared to

* Its full title is—"Summa Universæ Theologiæ Christianæ secundum Unitarios, in usum auditorum Theologiæ concinnata et edita." In a copy of this work presented to Manchester New College by Mr. Stephen Kovács, a Transylvanian, in 1845, the following interesting notice is inserted on a fly-leaf, which I here translate from the autograph of Mr. Kovács. "This work was the production of Michael Lombard de Szent Abraham, who was Bishop or Superintendent of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania from 1787 to 1758. The decree of Joseph II. authorizing its publication is couched in the following terms: 'The MS. forwarded to the government with the title, 'Summa Univ. Theol.,' &c., is now returned to the Transylvanian authorities with the remark, that its impression is the more readily granted, as, besides that this religion is one of those recognised in Transylvania, the tone of tolerant moderation pervading the work may well serve as a model for other religious writings.' Signed, Charles, Count Pálffy, in accordance with his Majesty's commands."—No obscure trace is discernible in this language of the rationalistic tendency of Joseph's own views. On the other hand, it should be noticed as indicative of a different state of things previously, that this work must have lain in MS. for nearly thirty years without obtaining permission to be printed, and that when it did appear, it was published anonymously. It is evidence of the danger with which such works were put forth, that they often make no mention of the time and place of publication. This is the case with the exegetical work against Trinitarianism of George Enjedin, who was Superintendent of the Unitarian churches in Transylvania at the close of the sixteenth century, and died in 1597. It was first printed in Transylvania, where it was prohibited and many copies publicly burnt. It was afterwards reprinted in Belgium; but in both editions all notice of date and place is wanting. In Latin, this work is said to be now very rare. I have a copy, kindly presented to me by a former pupil during my recent visit to Transylvania. A Hungarian translation of it is more commonly met with. In like manner, the Polish brethren, after their retreat into Holland, disguised the place of publication under a fictitious name. Irenopolis was their designation of Amsterdam.

be properly human, and his complete subordination to the Father is strongly insisted on, it is at the same time distinctly affirmed, that the man Christ Jesus is a true God and to be honoured with a divine worship. It is then shewn, that the word God is used throughout Scripture in various senses and applied with various gradations; and the whole doctrine is thus logically summed up: "In what sense the notion of divinity is applicable to any being, must be defined not from the term itself, but from the nature of the subject of which it is predicated; for predicates ought to be explained according to the nature of their subjects."*

The Transylvanian Unitarians, like their Polish brethren, were rigid scripturalists. Indeed, the Sufficiency of Scripture was the fundamental principle of primitive Protestantism. In the work from which I have just quoted, this principle is broadly laid down: "Whatsoever things are not contained in Holy Scripture, we are not obliged under pain of damnation to assert and do; but what things are contained therein, we are not at liberty to deny." In the licence to preach and administer the sacraments given to young ministers on their ordination (according to the form used to this day, as it was recently at Torda), the liberty to teach, explain and profess all the mysteries of the Christian religion, is expressly limited by the following condition, which I transcribe verbatim from the printed formula now before me, signed by the Bishop and the Notary General of the Consistory: "with the distinct understanding, however, that he is not allowed to recede even a hair's breadth from the recognized Christian Confession most clearly expressed in the Holy Scriptures, by employing any words or propositions of vague and indeterminate signification not expressed in Holy Scripture."† This restriction is itself again qualified and almost neutral-

* "Qualis divinitatis notio cuique competat, non ex ipso termino est definiendum, sed ex natura subjecti, de quo prædicatur: prædicata enim secundum naturam subjectorum debent explicari." (Pars ii. cap. 2, De Persona Jesu Christi.) This is acute, but does not exhaust the difficulty; which is, whether the *vis termini* in *Deus* does not of itself exclude the possibility of being predicated of the subject, *homo*. When *Deus* is applied to the Supreme Being and to any creature, though the word is the same, it represents an idea perfectly distinct in the two cases.

† "Ita tamen, ne vel apicem ab agnita et in Scripturis Sacris clarissime expressa confessione Christiana eidem recedere *vas* sit, adhibendo voces vel propositiones vagæ et indeterminatæ significationis in Scriptura Sacra non expressas." The italics are mine.

ized by the appeal to Reason as the final judge, in the following terms: "All controversies must be brought to the supreme standard of Holy Scripture; but to decide on these controversies and to interpret Scripture, is the function of Reason as judge." (Procem. § xlviii.) Moreover, a vague latitude of interpretation is opened in the following article: "Neither is the whole truth always the true sense of Scripture. Every truth is not everywhere expressed; nor does any passage of Scripture taken at will, prove every kind of truth. The words of Scripture have only that sense which God, the supreme Interpreter, intended them to have."* The attempt to reconcile incompatible conditions, the recognition of an authoritative Scripture on one hand, and the acknowledgment of Reason as final judge on the other, has been a constant snare to Protestantism; and the inconsequentialities and forced interpretations to which it inevitably leads, are conspicuous not only in the general controversy of the earlier Unitarians with their orthodox opponents, but also not unfrequently in the narrower ground of argument taken by Davidis and his followers against the Polish Socinians.

In this somewhat vague and fluctuating form, only imperfectly defined by the Confessions and Declarations to which I have just referred, Unitarianism has prolonged its existence in Transylvania to the present day. It first acquired a legal existence under the general proclamation of religious freedom put forth by John Sigismund, himself an Unitarian, at Torda in 1568. It subsequently acquired a distinct place among the four recognized religions of Transylvania, by the various capitulations, edicts and rescripts of successive princes, kings and emperors.† Though their legal *status* has never been formally taken from them, the Unitarians of Transylvania have constantly had great difficulty in maintaining it. Though nominally equal, they have been depressed and discouraged beyond any of the

* "Neque omnis veritas semper est verus Scripturæ sensus; non omne verum ubique dicitur, nec quivis Scripturæ locus quæcunque veritatem probat: verba Scripturæ eum tantum habent sensum quem summus interpres Deus voluit esse." (Ibid. § xlv.)

† These, with accompanying dates, are enumerated on the margin of the first page of the "Confessio," put forth with the sanction of the government in 1732, to which I have already alluded.

other religions of the country. Always an object of suspicion and jealousy, especially whenever the Jesuits acquired influence in the government, they seem nevertheless at one time to have possessed weight, numbers and social position. Many of the native nobility, some of the oldest families in the country, belonged to them. The principal church in Clausenburg—an elegant mediæval structure—was theirs; and they had there, besides smaller gymnasia in different parts of the country, a gymnasium and a college conducted by men of eminent learning and supported by liberal endowments. A wood was pointed out to me in the neighbourhood of Clausenburg, which had once formed a part of their college property. Their gentry and nobility, like those of the Huguenots in France, were gradually seduced from their faith by the insidious policy of the Court, which never conferred any office or distinction on the professor of Unitarianism. A few have been proof against such temptations, and continue to this day faithful to the religion of their forefathers. On the road between Torda and Clausenburg, we passed a spacious chateau belonging to the Countess Bánffy, whose maiden name was Bethlen, and who is descended from the brother of Bethlen Gabor, an ancient prince of Transylvania and one of the strongest upholders of Protestant freedom. This lady still adheres zealously to her hereditary Unitarianism; but of her three daughters, who married Catholic noblemen, only one remains an Unitarian. The heaviest loss of the Unitarians occurred early in the last century. It had become the mistaken and mischievous policy of the House of Hapsburg, to introduce a complete system of centralization throughout the Austrian dominions, and in particular to make Hungary at once German and Catholic. The greatest obstacle to this design was naturally found in the Unitarians, whose principles, from their marked and peculiar character and their inherent spirit of freedom, were invincibly opposed to amalgamation with any orthodox faith. They had to be dealt with, therefore, in a very summary manner. Their church in Clausenburg was taken from them by military violence and given back to the Catholics. Their college and gymnasium were broken up by the sequestration of the endowments on which they had hitherto mainly depended for their support. A similar wrong was perpetrated at Torda. How they maintained their intellectual and spi-

ritual life under such heavy reverses, and in the face of a hostile government and bigoted priesthood, I do not know. That it was not extinguished is evident from the present state of the Unitarian body in Transylvania; and that the theological training of their ministers was not unprovided for, we have clear proof in the learned manual of Szent Abraham, which was drawn up specially for that purpose, and must have been composed in the midst of these discouragements.

The hard treatment of the Unitarians stimulated the efforts of friends on their behalf. In the chamber of the Consistory at Clausenburg, is a coat of arms with the name and titles of one of the greatest benefactors of the Transylvanian Unitarians. This was Ladislaus Suki de Suk. He belonged to one of the most ancient families of the country, which possessed by right of first occupation (*jure primæ occupationis*, something like a Norman descent with us) a large tract of territory between the rivers Szamos and Maros. His ancestors had rendered eminent services to their country as statesmen and warriors. He was the last male representative of his family. He was born at Suk in 1741, and completed his studies in the Unitarian College at Clausenburg in 1760. He led a very retired life on his property at Suk, and never accepted any office from government, but devoted himself to the improvement of his estate, and became the first agriculturist in his county. He never married, in order, as he has stated in his will, that he might leave the bulk of his property, all that he possibly could, to the persecuted Unitarians, to whose principles he was zealously attached, and in whose wrongs he deeply sympathized. He died in March 1792, and left more than 79,000 florins, nearly £8000 sterling (which at that time and in that country was a considerable sum), for the benefit of the Church and College at Clausenburg. Out of this sum the present buildings have been erected. He had two sisters, whose descendants are still Unitarians, and maintain a few of the yet remaining links which connect their body with the old aristocracy of the country. Two representatives of this noble family were present at the recent celebration at Torda. The great majority of the present Unitarian churches in Transylvania were built, I have been informed, since the close of the last century.

Some years ago another attempt was made to crush the

Unitarian interest, which like the former proved unsuccessful. On the insidious pretext of sustaining the respectability of the body, the Austrian government refused its sanction to the existence of any school or college, which could not produce evidence of the possession of what they considered adequate funds to support it in efficiency—well knowing that the actual resources of the Unitarians could not meet the demand, and hoping by this stroke of policy to close up for ever the fountain of their spiritual life. The consequence was an earnest appeal from the Transylvanian Unitarians to their co-religionists in England and America for help, with a prompt and liberal response from both those countries, which not only relieved the Transylvanians from their immediate difficulty, but has had the effect, I believe, of placing their whole scholastic system on a firmer and more solid basis ever since. This, too, was the commencement of a closer intercourse between the Unitarians of Transylvania and England, which I trust will from this time forth ever become more cordial and fruitful. It has led, among other results, to the sending of young men from Transylvania to complete their studies in Manchester New College, some of whom are now filling positions of importance in their native country. The old policy of the Austrian government (which has of late happily changed) was one of insult and annoyance. For some reason or other, the title of Bishop, which is given to the head of all the recognized religions in Transylvania, was kept in abeyance among the Unitarians.* The prohibition, whatever it was, has now been withdrawn; and the restoration of his ancient title to their ecclesiastical head was the occasion of great rejoicing, as an indication of recovered position and equal status with the other recognized religions. As a further expression of the friendly feeling of the present government, Bishop Kriza has recently been made a *Geheimrath* (privy councillor), which, though merely a titular distinction, unconnected with any function or emolument, has a value for the same reason that gave weight to the resumption of the title of Bishop.

Though nominally on the same legal footing with the Cal-

* In the Protestant churches it is equivalent to Superintendent, and, as Bishop Kriza explained it to me, means simply *primus inter pares*; that is, the Bishop belongs to the same order as the presbyters, or ministers of the individual churches or congregations.

vinists and the Lutherans, the Unitarians have been less favourably treated. The Calvinists, if I am not mistaken, have been allowed to retain their ancient endowments and are comparatively rich. The Bishop of the Lutherans, who embrace all the Saxon districts, and as being a German element have been fostered by the Austrian government, enjoys a handsome allowance of seven or eight hundred pounds a year, and an episcopal residence at Hermanstadt, furnished by the State. All this, however, has not worked pure evil to the Unitarians. It has thrown them on their own resources, and stimulated them to efforts which have quickened their inward life. Though they are the least numerous and wealthy of the four Transylvanian churches, I was assured by an impartial witness, that they are the most liberal and active in support of their own institutions; and that their clergy stand high, as compared with those of other denominations, for the purity of their morals, the simplicity of their manners, and their fidelity to their ministerial duties. As there is as yet no State provision for popular education in Hungary, the maintenance of its schools and colleges devolves upon each religious denomination; and where there are no local endowments (which at present are few and small), these have to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their members. This self-imposed tax for education falls heavily on some of the poorer class. To replace the heavy losses incurred a century ago by the Unitarians, benefactions are continually dropping in from wealthy and zealous individuals. I heard of several already left, and some more that were expected; so that, on the whole, I conclude, that the legal status and the social and financial condition of the Transylvanian Unitarians stands on a firmer basis and is more generally prosperous now than it has been for the last hundred years at least. In visiting the different institutions of the Unitarians at Clausenburg, one discerns the not obscure traces of a system conceived on a grander scale in more auspicious times, when the wealth and nobility of the country were on their side, and there was the possibility of their religion becoming under native princes predominant in the land. The College at Clausenburg still retains something of the ground-work of an University with its four faculties. Of these, that of Theology is now the principal; though Arts and Philosophy are cultivated;

and I believe there is still a school of Law connected with it. That of Medicine has been separated and removed elsewhere. Among other public benefits projected by the present liberal government, one is the foundation of a proper University at Clausenburg. This will of course absorb all the secular faculties, and leave Theology to the care of the several denominations. In that case the Unitarian College will become, what Manchester New College now is, simply a school of Philosophy and Theology, providing for the preliminary discipline of its *alumni* through its connection with a larger and more general institution.

Unitarianism in Transylvania, notwithstanding the simplicity of its doctrine and ritual, has preserved to this day some features of the old episcopal discipline. The churches under the superintendence of the Bishop are distributed into eight circles (*Kreise*), over each of which presides an Arch-deacon, who carries out within his particular district the more general supervision of the Bishop. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Unitarians appear to have had gymnasia in every principal town in the country. Most of these have disappeared amidst the persecutions and devastations to which the Magyar race, and the Unitarians more especially, were long exposed from the Turks and the Germans. Three only now remain, the principal one at Clausenburg; and two others, that at Torda, which last year had 164 scholars, and that at Keresztur in the Sekler-land, which had 173. In these gymnasia the pupils board and lodge in the school-house. The college and gymnasium at Clausenburg were built between the years 1793 and 1806, from the benefaction of Ladislaus Suki already mentioned. In the two institutions there are nine professors and ten teachers; four elementary and eight gymnasial classes; besides a three years' theological course. The salaries are very small, even allowing for the greater cheapness of living. Each professor has 420 florins per annum; the teachers only 70 florins each, but then they are boarded in the college, and are permitted to take private pupils. When youths have gone through their course at Torda and Keresztur, they pass on to the higher classes at Clausenburg. The teachers are for the most part supplied from theological students who have finished their course. At Clausenburg during the last year there were 298 scholars, exclusive of 36 divinity students.

At present throughout Transylvania there are 106 Unitarian congregations, with as many ministers and schoolmasters ; for to each church a school is always attached ; and there are sometimes smaller congregations in connection with the larger ones. The number of children of both sexes educated in these congregational schools amounted, according to the school report of last year, to 5032.*—It was under these more favourable circumstances and brighter hopes, that I was invited by the Unitarians of Transylvania to attend the Tercentenary of the foundation of their Church under a general proclamation of religious freedom at Torda in 1568. The interest and significance of the occasion will perhaps be the better understood and appreciated from the foregoing rapid survey of Unitarian history in Transylvania.

Accompanied by my daughter, I arrived in the last week of August at Grosswardein, a considerable and apparently flourishing town on the eastern verge of the great plain of Hungary, nearly in the centre of the vast space enclosed within the Carpathians. So far we had been conveyed by steam over land and water ; but at Grosswardein the railway abandoned us ; and I engaged a comfortable carriage with a pair of horses to take us a two day's journey to Clausenburg. Here first we distinctly realized to ourselves how far we were from home, and that we were completely among strangers. Our driver could only speak Hungarian, of which we understood not a word ; our route lay through a district inhabited by Wallachs ; and it was only when we came across a person here and there of better education, who could speak German, that we were able to ask a question or obtain any information. But the roads were excellent, macadamized as in England ; the country beautiful ; and if at the inns we roughed it a little now and then, especially in the arrangements for sleeping, yet the interest and novelty of the journey abundantly compensated for small inconveniences. We were glad, however, to re-enter civilized life, and look once more on the faces of friends, and hear again an intelligible speech, on reaching Clausenburg. We were agreeably surprised with Clausenburg. It is a clean, bright, cheerful-looking town, with well-paved

* I am indebted for these statistical details to the accurate information of my friend Mr. Benzédi, formerly a student in Manchester New College, and now Director of the Gymnasium and Professor of Natural Philosophy at Clausenburg.

streets, good shops, cafés and handsome houses, and a considerable portion of its old walls and gateways still remaining to invest it with a lingering air of former grandeur. In the winter, when it is the residence of the Transylvanian gentry and nobility, with its casino and its theatre and a lively interchange of private gaieties and hospitalities, it must have all the attractions of a small capital. Shortly after our arrival, we were waited on by a former pupil and a gentleman whom I had previously known in England. They had been expecting us at another hotel, where they had kindly prepared everything for our reception. They were soon joined by the Bishop, Kriza,—a man of beaming countenance and the most engaging manners and address, simple and unassuming as a child, but with that quiet unconscious dignity of gait and bearing which often accompanies genuine simplicity of character. He spent the evening with us, and we had much free talk on subjects of common interest. Our medium of intercourse was German. He gave us a cordial invitation to dine with him the next day at one o'clock; in the afternoon we were to proceed to the country-house of our friend Mr. Paget, twenty-five miles from Clausenburg, and five beyond Torda.

The next morning, accompanied by a former pupil and a friend, we visited the Church of the Unitarians and its associated institutions. The former is a plain and spacious building, with a lofty gallery at one end for the organ and choir, but wholly devoid of any pretension to architectural beauty. It was built in the years of depression and persecution, to replace the more splendid edifice which had been taken from them by the Catholics. It bears on its front the simple inscription, "In honorem solius Dei." The Gymnasium and College adjoin the Church, with an inscription over the gate, "Musis et Virtutibus renovatum." The Library forms a part of the same cluster of buildings. When I saw it, it was in a considerable state of confusion, being in process of removal to a larger and more convenient abode. Under the circumstances I could not very minutely examine it. It contains, I have no doubt, some curious old Unitarian theology; though the rare books in this department are mostly in the hands of private collectors. It needs, I should say, an ampler supply of modern critical works. The pupils of the Gymnasium and College, with their teachers, reside

for the most part in the academical buildings. We saw some of their apartments, which are plain and scantily furnished, but well lighted and airy. Attached to the Church is a school for girls, which was unoccupied when we visited it, but seemed well provided with the materials for effective teaching and was remarkably neat and clean. At the end of a kind of corridor is a door which opens into the chamber where the Consistory hold their sittings. It is a plain room, chiefly occupied by a long table of green cloth, with chairs down the sides for the members, and one at the head for the Bishop. It is hung round with portraits and other memorials of former bishops and benefactors, and of a few strangers, including the late Mr. Tagart, who have visited Clausenburg. Among the valuables preserved in the Consistory is a curious MS. written mostly in Latin, but with Magyar documents interspersed, containing a history of Transylvanian Unitarianism from its commencement. It was commenced by an Unitarian minister more than a hundred years ago, and was completed in its present form by another, the great-grandfather of Mr. Uzoni, recently a student in Manchester New College. As far as I recollect, it is a very bulky quarto, closely written, but in a clear hand. I was informed by Bishop Kriza that a transcript is now being made of this MS., with a translation of its Magyar contents, for the purpose of transmitting the copy when finished to England.

The bishop's house is close to the College. It is simple, but airy and pleasant. Indeed, the bishop, the pastor of the Church, and the professors and teachers of the College and Gymnasium, all live in the immediate vicinity of each other; so that the *Hungarische Strasse*, a broad and handsome street running down to one of the old gateways, forms a kind of academic locality. In the course of the morning we paid a visit to Mr. Ferenz, professor of theology in the College and head pastor of the Church, who enjoys a high reputation in Clausenburg outside his own denomination as a preacher. He introduced us to his wife, a simple, kind-looking, unaffected person, who entertained us with fruit and some of the splendid grapes from their own vineyard, for which this neighbourhood is celebrated. One of his children, a fine vigorous lad of about ten, recited to us a piece of Magyar poetry. We

then adjourned to the bishop's close by, for dinner. It was marked, as might be expected, by the overflowing hospitality which is everywhere characteristic of Hungary, but it was further distinguished in its whole arrangement by a simple elegance and good taste, which betrayed the influence of a presiding refinement like that of Madame Kriza, a very ladylike and agreeable person, who sat at the head of the table. The wine, of which *Ausbruch*, a sort of Tokay, formed a part, was served with a kind of aerated water, which is usually drunk with it, and forms, especially in hot weather, a very refreshing beverage. The party consisted of the professors of the College. Our common medium of intercourse was German; and this, though not the native language of any one present, was still possessed sufficiently by all to keep up a pleasant and unbroken flow of conversation. The Bishop, who is a man of wide general culture and of considerable literary reputation, is a member of the Hungarian Academy at Pesth. We did not sit long after dinner, but soon retired to the drawing-room, where, as is the custom of the country, there was a mutual bowing and curtsying on all sides, to mark the close of the feast.

About three we set off in an open carriage for Gyéres, the country-seat of Mr. Paget, well known to the public by his excellent work on Hungary and Transylvania—accompanied by the Bishop's son, who had recently been appointed to some government office in Pesth. We drove through the straggling gypsy suburb of Clausenburg, and ascended the long hill which commands from its brow a magnificent view of the town and its adjacent scenery—the broad vale in which it stands with the encircling hills, and in the far distance north and east the dim ridge of the Carpathians. The country through which we passed on our way to Gyéres was bold and varied, but somewhat bare, with a character which I think the French word *dépre* would well describe, anything but commonplace, not wholly unlike the somewhat brusque and independent bearing of its inhabitants,—a striking contrast to the rich luxuriant meadows, the tall hedge-rows, the slow-winding streams and soft-swelling turf-clad hills—the blooming and garden-like appearance of southern England. We reached our place of destination when it was getting dusk, and were welcomed by Mr. Paget at the door with that frank and cordial courtesy, which set

us at once at our ease and made us feel at home. He introduced us to his wife, belonging to one of the most ancient families in the country, born Baroness Wesselenyi, a name of distinguished mark in the annals of Hungary and Transylvania. Madame Paget speaks English readily, is well versed in the literature of modern Europe, and is herself an authoress. She proved to us the best of friends and a most sedulously attentive hostess. I cannot indeed too strongly express my grateful sense of the considerate kindness and generous hospitality of these excellent people. Without them, under a climate so peculiar and amidst manners so different from our own, our visit to Transylvania might have been far less agreeable and satisfactory than it was. We had moreover, beside the enjoyment of English comforts and the facility of intercourse in our own tongue, an opportunity of seeing something of the interior arrangements and mode of living in a Hungarian gentleman's country-house. For Mr. Paget, through long residence, his warm sympathy with the Hungarian struggle for freedom, in which he was himself a sufferer, and the connections of his marriage—is now completely identified with the native aristocracy, shares in their feelings and is interested in their objects. He belongs emphatically to the constitutional, as opposed to the extreme democratic party. Deak is with him the fitting representative and expression of true Hungarian policy. Yet with all this, Mr. Paget retains the warmest love and reverence for England, and continues firmly attached to his early principles and convictions. It was delightful to hear him talk in that remote land of old York days, and call up with affectionate interest the names of former tutors and fellow-students. We rested for a day quietly at Gyéres before the festivities commenced at Torda. In the interval Mr. Paget drove us over to his farm and vineyard at some distance from his house. He is exerting, I was informed, a very beneficial influence on the whole system of rural economy—introducing an improved breed of cattle, and paying particular attention to the cultivation of the vine, which he looks to as a great source of future wealth to Hungary. He has imported the finest vines from France and Germany, and planted them in various parts of his estate, carefully labelled as to origin and date, and placed under the superintendence of an experienced *Winzer*

from Switzerland,—with a view to notice the effect of climate, soil and culture on the produce. In conjunction with some native gentlemen, he has formed an association for the improvement of vine-culture, and laid out a model vineyard in the neighbourhood of Clausenburg. The wine from his own estate which we drank at his table, had a singularly pure flavour, as if not medicated with brandy and other ingredients by which wines are cooked for our market.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 29th of August, there was to be a public entrance of the Bishop into Torda, with a procession. We intended to be present and join in the reception; but from being misinformed as to the time, we arrived at Torda when it was all over. The afternoon unfortunately was wet; but the little town was all astir, gay with flags and planted fir-trees in the direction of the church, and parties were pouring into it from all sides in their curious old-fashioned *wagen*, drawn by two or four horses, to be ready for the festivities of the ensuing day. Every house, I was told, was full. It was an exuberant overflow of universal hospitality. Mr. Paget succeeded in procuring a room for us, in case of need, at the Post-office.

The next day we left early. On reaching Torda, my daughter was consigned to the care of the Bishop's lady; and I proceeded with Mr. Paget to the Consistory, of which he is a lay member. In the midst of the fumes of tobacco-smoke (for the Hungarian smokes on all occasions, festal and solemn, except in church itself), I was introduced to the meeting, and informed that I had been just elected an honorary member—a mark of respect which on former occasions had been conferred on my countrymen, Mr. Tagart and Mr. Steinthal.* As it was now time to proceed to church, the further business of the Consistory, with the delivery of the Addresses which I had brought from England, was adjourned to the latter part of the day. At the entrance of the church there was an immense crowd, with all that pushing and struggling to gain admission which

* The vote was accompanied by a diploma in Latin, sealed with the common seal of the Consistory, and signed by Alexius Nagy de Kál, "Supremus Curator et Secularis Præses," Johannes Kriza, "Episcopus Unitariorum in Hungaria," and Moses Pap, "Generalis Notarius." It is written in the usual style of such documents, but concludes with a very kind wish for my safe return to my native shores.

one sometimes sees at the doors of a theatre on some night of unusual attraction. By the strenuous interference of persons in office, a way was at length cleared for the Bishop and the visitor from England and Mr. Paget. The Bishop advanced to his place near the pulpit, and Mr. Paget and myself were accommodated with an excellent seat in front of it, where we could see everything in the church, and where I could hear every word uttered by the preacher, unfortunately without knowing what it was all about, except when Mr. Paget briefly indicated to me its purport. Beside me sate on one side, as I think I was told, a Catholic clergyman. The ladies occupied another part of the church, and in the front row, seated by Madame Kriza, I discovered my daughter. The church was crowded in every part, containing a pretty full representation of the collective Unitarianism of Transylvania.

The service commenced with a hymn composed for the occasion by Bishop Kriza, and sung to the Hungarian national air. After a prayer, the Rev. Joseph Ferenz, Professor of Theology in the College and the chief pastor of the church in Clausenburg, ascended the pulpit, and delivered in a most animated manner, without notes, a discourse of more than an hour's length, which was listened to with profound attention and evidently produced a great impression. The preacher's appearance was very striking. The close-fitting, braided Hungarian coat, which clergy and laity wear alike, and the black cloak with velvet collar thrown loosely over it across the shoulders, had a very picturesque effect. I heard high commendation on all sides, from Catholics and Calvinists as well as from Unitarians, of the large-hearted, generous and catholic spirit of this discourse. The Lord-lieutenant of a county, himself belonging to the Reformed or Calvinistic communion, expressed in my hearing his hope that it might be translated into French and German. The deep regret I felt at being wholly unable to follow it, has been in part removed by a translation of it into English by my friend Mr. Gabriel Uzoni, which he has had the goodness to forward to me. This enables me to place before the reader such an outline in a very brief form of its contents, as may convey some idea of its spirit and general tendency. Its subject was, Liberty of Faith and Conscience. Among the congratulations with which

he opened his address, on the happy circumstances under which they had then assembled, one was, that they had among them a representative of the Unitarian sons and daughters of England, "that mighty nation, first in rank among the free nations of Europe;" and then turning to me, he gave me in the name of every Hungarian Unitarian the welcome of a brother: "Take," he said, "our brotherly hand, free son of a free nation. Let this day be kept in faithful remembrance by every Hungarian Unitarian. Let it be to them a festival of festivals." A large part of the discourse was taken up with historical details, interesting and instructive from their novelty, no doubt, to many of the audience, the most important of which I have already briefly indicated. Under three heads, he handled with a broad and vigorous grasp the past history, the present state and the probable future triumph of liberty of faith and conscience. In treating of the first of these heads, he argued that the Reformation, though a great benefit to mankind, was still only a step in advance, and left a great work to be accomplished; and he then shewed, by reference to the melancholy history of Davidis, how imperfectly Faustus Socinus himself understood those inalienable rights of the conscience, in virtue of which alone he could claim any toleration for his own views.—Under the second head, he explained how the political movements of the last half century, following the great first revolution in France, had contributed to diffuse the spirit of mutual religious toleration. "Far be it from me," he exclaimed, "to limit freedom of faith and conscience to Unitarianism exclusively. I only wished to shew, by the example of Unitarianism, that religious liberty is really in a better condition than it was; that it has now struck so deep a root in the hearts of millions, that no power on earth can any more eradicate it; and that he who at the present day should attempt to employ a difference of religious belief as a weapon against his fellow-men, would deservedly draw down on himself the condemnation of the world. Indeed, it is high time that the last spark of intolerance should be put out; that men should be united to each other by the Christian feeling of brotherly love: it is high time that we no longer despised and persecuted each other, because one worships God standing, and another on his knees, because one has a cross on

his church, and another a weathercock : it is high time that we should no longer force our faith and opinions on others, but allow every one to form his own with that freedom wherewith Christ hath made us free, and that we should no longer venture to reduce any one under the yoke of bondage." Under his third and last head, the preacher dwelt on the universal diffusion of education, as one of the marked tendencies of the present day, and on the effect that it would probably exert on the future condition of religious opinion. He believed that in the free exercise of thought which universal education would encourage and facilitate, there would be a steady approach to essential unity of faith. It was the imposition of creeds that produced hostile differences in religion. What was the language of all educated men? "Whatever we may say, we all of us worship one only God." Whoever tries to devise a creed acceptable to all, is fighting against nature, which has not made two leaves alike. Give free development to the human mind, and await the result without fear. The final triumph of the liberty of faith and conscience will be effected by education. "If I am asked," he continued, "what may be the ultimate fate of our own form of Christianity, the answer will depend on our definition of the essence of Unitarianism. If we adhere obstinately to the articles of faith laid down by our forefathers centuries ago, regarding them as the *ne plus ultra* of perfection, which must not be touched, and from which we must shut out the freshening air of science and free inquiry, then, no doubt, Unitarianism, like every other religion which thinks itself complete and finished, will have to take its place among a collection of antiquities ; for the essence of the biblical truths must not be confounded with the forms which they have successively assumed in the minds of different men in different ages. But if we regard Unitarianism as a strong and vigorous organism, full of life and capable of development, ever ready to admit new truths and constantly regenerating itself by their influence, and securing the spirit and welfare of its adherents by keeping abreast with the onward march of the ages, then I am bold to say, the future of Unitarianism is secured for ever, because it will take its stand on those eternal principles of reason, by which the cultivated portion of mankind must always and increasingly abide." "If," he concluded, "we could main-

tain our existence during three centuries of difficulty and oppression, we have no reason to fear now. Unitarianism, however some may call it a rationalistic religion, because it applies the principles of reason to Scripture, and others may say it is a dry religion without poetry, because we do not attempt to produce an effect by outward ceremonies, Unitarianism, I am persuaded, has a great future before it; and my belief is, that those who shall celebrate this festival a century hence, will celebrate it with the representatives not only of the Unitarians of Great Britain, but of those of other countries."

At the close of the sermon, there was a celebration of the Lord's Supper. I think nearly the whole congregation partook of it; the men first, and afterwards the women. It was a simultaneous expression of rejoicing, that they had survived with faith and hope unbroken, centuries of suffering and persecution, and had come by God's good providence to the quiet safety and freedom of that hour. It was a touching scene. I never before felt, as I did then, the holy beauty and deep spiritual significance of the few simple symbols which universal Christendom has associated with this expressive rite. There I stood in the front row of the communicants by the side of my countryman, Mr. Paget, unable of course to understand the words that were so earnestly uttered by the officiating minister, but attuned to seriousness by the quaint old melody that pealed forth from the organ and was chanted by the choir,—by the cup and the bread that were circulating around me, brought into silent sympathy with that faithful people of God who had clung to their honest convictions in defiance alike of the threats and the allurements of the world,—and carried back by reminiscences irresistibly borne in upon me, into a communion of the inmost spirit with that innumerable company of saints and confessors who in divers ages and widely severed lands, had through these same symbols given up their souls to God and devoted themselves to works of self-sacrificing love. I could not suppress the hope, that the time might come in our own country, when the members of different communions, in spite of their doctrinal differences, could meet occasionally to strengthen the bonds of Christian brotherhood, by celebrating in the presence of their common symbol, the Cross, a common feast of holiness and love.

We then adjourned to a very different scene. In a spacious tent near the church the guests assembled to partake, after the manner of the country, of some refreshment before dinner. A kind of light cake was served with different sorts of liqueur. Here was the motliest group of human beings I ever beheld. Plain farmers and rustic pastors from the Sekler-land mingled with lord-lieutenants of counties and nobles of ancient descent, all in their national costume, priests of the Greek Church in their black robes, Franciscans in the garb of their order, Catholic clergymen, ministers and professors of the Reformed or Calvinistic communion—all seemed to have laid aside their religious antipathies under the genial influences of the hour, and to be animated with one feeling of mutual good-will—heartily congratulating the Unitarians on the happy circumstances under which they were celebrating their tercentenary. These friendly sentiments were uttered, I was told, in speeches from different parties at the ensuing dinner—in one especially from a Catholic priest, whose features (for of that we could judge) very distinctly announced the inward benignity of his nature. The Bishop stated at table, that he had received letters of congratulation and fraternal sympathy from the Lutheran Consistory, and from a leading man among the Jews, the editor of a journal in their interest at Pesth.

The dinner was distinguished by some peculiarities which made it different from anything we have in England. On the first day (Sunday) the ladies dined apart, though in the course of the afternoon they took their seats in a gallery at the end of the room. Their influence, however, and their interest on the occasion were sufficiently indicated in the beautiful way in which the table was adorned with greens and flowers, and in the admirable propriety and success with which all the culinary arrangements had been conducted. The hospitality was boundless. It is impossible to describe the endless succession of dishes that were placed before the guests and removed, not, I was informed, altogether by hired waiters, but to a great extent by the free, spontaneous services of the kind-hearted burghers of Torda. In an adjoining room was a gypsy-band, whose striking and original but somewhat harsh music was continued at intervals through the whole of the feast. Speak-

ing is not, as with us, postponed to the time when the cloth is removed, but commences almost with the dinner itself, apparently without any fixed order, or if it follows any, occupying the short intervals between the courses. The marvellous fluency of the speakers astonished me. Every one rises to speak as the spirit moves him; and as far as I could judge, its promptings never flagged for an instant. When a health is given, no formal and immediate answer is expected. The whole proceeding seemed to me remarkably free and unconventional. When a person sate down after speaking, there was a general outburst through the room of *eljen, eljen* (equivalent to our *hear, hear*), especially if he had touched the feelings of his audience, and strongly carried with him their sympathies. At the same moment the gypsy-band struck in with its wild, braying music, accompanied by a loud discharge of ordnance.*

From dinner we withdrew to an adjourned meeting of the Consistory, the Bishop in the chair, when I delivered the Addresses which I had brought from England; and on presenting them, spoke a few sentences in Latin (prepared of course beforehand, and pronounced after the usual continental mode) to the following effect:†

* This must have been an ancient custom. I was reminded of the passage in Hamlet:

"No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day,
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell,
And the King's rouse the heaven shall bruit again,
Re-speaking earthly thunder."—Act i. Sc. ii.

† The words actually spoken were these: "Plus nimio mihi dolet, fratres in Christo cari, quod vos Hungarice alloqui nequeo. Lubentissime enim ad verba benevolentis plena quibus me in consessum vestrum modo recepitis, vestra ipsorum lingua, nobili illa antiquaque, adhuc vegeta, et nunc demum in jus suum restituta, respondi. Reputantem autem me, linguas omnes quot-quot sunt unius ejusdemque humanitatis meras esse interpretes, suavis subito cogitatio, cor cordi semper responsum dare posse, atque ibi saepenumero sensuum affectuumque intimorum jucundissimam intercedere consuetudinem, ubi lingua mutuo ignorata impedimentum potius quam adjutorium hominum commercio existat. Nos vero, fratres dilecti, penitior quaedam necessitas arctissimis vinculis conjunxit. Formam veritatis Christianae simplicem sinceramque, gratia mundi pro nihilo habita, una sustinimus. Una iidem haud pauca incommoda, ne dicam damna et detrimenta, annis praeteritis, ob nostram in veritate asserenda propagandaque audentiam atque *παρρησιαν*, perpessi sumus. Nec minus tamen inter has molestias communem semper aluimus spem, Dei veritatem animo aperto et candido assiduoque studio expetitam, in clariorem olim lucem auctoritatemque graviorem emersuram esse, ecclesiamque Christianam universos homines tandem aliquando mutuo inter se amore colligatos in sinu suo materno comprehensos exopturam. Dies tam cupide exoptatus jamjamque adest. Sol

"I regret, dear Christian brethren, more than I can express, my inability to address you in Hungarian; for I would gladly have replied to the kind words with which you have just received me into your assembly, in your own noble and ancient tongue, instinct as it is still with life, and now at length restored to its just rights. When, however, I reflect, that all the languages that exist, are but interpreters of one and the same humanity,

libertatis montibus exorients vallibus nocte obrutis illacescere cepit, cursuque progrediente tenebras superstitionis atque iniquitatis tandiu vitas humanas offusas constanter discutiet. Mihi quidem collegisque meis conjunctissimis, Martineavii patri filioque (quos ab hac die solenni abesse vehementer doleo) gratum munus obtigit, ut excellentissimæ spei juvenes, vestros dico, Simeon, Benedi, Usoni—disciplinis philologicis, philosophicis, theologicis, aliqua ex parte erudiremur. Sit, precor, optimis illis adolescentibus felix faustumque vite publicæ exordium. Quali omine apud nos fundamenta doctrinæ tam auspiciato jecerint, tali ex animo optamus, ut curriculum quod ingressi sunt, conficiant, fructusque uberrimos pietatis, virtutis, cultus longe lateque inter cives suos dispergant.

"Minime tamen in votis est, nobis vobisque, fratres, ut secta quædam peculiaris in perpetuum fiamus: verum iis potius rebus insistendum esse opinamur, quæ, intemperie disputandi penitus abjecta ac doctrinæ simplicitate religiose conservata, ad amorem Dei atque hominis, primum illud fidei Christianæ institutum, fovendum augendumque præcipue conducant. Quibus rebus rite intellectis atque in mores seculi inductis, claustra ista odiosa quæ usque hodie Jesu discipulos quasi in septa quædam diversa dispecunt, ipsa corrumpunt, et ubique terrarum, sicut scriptum est, 'unum fiet ovile et unus pastor.' Liceat mihi hac occasione verbis uti illustrissimi vestratii, Sænt Abraham, quibus libro egregio finem posuit, ab imperatore Josepho secundo, modestæ simul et sapientiæ causa, summa laude cumulo: 'Eo potius omnia nostra studia dirigere intendimus, ut veritatem salutarem, quam scire universorum interest, quæve ducit ad solidam pietatem, singulorum salutem, omnium pacem et concordiam, sectemur atque promovere possimus.' [Summ. Univ. Theol. Christ., Conclus. § 1.]

"Allocutiones duas, Unitariis Anglicis in testimonium amoris erga vos vere fraterni conceptas, en vobis hodie in manus trado: unam, Latine scriptam et multis nominibus bene notis subsignatam, Societate Unitaria Britannica et Extera oblatam; alteram, conventu Unitariorum solenni apud Eboracenses occidentales, viro reverendo Joanne Kenrick Anglorum inter doctissimos suadente, placito unanimi comprobata ac præside conventus nomine subsignatam. Quo sensu nos, fratres carissimi, has nostras benevolentias et concordis testimoniationes ex imo pectore profundimus, eodem nullus dubito quin vos eis respondebitis, nobisque communis fidei similisque fortunæ per multa jam secula consortibus sedem perennem intra præcordia vestra præbebitis.

"Dum terræ vestræ nostræque mercibus libere permutandis sese, ut spero, quotannis et divitiores et potentiores reddent, inter mentes utriusque regionis, Deum Optimum Maximum suppliciter oro atque imploro, ut commercium fructuosius in posterum exoriat, quo locis quanquam longe disjunctis, uno tamen conatu propositoque totas vires qualescunque sint ad libertatem germanam stabilendam, tam ad constantes concivium nostrorum profectus in cultu, scientia, virtute adjuvandos, ad veram denique religionem tuendam diffundendamque ubique et semper conferamus."

I gave a copy of these words to one of the members of the Consistory, and I understood they were to be entered on its minutes.

I am met by the pleasant thought, that the heart can always make a reply to the heart, and that there oftentimes may be the most delightful exchange of feeling and affection, where the want of a common medium of expression makes language rather a hindrance than a help to human intercourse. As for us, dear brethren, a deeper intimacy binds us to each other by the closest ties. Together we have upheld, regardless of the favour of the world, a simple and genuine form of Christian truth. Together we have sustained, in past years, not a few inconveniences, not to say losses and wrongs, for our boldness and free speech in asserting and propagating truth. And yet, not the less in the midst of these annoyances, have we cherished the common hope, that God's truth, sought with an open and candid mind and assiduous study, would sooner or later emerge into clearer light and weightier influence, and the Christian Church enfold in its maternal embrace the whole race of men, held together at length in the bonds of mutual love. The day so eagerly expected, is now approaching. The sun of freedom rising over the mountains, is beginning to throw its beams into valleys buried in night, and as it proceeds in its course will steadily dispel the shades of superstition and injustice which have so long darkened the life of man. To me indeed, and to the colleagues with whom I am so happily connected, the Martineaus, father and son (whose absence I deeply regret from the present celebration), the pleasant task has been assigned of contributing in some degree to the philological, philosophical and theological training of some young men of great promise—your countrymen, Simén, Benczedi, Uzoni. It is my prayer, that the entrance of those excellent young men on public life may be an auspicious one. It is our heartfelt wish, that under the same favourable omens under which they so successfully laid with us the foundations of learning, they may complete the career on which they have entered, and spread far and wide among their countrymen the richest fruits of culture, piety and virtue.

"It is, however, as little your wish as ours, brethren, that we should form in perpetuity a certain, peculiar sect. We are rather of opinion, that those matters should be chiefly insisted on, which, renouncing the excessive passion for disputation and clinging religiously to simplicity of doctrine, may contribute above all things to cherish and increase that love of God and man, which is the fundamental principle of the Christian faith. For when this principle is once well understood and has penetrated the character of the age, all those odious separations which to this day shut up the disciples of Jesus as it were in different pens, will fall down of themselves, and over the whole earth, as the

Scripture says, 'there will be one fold and one shepherd.' Allow me on this occasion to quote the language of your distinguished countryman, Szent Abraham—in the words that close the excellent work, which for its mingled wisdom and moderation received the highest praise from the Emperor Joseph II.: 'To this end are all our studies directed, to pursue and be able to promote that saving truth which it concerns all to know, and which issues in solid piety, in the eternal well-being of individuals, and in peace and harmony among all men.'

"Two Addresses, drawn up by the English Unitarians, in testimony of their fraternal regard for you, I this day deliver into your hands; one, written in Latin and signed by many well-known names, from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; another, unanimously adopted, at the suggestion of the Rev. John Kenrick, one of our first English scholars, at a meeting of the Yorkshire West-Riding Unitarian Association, and signed by the Chairman in the name of the meeting.

"With the same feeling, my dear brethren, with which we offer you from our inmost heart these witnesses of our good-will and sympathy, I doubt not you will respond to them, and grant to us, the partakers with you now through many centuries, of a common faith and a similar fortune, a lasting place within your bosoms. While your land and ours by a free commercial intercourse will, I hope, yearly render themselves richer and more powerful, it is my fervent prayer to the great and good God, that between the minds of each region there may henceforth arise a more fruitful commerce, through which, though in places widely apart, we may still, with one aim and effort, combine everywhere and always all our powers, such as they may be, for the establishing of genuine liberty, for aiding the steady progress of our fellow-citizens in refinement, science and virtue, and lastly for the protection and diffusion of true religion."

These words were received with very cordial *eljene*, which were repeated when, on reading over the signatures to the London Address, the name of Sir John Bowring occurred.

The next day (Monday) there was again a service in the church. Mr. Simén, formerly a Manchester College student, and now Professor of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History in the College at Clausenburg, preached. His manner was firm, self-possessed and manly; and his discourse, I was informed, was more of a direct exposition and defence of Unitarianism than that of Mr. Ferenz on the preceding day. It was listened to with close attention, and evidently produced a corresponding effect. When the sermon, and

the prayer by a venerable-looking minister which followed it, were over, there was an Ordination Service. Thirteen young men presented themselves. They stood in a circle round the communion-table in front of the pulpit, in the presence of the Bishop and the Archdeacons and the Notary of the Consistory. Each of these in succession took an oath of fidelity to the Church, repeating, with thumb up-raised,* after the Notary, the prescribed form of words, and then signing his name in the register of the Consistory. The form of oath was originally recited in Latin (of which Bishop Kriza kindly presented me with a copy); but it is now, in accordance with the patriotic passion for the resumption of the native tongue, always rendered into Magyar. I here give it from the Latin: "I, the undersigned N.N., swear by the Living and Eternal God, and in virtue of this my handwriting promise and take God to witness, that I will, in the discharge of my ecclesiastical function, guide the flock committed to me by the Divine will, not only with wholesome doctrine (*salutari doctrina*), but also to the best of my power with holiness of life, and that I will go before them in the way which leads to the eternal salvation of souls, by living soberly, righteously and holily; that I will neglect none of those things which contribute to the benefit of the Church; and that I will shrink from no labour and trouble, however it may involve the loss of my own health and fortune and even my life, provided it promotes the growth and prosperity of that heavenly truth which is conjoined with piety; that I will yield obedience to those who are set over me by the Church and God, without hesitation, complaint and contumacy, according to the order of ecclesiastical discipline; and that I will altogether so conduct myself, that having discharged my office with a good conscience, sincere faith and love unfeigned, I may at length be found worthy to hear those words of our Lord,

* This is the traditional form of taking the oath. What it symbolises, I do not exactly know. Is there any allusion to the martyr-spirit of resolution, with which men anciently dedicated themselves to the service of the Church? In the gladiatorial shows of the Romans, the depressed thumb indicated a wish for the close of the fight, its elevation, for its continuance. (Juvenal, Sat. iii. 36.) In medieval paintings and sculptures, the hand of the Supreme Being and of Christ is sometimes represented with the two forefingers and the thumb elevated. See Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, fig. 54, 61, 65, 69, &c. Was this suggested by Deuteronomy xxxii. 40?

‘Well, thou good servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will set thee over many things.’ Amen.”

When the adjuration and signature had been gone through, each of the young ministers kneeled down in succession, and, the Bishop and the Archdeacons laying their hands on his head, the Bishop pronounced over him a short benedictory prayer. This was in Magyar, and varied, I think, in every instance. The Bishop furnished me with some of these forms in Latin. The following may suffice as a specimen; they are all in the same spirit:

“O most merciful God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who art the Bestower of all good, look down from heaven, we earnestly beseech Thee, on this thy servant, whom Thou art now sending forth into thy harvest. Endue him with power from on high, that he may faithfully, holily, wisely and freely proclaim thy word, and as well by his teaching as by the example of his life, may increase the number of thy faithful servants, so that hereafter he may himself hear those words of thy Son, full of all consolation, ‘Well done,’ &c. Amen.”

Another form was this:

“O Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good gift and every perfect gift, lift up, we earnestly beseech Thee, the light of thy countenance on this thy servant, to whose instruction and care Thou art committing thy flock. Illuminate his mind; guide his will; rule his actions; that he may rightly adorn the field of duty allotted him, and render such service to thy name, that he may himself obtain hereafter the unfading crown which is promised to the victorious in heaven. Amen.”

In the tent where we assembled, as on the preceding day, before dinner, a clergyman from Sekler-land came up and spoke to me. He had been imprisoned six months for the part that he had taken during the Revolution. He inquired after Mr. Steinthal and desired to be kindly remembered to him. This day the ladies dined with us, and several toasts were drunk to their health, including one to the English visitor, my companion; and the speech accompanying it from Mr. Benczedi, contained, I was told, a very flattering allusion to the family-life of England. The gypsy-band was transferred to the gallery; and the discharge of ordnance, whether out of consideration for the more sensitive nerves of the female part of the company, I know not,—omitted. In other respects the proceedings were precisely

the same as the day before—speeches and music without intermission. At both these dinners I said a few words in German, in acknowledgment of the hospitable reception I had received, and of the friendly sentiments expressed towards the English brethren and England generally. I had of course prepared beforehand what I had to say, as I did not dare to venture on extempore utterance in a language not my own. On the first day, I alluded to the friendly relations which had been established between the Unitarians of England and Transylvania, by the fact of their young men coming to study in our Academy; stated my belief that this intercourse would prove a benefit to both parties, and my hope that it would continue to increase in closeness and cordiality; and concluded by drinking health and prosperity to Bishop Kriza and the Unitarian Churches of Transylvania. The next day, I dwelt briefly on the more general relations between Hungary and England; noticed the points of affinity between the historical institutions of the two countries; expressed the deep sympathy which the English people had always felt in the struggles of the Hungarians for constitutional freedom, and my own hope that they would be crowned at length with complete success; and concluded with proposing the health of Mr. Paget and his lady, as affording in their own happy union a living symbol of the feeling that should ever unite the two countries. Each day's proceedings ended with a ball, which lasted, I was told, till a late hour the next morning. As we should have had five miles to drive home in the cold night air of a Transylvanian autumn, our kind host Mr. Paget, with his usual consideration, thought it better, after the heat and exhaustion of the preceding day, that we should not wait for these concluding festivities. I trust our excellent friends at Torda understood the reason of our absence, and would not impute it to any want of sympathy with their rejoicing, or failure to appreciate their generous and overflowing hospitality.

The greater part of the ensuing week we spent most agreeably at Gyéres; and we had thus an opportunity of seeing something of the adjoining country, as well as of the interior of Hungarian life. I may mention, as an amusing instance of the simple kindness of the people, that the day after the last dinner, a good lady trudged on foot all the

way from Torda to Gyéres under a hot sun, to present me and my daughter with a huge cake of a kind for which Torda is celebrated. She accompanied it with a speech in Magyar, which Mrs. Paget translated for us. After kissing our hands, she took her departure; and as we were assured that the said cake would keep for months, we deposited it among our heavy luggage for safe transit to England.

One day, in company with Mr. Paget, we visited the celebrated salt-mines of Maros Ujvár, which yield a large revenue to the government. Among recent reforms, the *gabelle* or duty on salt has, I believe, been considerably lowered. We descended in a bucket a shaft three or four hundred feet deep, saw the vast subterranean chambers, which when lighted up by the blaze of kindled straw had a most splendid effect, and re-ascended to the surface of the earth through a long succession of galleries cut out of the perpendicular face of huge precipices of rock-salt. At one place we saw a dozen men half-naked in a row, wielding their hammers to a sort of rhythmus, like the Cyclops in Virgil,* loosening the excavated mass of salt from its basis, and then dividing it, as required by law, with an unerring tact into portions of not less than 85 or more than 95 pounds. On our road thither and back, we passed the country-houses of several of the Transylvanian nobility. They are comfortable-looking, but rather homely in their external aspect, resembling those which we had seen many years before in Holstein, with the farm-buildings and residence of the bailiff often close at hand, but not surrounded by any park or large extent of ornamental ground. The immediate neighbourhood of Gyéres is flat; but it is surrounded by hills at some distance on every side, and to the west the house commands a fine view of the picturesque broken ridge of the Torda mountains. At one point this ridge is riven by a cleft, which cuts right through it on a level with the valleys which it divides. This is the Thordai Hasadek; from its singular formation, an object of much interest to travellers, and a frequent scene of pic-nics. We devoted a day to visiting it, and approached it over a wild country, for the most part without regular roads. We made

* Illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt
In numerum.—Æn. viii. 461.

our way through it to a considerable distance, by leaping, with the help of some friendly Wallachs, from one surface to another of the masses of broken rock which obstruct the course of the little stream which quietly winds through it. At length a repose and some refreshment on a smooth plot of turf overhanging the brook, were very acceptable. The huge cliffs towering over our heads, which sheltered us from the sun, the ceaseless ripple of the waters, and the group of Wallachs in their wild costume stretched on a hillock near us, formed altogether a cluster of impressions that was at once novel and delightful. Both this scene and the mines at Maros Ujvár are described by Mr. Paget with his usual graphic power in his *Account of Hungary and Transylvania*. On our return, we descended the slope of a hill clothed with orchards and vineyards, on which stood a very pretty village, chiefly inhabited by Unitarians. We noticed, as we passed, the Unitarian and the Wallach church. We then forded the shallow bed of the Aranyos, and, driving along the plain towards Gyéres, we passed through another Unitarian village with a large church. We met and saluted the clergyman on the road.

We took the opportunity, while we were at Gyéres, of seeing the school which is connected with the church of the Reformed in the village. Mrs. Paget takes an interest in it, and accompanied us. The master was absent; but several of the children soon assembled. They seemed to read quite fluently, and wrote a clear, distinct hand. They sung part of a song, which, I regretted to learn, was tinged with strong political feeling and directed against Kossuth. I see no use in filling the minds of children with political prepossessions. Such a practice may cut both ways. Should reaction ever come, it may only intensify its violence. Both the school-rooms (the boys and girls are taught apart) were neat and clean, and reasonably well furnished with the usual appurtenances to effective teaching, such as a black board for diagrams and explanations, and pasteboard *cartes* with letters and syllables printed in large characters, hung round the room. They used, I observed, a selection of Bible stories, drawn up for the use of schools by the Bishop or Superintendent of the Reformed Churches, and embellished with very good illustrations. I have already remarked, that in Hungary each of the recognized religions supports its own

schools. The school system is as yet wholly unconnected with the State. My stay in the country was hardly of sufficient length to enable me to form a very decided opinion. Still I am inclined to think, from what I heard and saw, that a periodical inspection under the authority of a liberal government, such as now directs the affairs of Hungary, would tend to quicken and elevate the primary instruction of the country.

At the close of the week we returned to Clausenburg, to prepare for our return home. But we had fresh hospitalities to experience, and our kind friends would gladly have kept us longer with them. All the strangers who have visited the Unitarians of Clausenburg, have left photographs behind them in the chamber of the Consistory. I was requested to do the same. I should hardly have noticed the circumstance, but for the opportunity it affords me of alluding to the photographic institution at Clausenburg. It is by far the completest of any that I have yet seen; in the propriety and elegance of its arrangements exceeding even those of London. It stands in a beautiful garden on the outskirts of the town. Another object deserving of notice in Clausenburg is the Museum. We visited it twice. The present Director is Mr. Brassay, an Unitarian, a man of varied attainments, Curator of the College of the Unitarians, and a member of the Hungarian Academy. The house was formerly a seat of Count Mico, a leading member of the Reformed Communion, just outside Clausenburg, which, with the beautiful grounds in which it stands, commanding a delightful view of the richly-wooded valley of the Szamos, was presented by that nobleman, with a munificent liberality, to the public. It contains well-arranged specimens of the natural, particularly the mineral, products of Transylvania, with a small collection of pictures, and portraits of distinguished men. The department of antiquities, under the charge of its special curator, Mr. Finale, is particularly interesting. Transylvania, a part of the old province of Dacia, is very rich in remains of the Romans, who extensively worked its mines. This collection is filled with monuments of their former presence in the country. Here are deposited the waxen tablets, ascribed to the second century, which were found a few years ago in some adjoining gold-mines, accompanied by a braid of hair. There are three of

them. The first contains a bond for a loan and payment of interest; the second is a contract between an employer and a workman; the third, from its imperfect condition, is undecipherable. Apparently for greater security, these documents exist in a double form, written outside as well as within the tablet.

On Sunday morning we attended service in the Unitarian church at Clausenburg. A young candidate preached. The audience was not numerous. There was probably some exhaustion after the excitements of the foregoing week. The women and the men sate in different parts of the church; and the further end, fronting the entrance, was filled with the pupils and teachers of the Gymnasium and College. The service was very simple; in the predominance of the sermon over every other part, much resembling that of the Protestant churches in Germany. In the afternoon we had been invited to dine with Mr. Kelemen, a fine old gentleman and a zealous Unitarian, on the celebration of his 76th birthday. He had been steward to Baron Wesselenyi; and left guardian of his children. This trust he had executed with such ability and faithfulness, that he not only freed the estate from all encumbrances, but presented each of the sons on coming of age with a handsome sum of ready money. His country-house, where he is enjoying his old age amidst universal respect, in rural ease and abundance, is situated at Szucsák, in a beautiful wooded valley about ten or twelve miles from Clausenburg. We approached it over dilapidated bridges and most primitive roads, that must have tried the springs of Mr. Paget's carriage fearfully. Mr. Kelemen received us at the entrance of his grounds with that frank and unaffected courtesy which is characteristic of the Hungarians, and taking my daughter under his arm, led us to the part of the garden where the rest of his guests were assembled. He had invited about sixty. There were representatives of most of the Unitarian families in the neighbourhood, including the professors of Clausenburg, as well as others. It was an excellent opportunity of seeing something in its native, genuine form, of the profuse hospitality of Hungary. The company was dispersed in groups over the picturesque but somewhat wild and orchard-like garden; some sitting in a sheltered arbour, and partaking of the cake and liqueur which in this country always precede a

dinner. At dinner we were distributed through different apartments of a building in the grounds, at some distance from his proper residence—the hale old man, assisted by his niece, presiding with wonderful vigour and vivacity at the head of the principal table, and telling his guests that he hoped to see them again on a similar occasion that day ten years. A gypsy-band was stationed in an adjoining room; and music and speeches flowed on in unintermitted stream till the end of the feast. I was seated next the Bishop. In the course of the afternoon, he turned round to me quite unexpectedly, and addressed me very fluently in Latin—expressing in the kindest terms his fraternal regard for the English Unitarians, his grateful sense of the services material and spiritual which they had rendered to the Churches of Transylvania, and his hearty good wishes for my own and my daughter's safe return to our native shores, weaving into his speech a graceful use of the well-known Horatian words, "*Navis, quæ tibi creditum Debes,*" &c. I ought to have made a brief acknowledgment in Latin, which I could have done without much difficulty, had I been sufficiently collected. But I was taken so completely by surprise, and was so really touched by the kindness of his language and manner, that I rose impromptu to utter my thanks in German, and am only too sensible that I delivered myself in a very confused and imperfect manner. I was told, however, that I was quite understood. To make amends, I afterwards sent the good Bishop a few words in Latin, conveying more briefly and precisely what I had wished and meant to say. The day's festivities concluded with a ball; and we were glad to have an opportunity at last of seeing a Hungarian dance. It is full of life and expression—a great contrast to our cold and conventional movements. The gentlemen dance in Hessian boots, which form a part of the Hungarian full dress; and in their vigorous, animated footing, make a considerable noise on the floor and raise no little dust. On leaving Mr. Kelemen's hospitable abode, we found a party of Wallach peasants dancing to a gypsy-band at his gates. Their gesticulations were the wildest that can be conceived, quite in harmony with the music which inspired them. We drove home by moonlight, and reached Clausenburg without any mishap.

The hospitalities of our friends followed us beyond Clausenburg. The next day, when we were to set out on our

return home, we found that a most commodious carriage and four (the usual number of horses in travelling any distance in this country) had been provided for our conveyance to Grosswardein, and that we were to be accompanied by Mr. Simén and a pupil of his as far as Pesth. The Bishop and a number of other friends surrounded our carriage at parting, and bade us an affectionate farewell. Mr. Simén's intelligence and information rendered the early part of our journey homeward very agreeable. Many things which had excited an unsatisfied curiosity when we first passed through the country, he now fully explained to us. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the Transylvanians to the last. On arriving at the little Avar village, Bánfi Huryad, where we were to sleep, we found the inn crowded and all its rooms engaged. An Unitarian gentleman who filled some official position in the place, on hearing of this, succeeded in procuring us an apartment for the night, to the dispossession, I am afraid, of some previous occupant; and the same gentleman met us as we were driving out of the village, at an early hour next morning, with four bottles of excellent wine, and a jar of preserves for my daughter, which he begged us to accept for our refreshment on the journey. We witnessed some remarkable effects in traversing the great plain of Hungary. I should not have supposed beforehand, that so coarse a material as highway dust could ever have been converted into a source of beauty. But in this part of the country, partly as a consequence of the long-continued drought, it had become exceedingly thin and fine; and as we approached Grosswardein, permeated by the slant rays of the declining sun, it rose from the ground like a cloud of radiant gold, and enveloped in glory the figures of the peasants and their cattle as they stood out against the evening sky. Next day from the window of the railway carriage we distinctly observed a *mirage* on the extreme verge of the horizon—a lake or sea with its rippling waters and adjacent shore. Our pleasant travelling companions dined with us the last day that we were in Pesth; and we took leave of them with a grateful sense of all the kindness that we had experienced among their countrymen, and a hearty wish that these feelings of mutual regard might ever be cherished between countries which have so much in common as England and Hungary.

I have already remarked, that hitherto Unitarianism has

been confined to Transylvania, and has not as yet a single church in Hungary proper. In all probability, however, this will soon cease to be the case. Mr. Buzogany, late a Professor in the College at Clausenburg, and who will perhaps be remembered by some of my readers as having visited England several years ago, has recently been appointed private secretary to Baron Eotvos, Minister of Worship and Instruction at Pesth. There are many individual Unitarians in that capital; and Mr. Buzogany told me, that he meant to avail himself of the opportunities of his position for collecting there a church of Unitarian worshippers. The temper of the present liberal government would not be unfriendly to such an effort. There are other circumstances that would seem to favour the chance of ultimate success. A singular sect has sprung up within the last few years in Hungary, secret but widely diffused, which takes the name of Nazarenes. It is mainly an offshoot from the Catholic Church, a not unnatural result of extreme reaction against its dead formalism and externality. Its adherents have repudiated all Christian ordinances, and have substituted (something after the manner of the New Catholics in Germany) simple festivals of the seasons. They lay chief stress on the Unity of God, and believe, with much respect for his person and teaching, in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ. They have not yet ventured to form themselves into a church. They hold private and secret meetings. Bishop Kriza told me, that he had been in correspondence with them, and was in possession of some of their MSS. Could a simple, rational theology be preached to these people, it is hoped they might be disposed to listen to it, and ultimately become members of a Christian Church.* The history of their ancient but long depressed and persecuted religion is now an object of much interest and research to the Unitarian scholars of Transylvania. Mr. Jakab, the historian of Clausenburg, whose collection of rare old Unitarian books I have already alluded to, has been for years accumulating materials for such a work, which his access to the public archives and the post that he holds under government, afford him singularly favourable opportunities of obtaining: and Mr. Kovács, who

* Since writing the statement in the text, I learn by a letter recently received from Clausenburg, that a body of New Catholics in Vienna have signified to our friends in Transylvania a wish to join the Unitarian Church.

formerly visited England, now a very old man, living in retirement in the country, is understood to be working up the mass of rare and scattered information which he has spent a long life in collecting.

I found the feeling very general among the Transylvanians in favour of maintaining the connection with England, which has already been commenced in the practice of sending some of their young men to complete their studies in our colleges. Such change of scene and experience widens their views and develops their powers. Men who have been educated in England, are in request for higher positions. Mr. Paget, who is much interested in the matter, and at the same time a very competent judge, is of opinion, that if all these young men do not enter the ministry, they may still, by the liberal feelings and views which they will help to diffuse through the country, be of not less service to the general cause of truth and liberty with which Unitarianism is so closely identified. Every Englishman interested in the future of Hungary must feel how important it is, that the public opinion of that great and promising country should be liberal and enlightened, earnest and religious and yet free from all narrow sectarian prejudice. Hungary has still many difficulties before her, which only her own indomitable spirit and a close alliance with other free countries can enable her to vanquish. Her language, to which she is so enthusiastically attached, insulates her, it is true, to a certain extent from the rest of Europe; but her language is the nurse of her nationality; and her intense nationality, which has stood proof against the open and insidious assaults of so many centuries, is the surest guarantee for the preservation of those great principles of constitutional freedom which have been so long and so deeply interwrought with it. Least of all can England allow the extinction of such a member from the brotherhood of free peoples. May the bright hopes which are breaking on Hungary, realize themselves at length in indisputable historical fact! May she become the base of a grand *cordon sanitaire* of free institutions, stretching from the Carpathians to Scandinavia, to protect western Europe from the infection of the despotic principles which lie beyond it!

JOHN JAMES TAYLER.

II.—LIDDON AND RÉVILLE ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By Henry Parry Liddon, M.A. 3rd Edition. Rivingtons. London. 1868.

Histoire du Dogme de la Divinité de Jésus Christ. Par Albert Réville. Paris. 1869.

WE are frequently told that "this is an age of transition;" and though it is not always explained to us what was our starting-point and what will be our goal, we may perhaps accept, so far as the theological movement is concerned, the distance between our two authors as the measure of the change of this century. Only a year or so separates the publication of their books; but the one represents the dogmatism of fifty years ago, and it is possible that the other does no more than anticipate the freedom of fifty years hence.

The traditional method of theology gave way at the Reformation to the scriptural. A new reformation is effecting, only slowly and without so much noise, a like passage from the scriptural method to the method of history in the analysis of dogma, and the method of consciousness as the basis of faith. A fictitious unity is being analyzed into its original and real diversities. Energy, spirit, vigour, are breathed once more into the dry bones of the past. Instead of treating the records of the primitive church like some sacred mummy that must not be touched lest it should fall to pieces, a living image is presented to us, whose origin we may investigate, whose growth and development we may watch, whose maturity we may contemplate, till we behold its faith embalmed in creeds, and its practices swaddled in tradition. In short, it is at last becoming understood that a body of incomprehensible doctrine is not born full grown into the world at once, equipped with its armour of mystery and weapons of anathema, but that it is formed by slow degrees, fed by contributions from many sources, and developed under the varying influences of many minds.

Now of no doctrine is this more conspicuously true than of the Divinity of Christ, which, as it stands in our creeds, presents the final combination of two main lines of thought, the Hebraic and the Hellenic. According to Mr. Liddon,

however, who takes up the Protestant, with occasional leanings towards the Catholic position, that combination was formed instantaneously, simply by the revelation of the Son of God; according to M. Réville, who speaks from the historical point of view, it was the result of many centuries of speculation. The former is, therefore, obliged to find it stated within the limits of Scripture in terms as explicit as those of the Nicene Creed; the latter detects there only the seeds which afterwards bore the ripened fruit of orthodoxy. The one comes forward consequently as an advocate; for him the truth is shut up within the limits of the New Testament, and the history of the Church is only the sad tale of its wilful departures from it: the other surveys that history as a judge, knows of no finality of revelation, and quietly unfolds the steps by which the Church gradually enriched her conception of the person of Christ, and transformed the pure simplicity of his humanity into "consubstantiality" with the Father.

It is in strict accordance with Mr. Liddon's position that he is obliged to encumber himself with "the principle of the organic unity of Scripture," of which M. Réville would make but short work. Without stopping to inquire what claim these Scriptures—written in different languages anywhere between Babylon and Ephesus or Rome, and at any time within some twelve centuries—themselves set up for such unity, it is boldly assumed that "there is a sense common to all the sacred writers," no matter about what, or under what influences, or with what special beliefs, they wrote. It is truly astonishing what wonderful results are then evolved. From Chaos to the New Jerusalem there is but one revelation, unique and self-consistent. Already in the legends of the creation "the plural verb, 'let us make man,' points to a Plurality of Persons within the Unity of the One Agent, while the 'Likeness' common to All These Persons and itself One, suggests very pointedly Their Participation in an Undivided Nature;" and there is an "evident equality of rank between the Speaker and Those Whom He is addressing."* In the "priestly blessing prescribed for ritual usage," in "the Threefold rhythm of prayer and praise in the Psalter," "we discover a distinct

* P. 75.

limit to the number of Persons Who are hinted at as being internal to the Unity of God ;” and in the vision of Isaiah “a flood of almost Gospel light is poured upon the intelligence of the elder Church” !* The appearances of angels to Abraham, Jacob and Moses, to Balaam, Gideon and Manoah, are called in to “suggest as their natural climax some Personal Self-unveiling of God before the eyes of His creatures.”† Nor of course do the Messianic Prophecies and Psalms fail to contribute their quota of revelation concerning the Divinity of the Son, “whose Incarnation and Passion,” we are told, “is referred to (by Zechariah) in the clearest language as being that of Jehovah Himself.”‡

Passing from the Old to the New Testament, it is observed that the Catholic doctrine has this in its favour, “it takes for granted the only existing history of Christ.”§ And when we suggest that there are at least two, it is replied, on the authority of Dorner, “that a faith moulded in obedience to the synoptic tradition concerning Christ, *must have* essentially the same features in its resulting conception of Christ as those which belong to the Christ of St. John.”|| Every doctrinal statement is accordingly forced into harmony with the Christology of John. The “Word” of the Apocalypse is identified with the “Word” of the fourth Gospel ; and it is asserted that in Revelation Christ is “associated with the Father as being in truth the Almighty, Uncreated, Supreme God,”¶ notwithstanding that he is there distinctly asserted to have been created, and to have won divine glory only after his death upon the cross.** Moreover, the Epistle of James is treated as “related to the Pauline Epistles in the general scheme of the New Testament, as an explanatory codicil might be to a will ;”†† and the necessary basis of the moral teaching of the former is the Christology of the latter. Nor is it James and Paul only whose teaching is essentially the same ; but by a singular exegetical manipu-

* P. 77.

† P. 89.

‡ P. 135. We are at a loss to understand Mr. Liddon's theory of the incarnation. Is Jehovah one person or three ? If He is only one, then Mr. Liddon's doctrine becomes the Unitarian heresy of the Roman Bishop Zephyrinus ; if He is three, what about the creeds which declare that it was only the second Person of the Trinity who became incarnate in Christ ?

§ P. 230.

|| P. 380.

¶ P. 364.

** Réville, p. 24. Apoc. iii. 14, v. 6.

†† P. 426.

lation, the "engrafted word" which the twelve tribes are exhorted to "receive with meekness," is identified with the *Logos* of the fourth Gospel and "the Person of Jesus Christ Himself,"* and a triumphant harmony is established between James and John. The same doctrine is ingeniously detected in the first Epistle of Peter, to say nothing of his discourses in the Acts;† and our author, then passing on to the second, and ignoring the undoubted difference of authorship, declares that "throughout this Epistle Jesus Christ is evidently and constantly in the place of God. The apostle does not merely proclaim the Divinity of Jesus in formal terms; he everywhere feels and implies it."‡ And in like manner the Pauline titles of "Son" and "Image" are made to do duty for the "Son" and the "Word" of John, by means of the following assumptions: "As the Son, Christ is eternally derived from the Father, and He is of One Substance with the Father. As 'the Image,' Christ is, in that One Substance, the exact likeness of the Father, in all things except being the Father. The 'Image' is originally God's unbegun, unending reflection of Himself in Himself; . . . Christ is the Adequate Image of God, God's Self-reflection in His Own thought, eternally present with Himself."§ Moreover, "although throughout this Epistle the word *Logos* is never introduced, it is plain that the 'Image' of St. Paul is equivalent in His rank and functions to the 'Word' of St. John. Each exists prior to creation; each is the One Agent in creation; each is a Divine Person; each is equal with God, and shares His essential life; each is really none other than God."||

M. Réville, it must be confessed, reads his Bible to a very different purpose. Did we possess no other records of Christ's ministry than the Gospel of Mark and the discourses of the apostles in the Acts, all the Christology of the New Testament would be reduced to this, that Jesus of Nazareth was "a prophet mighty in deed and word, made by God both Lord and Christ." The title "Son of Man," by which Jesus invariably described himself, was evidently not generally understood as synonymous with "Messiah," inasmuch as Peter's declaration, "Thou art the Christ," was

* P. 432.

† P. 439.

‡ P. 451.

§ P. 475.

|| P. 479.

attributed to a special revelation.* M. Réville explains the opinion Jesus appears to have held about himself by saying that he had a clear consciousness of a divine vocation, which called him to found the pure human religion, the germs of which were contained in the law and the prophets of his people. Persuaded that no work, no mission, could be superior to that, and that upon it depended the future of his people and of the world, this consciousness identified itself in his mind with that of being the true Messiah, after whom it was superfluous to expect another. Accordingly his disciples began to salute the Messiah in the Son of Man, and an enthusiastic attachment to his person—faith in him—was confounded with the adoption of his religion.†

Accordingly in the earliest writings which proceeded from the circle of his intimate friends, the representations of him do not much depart from this main idea. While his person appears in the book of Revelation (date about A.D. 68) invested with divine honours, which he has won for himself by his victory over death, he is still the child of his nation, even though "caught up unto God." The genealogies of Matthew and Luke, in like manner, which aim at exhibiting his descent from David in support of his Messianic title, trace his lineage, not through Mary,—which would be essential on the theory of the miraculous conception,—but through his proper father Joseph. Of any supernatural birth, Mark, Paul and John tell us nothing. But it was the natural tendency of the Hebrew people, as of many others, to believe that its great heroes had not entered the world in the customary way. The birth of Isaac, Samson, Samuel, had already something miraculous. John the Baptist was to be filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb.‡ But for Jesus a still higher dignity was reserved. Superior to all these who had *received* the Holy Spirit from their earliest years, he must have been *conceived* by it. This method of indicating the absolute

* In Matthew; but in Mark, traditionally called the Petrine form of the Gospel, this is all omitted, and Christ is not even declared to be "the Son of the Living God." Compare with this a very curious passage in the Clem. Hom., xvi. 16, where this is referred to. Simon Magus asks, "Does it not seem to you that he who is from God, is God?" And Peter replies, "Shew us how this can be; for we are not able to tell you this, for we never heard it from him."

† P. 21.

‡ Cf. Job xxxi. 18; Ps. li. 5.

character of his inspiration materialized itself in the narratives of the miraculous conception. But that it was originally only a figurative expression appears from a curious passage in the Gospel of the Hebrews (perhaps the oldest of all), in which Jesus is reported to have said, "The Holy Spirit *my mother* took me by one of my hairs and carried me up on to the mountain of Tabor."*

Outside the circles, however, in which the Christian traditions were reduced into our first three Gospels, and long before these received their final form, another and profoundly original view of Christ had sprung up, bearing the impress of the mind of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Faithful to the innermost thought of his Master, he replaced the Jewish principle of observance of the law by that of inward spiritual freedom; laid anew the foundations of religious life for the building up of the perfect man in Christ Jesus; and was contented with no less a destiny for his "little children" than that Christ should be formed in them. M. Réville remarks that he appears to have given so exclusive a prominence to the person of Jesus, that Christianity, instead of being the faith of Christ, became decidedly faith in Christ. This tendency manifested itself in the gradual elevation of his person, and renders it difficult to combine all the elements of the Pauline Christology into one harmonious whole. Nevertheless, one thing may be said with certainty; the title "Son of God," as it is used of Jesus by Paul, denotes an inequality with the Father. Whatever divine attributes he possesses have been communicated to him by the free will of God; and his actual glory is represented as a recompence awarded to him for his sacrifice. Even though pre-existent,† he is reckoned among created beings; though in him dwells the fulness of the Godhead, it is that we may be filled with it in him; and when all those who have been born again, put on the new creature, and assumed his glorified humanity, are become like him, then his superiority over them will exist no more; his royalty will cease; he will resign it to the Father, and stand on an equality with his brethren and joint-heirs, and God shall be all in all.

* Hilgenfeld, *Nazæorum Evangelium*. Jerome in Micah vii. 6.

† But see M. Réville's interesting remarks on the Rabbinical notion of *ideal* pre-existence, p. 34.

We are yet a long way from the Nicene doctrine of Consubstantiality, which Mr. Liddon intrepidly declares was "the faith from the first of the whole Catholic church of Christ."* Peter and the eleven, in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, with their crowd of eager listeners, and Paul standing on Mars Hill before his audience half-earnest and half-scoffing, were but poor representatives of the august orthodoxy—though it did wrangle a little—of the Fathers in the council-chamber of Nicæa. Alas, it will go hard with apostles and evangelists! Will they see themselves "thrust out"?

Thus, then, at the end of the first century, the doctrine of the person of Christ is still vague and indeterminate. In Palestine there remain the descendants of the primitive believers, who cling to their first faith in the man Christ Jesus, son of Joseph and Mary, possessed of the Spirit of God. The "Shepherd of Hermas" endeavours to conciliate the old simplicity of doctrine with the newer and more expanded views, by representing the Son of God anterior to the creation, not as Christ, but as the Holy Spirit conceived as a sort of personal being or archangel. This holy pre-existent spirit, that created every creature, God made to dwell in flesh; and this flesh, having always obeyed the Holy Spirit and rightly acted as its servant, was received unto God. The idea here is plainly expressed that the man Jesus became the Son of God through his uniform self-surrender and co-operation with the Spirit, and was rewarded by being received by God as a "fellow-councillor" in the heavenly kingdom.† And in the strange religious romance known as the Clementine Homilies, which was so popular among certain sections of Christians of the second century, Christ is represented as no other than the primitive Man, who appeared successively as a prophet of truth in Adam and Enoch, Noah and Abraham, Moses and the prophets, and finally in Jesus. That which was divine in Jesus was the spirit of truth, which played upon these men as on an instrument, and brought forth tones which reached their complete and divinest harmony in Christ. And if we pass from the Eastern churches to the Greek or Egyptian, we find a like indeterminateness in doctrine concerning the

* P. 25.

† Similitude vi. 5.

person of Jesus. Barnabas, writing apparently to Alexandria, in the midst of many trifling interpretations of Scripture, explains that it was the pre-existent Christ (distinguished from the man Jesus) to whom God said, "Let us make man in our own image,"—who also inspired the prophets, and finally clothed himself with flesh with the singular purpose of bringing to a head the sum of the sins of those who had persecuted his prophets to the death.* Clement describes him, in his letter to the Corinthian church, as the sceptre of the majesty of God, and the dispenser of immortal knowledge, to whom God gave commission to preach the gospel, even as he himself did to his apostles.† And the author of the second Epistle calls him "spirit" before he came in the flesh, and tells his readers that they should think of Christ as of a god,—an expression which indicates that the church would henceforth recruit itself from amidst Western populations which were less afraid—they deified Commodus when they were told to do so—than the Jews to apply such a name to a created being.

The way was thus being prepared for that strange development of Christian idealism, which reduced the human nature of Christ to a mere phantom, destitute of all reality. Despising the vulgar and coarse conceptions of the multitude, the Gnostic teachers declared themselves possessed of an esoteric knowledge which they pretended to trace up to Christ himself. In their view, the two extremes in the scale of existence were spirit and matter, which, so far from being forms or modes of the same ultimate ground of being, were eternally repugnant and opposed. The interval, therefore, between God and the world, they conceived to be filled up with a number of æons or personifications of divine ideas, the totality of which constituted the fulness of perfection. The Gnostics identified the last of these æons, the nearest to our world, the Demiurgus or Artificer, with Christ. But to such a theory the gospel history offered a series of most terrible perplexities. How could such a spirit be united to a sensible body? The knot was cut in two ways; either the invisible Christ was removed from the human Jesus during his temptations and sufferings, or he was endowed merely with an apparent body, which only seemed to

* Ep. Barnabas, v.

† Ep. Clem. I. xvi. xxxvi. xlii.

eat and drink, to suffer and to die. This singular phase of Christianity, which had its undoubted origin in the desire to glorify Christ, recoiled upon its authors. All religious and moral grandeur was stripped from the gospel history (which, moreover, they manipulated as they pleased), and the most perfect sacrifice of will which the world has ever beheld, was represented as nothing more than a delusion and a pretence.

But, nevertheless, Gnosticism was only in the second century the exaggeration of the rapidly growing tendency to exalt as far as possible the person of Christ. Already Pliny had described, in his well-known letter to Trajan, the vitality and increase of this "perverse and immoderate superstition." But happily the idea that Jesus had revealed the eternal and universal religion for which prophets and philosophers had so long waited, was assuming a visible form in the daily extension of Christianity. And as it spread, the Hebraic faith which had already reached its highest pitch in the ascription to Jesus of Messianic glory and the fulfilment of the national destiny, came into contact with that Hellenic thought which gradually supplanted Jewish expectation; and offered to that fertile genius which had already divinized its ideal of strength and physical beauty as well as of intellectual majesty, the new and incomparable expression of moral dignity and religious truth. And thus a philosophic doctrine, born in Greece and nurtured in Egypt, whose contemporary form had only been determined by centuries of growth, connected itself with the new faith; nay more, identified itself with the earliest belief of the first disciples, penetrated its essence so completely that it has ever since served as the most spiritual expression that could be given of it, and still addresses itself to us with the sanction of every age of Christendom as the final revelation of the Beloved Son.

The origin of the philosophical form of "the Word" is so well known, that we need here only allude to it. Tracing its descent from Jewish monotheism and Greek idealism, it was "permitted," according to Mr. Liddon, who does not despise the "historical method" when it interferes with none of his favourite dogmas, "to determine the providential form of Christian doctrine."* For almost at the same time that

* P. 106.

Jesus was first clearly enunciating the real Fatherhood of God in relation to our common humanity, his contemporary Philo was evolving His metaphysical Fatherhood to explain the connection of the Creator with His universe. But for the Father who has sent His spirit into our hearts, and thus made us His sons, Philo substituted a God most remote from this world, a God who, having delegated creative and organizing power to His Word, and thus constituted it a second God, "reigned but did not govern,"* and employed this lieutenant, this "improper God," to manage human destiny and reveal Him to the world, alike through Hebrew prophet and Greek philosopher.

Now it would have been in the last degree surprising, if, when Christianity had been brought into contact with this refined philosophy, the relation of the two had been grasped in precisely the same manner by speculative and uncultivated minds, alike by Syrian peasant, Alexandrian dialectician and Roman noble. Mr. Liddon, indeed, who admits for the doctrine of the Logos a development prior to its Christian application, will admit of none after it; and he is thrown into much perplexity to explain how it is that the fathers of the second and third centuries, "while they held the perfect faith," should have expressed themselves with such distressing ambiguity. If we strike off his assumption, we shall not find it so difficult.

For when, perhaps as early as the commencement of the second century, this doctrine began to naturalize itself in Christianity, it was impossible but that that which had begun as speculation, should pass only by easy stages into faith. And therefore, when John and Justin, Irenæus and Tertullian, Clement and Origen, expound in different language the relation of the Word to God, and of the Word to Jesus, so far from being astonished or distressed, we find simply what we should expect. And it appears to us a most extraordinary reversal of historic judgment to assign inferior weight to the testimony of the writers of the second century about *their own* faith, while the fathers of the fourth or fifth are credited with supernatural knowledge all about it.

Let us, then, briefly investigate the various combinations of the doctrine of the Word with Christian belief, which the second century presents.

* M. Nicolas.

We are not concerned to settle the *questio verata* of the authorship of the fourth Gospel. But we cannot help expressing surprise at the glibness of Mr. Liddon's declaration, that "it is scarcely too much to assert that every decade of the second century furnishes its quota of proof that the four Gospels as a whole, and St. John's in particular, were to the church of that age what they are to the church of the present."* We cannot stop to examine the various groundless assumptions in this single sentence, which can be surely demonstrably proved to "assert" a great deal "too much." But the authorship of the fourth Gospel is a matter of comparative indifference to the question we are considering, if it can be shewn (1) that whatever doctrine of the divinity of Christ this Gospel teaches, it does not, as Mr. Liddon declares, "proclaim it in terms as explicit as those of the Nicene Creed;"† and (2) that it is only one of several combinations of Greek thought and Christian faith.

Mr. Liddon, indeed, conceives that the poem alone "would suffice to teach the believer in Holy Scripture the truth of the absolute Godhead of Jesus Christ."‡ Nevertheless, the Gospel declares that the Father is "the only true God,"—an expression never used of the Son, who is most carefully distinguished from Him, and is represented as being simply *gifted* with the spirit, only without measure. Moreover, the Son can do nothing of himself, is obedient to the Father, and rejects all intention of making himself equal to Him. And thus he can only be called God (or a God) in a restricted sense, doubtless superior to, but at bottom analogous to, that in which the name had been already applied to the judges of Israel. Again, on one of the fundamental points of the Nicene theology, the doctrine of John absolutely contradicts it. The eternity of the Word, one of the stones of offence of orthodoxy, is really excluded by the language of the fourth Gospel. Mr. Liddon, indeed, says that "clearly the term Logos denotes at the very least something intimately and everlastingly present with God, something as internal to the Being of God as is thought to the soul of man. The Divine Logos is God reflected in His Own Eternal Thought; in the Logos God is His own object. The Infinite Thought, the reflection

* P. 314.

† P. 400.

‡ P. 337.

and counterpart of God, subsisting in God as a Being or Hypostasis, and having a tendency to self-communication,—such is the Logos. The Logos is the Thought of God, subsisting with the intensity of a personal form. . . . The Word is not merely a Divine Being, but he is in the absolute sense God.* “What this may be we know not,” but it is surely very different from the Johannine Word, who, instead of being from eternity, i.e. *without beginning*, was simply “*from the beginning*”;† and so far from being co-equal with the Father, has only “received” from Him the spirit, glory and power. And although the Word became *flesh*, it is not represented as becoming *man*; the incarnate Word is one indivisible person instead of two; and the expression, Son of God, is employed alike of his pre-existence and of his manifestation in the flesh. Accordingly, although the wants of the body, i.e. the *sensuous* consciousness, have to be supplied, and Jesus eats and drinks, his *rational* consciousness is not that of an ordinary human being;‡ and he undergoes no baptism, is exposed to no temptation,§ glorified by no transfiguration, tried by no agony. The metaphysical point of view is, however, occasionally abandoned, in favour of the humanitarian, especially in the identification of the Greek “Word” with the Hebrew “Messiah.” In like manner, the expressions which represent him as “sent,” as “coming from God,” “from above,” “from heaven,” as accredited by “works,” as “sanctified,” “sealed,” “testified to,” are evidence of the desire of the writer to combine the primitive teaching, which spoke of Christ much as the Old Testament might have spoken of some prophet, with the philosophical speculations of the true gnosis. Mr. Liddon is not unconscious of some difficulty of this kind; for he admits that “John’s translation of the divine words of Christ may have been coloured by the phraseological terms of the school which he was address-

* Pp. 341, 342.

† Reuss, *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique*.

‡ Cf. the interesting remarks of M. Réville on the distinction between the use of *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, p. 51.

§ The difficulty of orthodoxy is thus avoided; how could a sinless nature be tempted? The Archbishop of York remarks, that “it was the trial of One Who could not possibly have fallen. This makes a complete conception of the temptation impossible for minds wherein temptation is always associated with the possibility of sin.”—Smith’s Dict. of the Bible, art. Jesus Christ.

ing.* We are at a loss to reconcile this hypothesis of "colouring" with his theory of inspiration. Either Christ's discourses are reported literally word for word, or they are not. If they are, what becomes of the "colouring"? and if they are not, is the Holy Spirit chargeable with the alteration?

The co-equality and co-eternity of the Word with the Father are no more distinctly asserted in the writings of Justin Martyr (about 114—165 A.D.), a philosopher of Ephesus, than in the Gospel of John, with which it cannot be *proved* that Justin was acquainted. Mr. Liddon certainly says "that Justin's testimony to John is peculiarly distinct;"† yet if so we cannot help remarking that it is singular he should not once have quoted from his writings. Be this as it may, however, Justin's doctrine is as far removed from the Nicene standard, as that of the author of the fourth Gospel. His representation of God is that of a Being abstract and ineffable; and it is the Word which, being, so to speak, projected from Him at a given moment by an effort of His power and will, bridges over the abyss which exists between the finite and the Infinite, the incomprehensible Absolute and the sensible universe. God is not, however, diminished by this manifestation of Himself, any more than one flame is lessened by kindling another flame. But this divine flame, this ray of the Father's brightness, produced out of His essence, is not necessarily a person distinct from the Father. His exact relation to God, and place in the scale of being, are still left indeterminate: he is sometimes no more than the first-born of created things, formed by the divine will; sometimes the first of the "powers" which emanated from the absolute omnipotence. He is always carefully discriminated from the Father who is the absolute God (*ὁ ὕψις Θεός*), "the unbegotten God, the unspeakable Father and Lord of all and of Christ himself," while the Word is described simply as a god "ap-

* P. 335.

† P. 320. Mr. Liddon quotes Mr. Westcott's remark about Justin (Canon of the New Testament, p. 145), that "he exhibits types of language and doctrine which, if not immediately drawn from St. John, yet mark the presence of his influence and the recognition of his authority" (p. 321, note); but he does not allude to Mr. Westcott's candid admission just before, that "Justin's references to John are uncertain." Cf. also Scholten, *Die Aeltesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, p. 20.

pointed under the authority of the Father and Lord, and ministering to His will." The only unity which exists between them is that of agreement of will, the will of the Son being always submissive to that of the Father, and hence "he is held *only in the second place*." Moreover, so shifting is Justin's conception and so loose his expression, that he often identifies the "Word" and the "Spirit;" and speaks now of the one, and now of the other, as having manifested themselves in the prophets. Each is called the "Wisdom of God;" and, finally, not even personality is always ascribed to them, for Justin remarks that "he is aware that some"—and he does not anathematize them—"maintain that the Word was indivisible and inseparable from the Father, whereas it is his opinion that it is indeed numerically distinct, begotten from the Father by His power and will."

In the same manner, another philosopher, Athenagoras (177 A.D.), describes the Son of God as simply the Word or Reason or Understanding of the Father in idea and operation; they are one in power and spirit, and the Logos, so far from being a separate person, is simply "the instrument by which the one God, uncreated, eternal, invisible, creates the universe and keeps it in order." Irenæus (Bishop of Lyons about 180—200 A.D.) is as little orthodox; for the personal distinction between the Father and the Son is sometimes made to disappear entirely. The Son is the visible of the Father (*"whom alone the Scriptures acknowledge as God"*), and the Father is the invisible of the Son. What is this but almost to deny the personality of both, and reduce them to two modes of the same existence? And his favourite comparison of the Son and the Spirit to the "two Hands" of God, exhibits them in the same way simply as unconscious organs of the Divine activity. Nor is his doctrine of Christ's human nature more orthodox; for he insists much on the idea that human nature, corrupted by Adam, needed in order to be saved to present itself pure and holy before God in the person of its second chief, namely, Christ. In spite, however, of the unity of nature between the Word and the man Jesus, in order to escape the scandal of a crucified God, Irenæus could find no better way than to represent the Word as "reposing," while Jesus was tempted, crucified and slain!

It is accordant with this variety of doctrine that although Tertullian (of Carthage, about 150—220 A.D.) is in one respect one of the ancestors of the orthodoxy of the creeds, inasmuch as he teaches in express terms a doctrine of the Trinity, he is yet a long way off the standard of Athanasius. Nor is his conception of the Son at all more in harmony with the Nicene; for though, as Mr. Liddon reminds us, he speaks of the Son as constituted "of unity with the substance of the Father," nevertheless nothing is farther from his thought than "eternal generation." In fact, he declares that "there was a time when there was neither son nor Son, to make the Lord both Judge and Father;" and he knows the precise moment at which the generation of the Word took place, viz., when God uttered the words, "Let there be light." And thus he applies to the Word indifferently the expressions "made," "engendered," "created;" he describes him as an extension and ray of the Father; and it is this inferior god, who, having "fallen" into a certain virgin, became "embodied," as though there were in Jesus nothing but the divine Reason clothed with a human body and sensibility.

How far from fixed was the doctrine of the Logos, and its relations to God and to Jesus, at the commencement of the third century, and what freedom was allowed to speculation concerning it, may be gathered from its singular development in the celebrated Alexandrian school, the chief seat of the Christian gnosis. It was the special function of this school to maintain the perpetuity and the universality of the divine inspiration; and its fundamental principle was that "in all ages, wisdom entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets."* And so its teachers did not shut out from the circle of revelation, at the centre of which stood Jewish faith, the speculations of philosophers, and even the superstitions of barbarians. They quoted Sophocles as a witness to the unity of God as readily as Isaiah, and declared that the "Word" or the "Holy Spirit" (it was almost indifferent which) had not been an entire stranger to Plato any more than to Moses. In this catholic spirit the learned Clement (about 150—220 A.D.), who succeeded the philosopher Pantænus at the head of the

* *Wisd. of Sol.* vii. 27.

catechetical school of Alexandria, surveyed the history of the past; and added to Paul's profound remark that "the law had been a schoolmaster to bring the Jews to Christ," a second great historic generalization, that "*philosophy* had been the schoolmaster to bring the Greeks to Christ." Nevertheless, while he thus genially recognized that the providence of God had wider limits than the guidance and inspiration of the Jewish race alone, it was the tendency of his theology to sublimate the idea of God to such a point that it finished by falling into a pure abstraction. And hence he clings tenaciously to the doctrine of the Word, which offers to him a God who, in being the "minister" of the Most High, shall be also our "instructor," and capable of making those who receive his instructions godlike. But the Word was united with the body of Jesus simply, without the medium of any human soul, which would have been degrading to a divine Being; and thus "when he ate, it was not through his body," but "he was absolutely without feeling, and capable of sustaining neither pleasure nor pain"! And Clement, surely by a strange freak of orthodoxy, is a canonized saint.

It is not, however, to him, but to his disciple Origen, that modern orthodoxy owes the most; for it was the latter who enriched the doctrine of the Word with the conception, hitherto undeveloped, of his "everlasting generation." Origen, like Shelley, could not bear the idea of "God waking up from an eternity of idleness." And though, when the question was asked, "What was God doing before he made the world?" Irenæus had already replied, "The answer to such a question lies with God Himself,"—Origen did not think so. The perpetual solitude of God must have been relieved by the companionship of a Son. He who is out of all relations of time, to whom all things are present, who is the "eternal Now," must have devised some means of entering into time, and finally communicating with humanity. And inasmuch as this process—called generation—can never have begun and can never end, but must always be going on, it is called "everlasting;" "the Father did not beget the Son, but He *is always begetting* him." It was the result of this perpetuity of emanation, that the Son is scarcely conceived by Origen as a personality distinct from the Father, but he describes him simply as a "ray of His glory."

But, again, the Son, although everlasting, is not of the same substance with the Father, but he is "other in substance and subject to Him."* So far was he from recognizing their consubstantiality, that he declares to Celsus that "Christians worship the Father of truth, and His Son the truth, being two in substance, but one in concord and harmony and sameness of will;" and he ascribed to the Son only a second place, and to the Holy Spirit (created by the Son!) only a third place in the rank of heavenly existences,—“the power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and Holy Spirit, that of the Son more than that of the Holy Spirit, and that of the Holy Spirit is superior to that of all other sacred things.” Finally, the basis of Origen's thought is Unitarian,† and his different representations of Jesus amount to this, that he is one of us, united to the Deity in the closest manner through the medium of the Word, by moral sublimity and harmony of will. His disciple Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, did not hesitate to say that the Son of God was a product and a creature, and therefore not everlasting; nor was he identical with, but foreign to, the substance of the Father, and no more the same in essence than are the husbandman and the vine, the sailor and the ship. But Origen, however, carried up into the celestial regions the point of view which modern Unitarianism applies only to the earthly life of Christ. Such unorthodox notions, together with his favourite and charitable idea of the final re-union of all creatures—even of the devil—in God, incurred subsequent condemnation, and only had a passing influence on the constitution of ecclesiastical dogma. But his great conception of the everlasting generation of the Word was destined, on the other hand, to give, both directly and indirectly, an extraordinary elevation to the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.

Nor was there a greater unity of opinion to be found in Syria or Italy than in Gaul or Egypt. That form of Jewish Christian Unitarianism which had been the orthodoxy of the first days, had remained the faith of a considerable section in Palestine, Syria and Decapolis. That the Ebion-

* But compare in Com. in Ps. cxxxv., ὁ σωτὴρ οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐσίαν ἰστί Θεός. Gieseler, Vol. I. p. 240.

† Réville, p. 62.

ites were a body by no means insignificant is shewn by one fact alone, that from them appear to have proceeded no less than three versions of the Old Testament, under the names of Theodotion, Symmachus and Aquila. Even within the limits of this community, however, the influence of Western thought was not unfelt; and while one party rejected, the other admitted, the narratives of the miraculous conception. Nor was this primitive faith confined to the lineal descendants of the first believers; but it appears in the second century in Rome, when Theodotus, a shoemaker of Byzantium, maintained Jesus to be simply a man, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and declared that he would hold by the Christ of the first three Gospels. Moreover, when Zephyrinus was installed in the episcopal chair in the holy city about the year 200 A.D., the followers of Theodotus and his contemporary Artemon asserted that till that time the faith of the Christians of Rome had not differed from theirs. Parallel, however, with this movement which preserved the unity of God by denying divinity to Christ, and admitting him to union with the Father only by a common inspiration and obedience, was another singular manifestation of the Unitarian tendency, which went by the name of Monarchianism, and appears to have been imported from Asia by a certain Praxeas, who was sent as an envoy to Rome from the Eastern episcopate. To maintain the unity of God, and at the same time save the divinity of Christ, he was obliged to sacrifice his humanity; and though it is possible that his Eastern modes of expression signified nothing more than that Christ was "possessed" by the Spirit of God, nevertheless his bitter opponent Tertullian represented him as asserting that it was the Father who in Christ had been tempted, had suffered and been slain. At all events, this doctrine afforded one mode of preserving the uni-personality of God together with the divinity of Christ; and accordingly the Bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus and Callistus, are stated to have been successively raised to the episcopal chair by means of the great influence of those who held their opinions, viz., that "the Father and the Son were one and the same God, styled by different names, according to the vicissitude of times." Callistus, with more subtlety than Zephyrinus, who is said to have known of "only one God, Jesus Christ, and of none other that was begotten or

amenable to suffering," had recourse to the doctrine which Irenæus appears likewise to have held, that the Father and the Son are two modes of the same existence, the one being God invisible, the other God visible, so that the Father had not actually suffered, but had only been a fellow-sufferer with the Son!*

Whence came, however, this singular attempt to avoid what appeared to minds of inferior subtlety nothing better than Ditheism? Once more from the East, where the primitive faith of monotheism could not yield without many struggles against the prevailing tendencies of the West to break it up by the introduction of the divine person of the Son. Noetus, whose doctrines Callistus had introduced at Rome, found a more famous disciple in Sabellius, presbyter of Ptolemais (about 250—260 A.D.). The doctrine of the "Word" had penetrated too deeply into Christian faith to be now rejected from it; and the history of the theology of the second and third centuries is nothing else than a history of the various attempts to reconcile its manifestation in Christ with the divine unity. Sabellius, instead of finding in the Word a divine person, produced either perpetually or once for all at a given moment from the Father, to serve as His instrument of creation and the mediator between spirit and matter, conceived it as the principle of an intra-divine movement which caused the unity of God to assume three different phases. God, by means of the Word, became successively Father, Son and Spirit,† names which designate not three distinct persons, but three different modes or manifestations of the one Deity, corresponding to so many periods of history. Accordingly, in the law, God manifested Himself as the Father; in the gospel, as the Son; and in the church, as the Spirit. This doctrine of "manifestations" lies at the bottom of all those analogies, through which it is attempted (by Augustine as well as by Mr. Liddon) to relieve the obscurity of the Trinity, by comparing it, for example, to the three-fold action of the sun, his substance, light and heat; to the mysterious nature of man, body, soul and spirit; or to the three powers of the

* Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*, ix. 56.

† Mr. Liddon does not seem to us to have entirely escaped this rock, when he describes the Word as "God reflected in His own Eternal Thought" (p. 341). So difficult is it for orthodoxy to be self-consistent.

human mind, knowledge, love and will. But three qualities of one person are not three persons of one being.

Nor was the other form of Monarchianism, which had appeared at Rome under Theodotus a century before, unrepresented in the East. Already Beryllus, of Bostra in Arabia, had refused to accept the personal pre-existence of Jesus, and made his divine character to consist in the submission of his will before the Spirit of God. It was reserved, however, for the Bishop of Antioch, Paul of Samosata, to raise this rational Unitarianism to the height of a philosophical theory, and, moreover, to give occasion to the Church for the most curious self-stultification. God was one:—that was his fundamental principle. His Logos was in Him simply the principle of thought, as is "reason in the heart of man." This divine Reason energized through Jesus, who, in virtue of complete sacrifice of will, became one with God and the Saviour of his race.

It is possible that it was not only for such a dreadful heresy as this that three Councils were held at Antioch, by which in the year 269 A.D. Paul was finally deposed. The Bishop, however, was a man of the world, if also a theologian; civil magistrate as well as ecclesiastical functionary; affable, eloquent and beloved, not only in the Syrian metropolis, but throughout the province. It was in vain that his enemies attacked his character, blackened his reputation, loaded him with abuse. For three years his diocese gallantly maintained their Bishop in his see against the authority of the Councils. Protected by the powerful Queen Zenobia, who sympathized with his theological views, he held bravely to his post. But when the war with Aurelian ended disastrously for the Eastern Queen, the Emperor declared he would have no Bishops in Syria who would not agree with the Bishops of Rome, whom he had under his own control. Paul was exiled, and he died in obscurity; though his influence maintained a Paulinian party till the end of the fourth century.

But the Council of Antioch, which condemned the heresy of Paul, established at the same time that the Son was not "consubstantial" (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the Father.

There yet remained one step more to be taken to the doctrine of the Nicene Creed. The Son is represented as divine, but not (absolute) God. It is yet open to the Church

to compromise the further exaltation of the person of Christ, and retain the strict unity of God, or to raise the Son to the highest point of co-equality, co-eternity and consubstantiality with the Father. Was Arius or Athanasius to prevail?

During the third century the different theological schools had been busy over the person of Christ; and the speculative school of Alexandria, the exegetical of Syria, and the traditional of Rome, had each of them advanced along rather different lines of thought, in the general direction, however, of the exaltation of his nature. Hilarius, Bishop of Poitiers (about 350 A.D.), indeed laments that Christians cannot be satisfied with fulfilling the plain duty of "adoring the Father, venerating the Son, and abounding in the Holy Spirit;" and that consequently the teachers of the church are compelled to unfold that which is inexplicable, and to speak that which ought not to be uttered. But these differences were not to be tolerated long; the tendency to unification, which had displayed itself in various ways during the third century—especially in the growth of a "rule of faith," and the gradual reduction of the different collections of Holy Scriptures to one uniform type—was to invade the sphere of doctrine also, and an authoritative declaration of belief was to be put forth as a standard of orthodoxy and a rallying-point against heretics. It was the quarrel of an Egyptian bishop and one of his subordinates which at last caused the results of three centuries of speculation concerning the person of Christ to be gathered up in the Nicene Creed.

Among the clergy of Alexandria at the beginning of the fourth century was a presbyter named Arius, by birth and education a Syrian. He was a young man of pure morals and great eloquence; and the earnestness with which he devoted himself to the instruction of the poor, won him the esteem and affection not merely of his parish, but of the whole community. Moreover, it was in Alexandria, remarks M. Réville, that the episcopate had still the greatest trouble in imposing its authority upon the presbyters, and it is possible that the increasing influence of the presbyter, and the perhaps unconscious jealousy which he inspired in the Bishop, were not entirely foreign to the origin of the controversy. Be it as it may, Arius had come from Antioch

armed with an exact knowledge of Christian literature, a strong antipathy to Sabellianism, and a lively taste for dialectic. The point of departure for his theology was the subordination of the Son to the Father, on which, he said, every one was agreed. But if so, he had not all that the Father had, he was not equal to Him, he was not absolute God. Not being equal, he was not of the same substance; for were he so, inasmuch as that substance is perfect, there would be two perfect, equal and absolute Gods, which was absurd. The Son, then, was not co-eternal nor consubstantial with the Father. Accordingly he took up the formulæ by which Dionysius (and in fact Tertullian before him) had already expressed the doctrine that the Son had not in himself the principle of existence, but had received it from the Father, and it became the key-note of the controversy—*ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*, there was a time when he was not.

It was the last attempt to resist the encroaching tide of popular enthusiasm for the person of Christ. Arius was deposed and excommunicated by a Council at Alexandria held 321 A.D. But he had friends in Syria; they were powerful, they sheltered and helped him. Among others, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, and the historian Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, interfered in his favour, and endeavoured to patch up the quarrel. The partizans of the disputants hastened to range themselves on opposite sides; and Constantine, who did not know what difference an *i* could make, was exceedingly annoyed with a movement which threatened to prevent the realization of his charming design of universal unification. It was in vain that the amiable Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, went to and fro between the contending parties; innumerable journeys were made, letters written; but in the frenzy of religious excitement none would listen to reason. Constantine was in despair. At length the imperial mandate went forth; and upwards of three hundred bishops, and a crowd of presbyters, deacons, acolytes and laymen, representing the "collective wisdom" of Christendom, assembled at the great Council of Nicæa in the year 325 A.D. The Bishop of Alexandria sent one of his deacons to plead his cause—Athanasius; and on behalf of the recalcitrant presbyter appeared the influential prelates of Nicomedia and Cæsarea. The vast assembly sat

in the great hall of state expectant. Constantine entered, gorgeously dressed, with majestic person, but with modest demeanour, as befitted even the Emperor of the World before the collective authority of the Church. A hymn was sung; Constantine addressed to the Council a short exhortation to unity; and the debate began. But what a debate! Constantine had to burn the libels which the bishops presented to him against one another! For two whole months it continued, "like a battle in the night," as one of the historians says, for neither party would see the meaning of the other. The majority of the Council were neither with Arius nor Athanasius. The latter they accused of innovation. It is probable that they would have welcomed a declaration which would have been sufficiently elastic for the Arians to subscribe, maintaining the traditional subordination of the Son to the Father, but ascribing to him as much divinity as possible within these limits. But Athanasius wisely foresaw that no equivocal expressions would put an end to the difference. He pressed his point, and finally gained it.

A creed was drawn up, which was signed by 318 bishops, although the weighty names of Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and three others, were withheld. Arius was banished, and his supporters too. The decision of the Council of Antioch was reversed, and the Son was declared to be consubstantial with the Father.

We are not concerned to trace the subsequent fortunes of Arianism, which was very far indeed from being suppressed. Council after council met; and by and by it was the turn of Athanasius to go into exile, and of Arius to be borne in triumph through the streets of Constantinople. Political disputes were added to doctrinal, and emperors interfered to settle the faith. But we are astonished, in the midst of all this confusion, to hear Mr. Liddon raise a claim for the "guarantee of divine inerrancy, such as had been vouchsafed to the entire body of the faithful."* It matters little to us what the robber-synod of Ephesus, for example,—where the Patriarch of Alexandria struck the Bishop of Constantinople so that he died,—thought necessary to be believed on pain of eternal damnation. But it does matter a great deal when appeal is made to the authority of these

* P. 631.

Councils to settle not merely what was to be the faith of the future, but what had been the faith of the past. Mr. Liddon admits that "some of the ante-Nicene fathers do at times employ terms which, judged by a Nicene standard, must be pronounced unsatisfactory."* But is it not obvious that it is from these writers, and these alone, that we can learn what was the fermentation and variety of belief, and what was the teaching in the different theological schools, during the second and third centuries? We suppose that although "collective Christendom" might be "divinely inerrant" about matters of faith, it will be at any rate admitted that it was not necessarily so about matters of fact. And how can it be pleaded that "the faith delivered once for all had been given to the church in its completeness by the apostles," when Mr. Liddon confesses that "nearly one half" the testimony is the wrong way? It is surely the oddest way of conducting a historical inquiry, to call the only possible witnesses, and then to reject half their evidence as that of "young or half-educated persons," because it would reverse the decision arrived at before the case was heard.

We have left the doctrine of the divinity of Christ where Mr. Liddon leaves it, as determined by the Council of Nicæa. If any further support were needed to the position that that doctrine, as it is commonly held, was the result of centuries of development,†—a position which is fatal to the Protestant view, which finds it in the Scriptures alone,—let any one compare the expression in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds relating to the two natures of Christ. Is it not enough to believe in the "only begotten Son of God, . . . who was made man"? Aye, but how? That was the question raised almost immediately after the promulgation of the Nicene symbol. Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, did not fear to compare the idea of a God-man

* P. 630.

† Mr. Liddon challenges the developmentalists to produce any similar case of development. The two editions of the Nicene Creed afford a curious instance. The Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.) decided nothing concerning the nature of the Holy Spirit. Different theologians identified the Spirit with the Word, or treated it as a mere divine gift or power; some said it was created, others associated it in the Godhead with the Father and the Son. Accordingly, it was found needful to state precisely what was to be the orthodox faith concerning it; and the clauses describing the Spirit as the "Lord and Giver of life," &c., were added to the Creed when it was re-affirmed by the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D.

to the mythical minotaurs and tragelaphs. Evidently, thought he, where man is, there is sin; and accordingly he conceived of the Word as taking the place of the reason in the man Jesus, to whom there was left of his humanity nothing more than his body and sensible consciousness. This was the origin of the various disputes about the two natures and two wills in Christ which split the church in the fifth century;—even Augustine could do nothing better than compare the God-man in Jesus to the union of body and spirit in ourselves, a theory dangerously like that for which Apollinaris was deposed and excommunicated;—and the orthodox results of which are summed up in those strange clauses in the Athanasian Creed, which describe Jesus as perfect God and perfect man, at once equal and inferior to God, and yet not two but one Christ.

Such is the form of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ as it was finally established. M. Réville proceeds, with his usual clearness, to trace its fate in the hands of the schoolmen in one of the most interesting chapters of his book. Nor does he dismiss it there; but follows its different phases at the Reformation, tracks its fortunes among the English free-thinkers of a hundred years ago, its adaptations to the "consciousness" of the German philosophers at the beginning of this century, and its most recent phases in the liberal Christianity of to-day. It is impossible to part from him without admiration for his candour as well as his learning, for the generosity of his criticism as well as for the precision of his exposition, and, above all, for the deep religiousness of his spirit.

Turning once more to Mr. Liddon's bulky volume, we cannot help expressing a regret that he should have disfigured the genuine eloquence of his appeal on behalf of a doctrine evidently to him of priceless importance, with mere tricks of rhetorical display. We are reminded that "Christ does not place before us any relative or lower standard of morals. He proposes the highest standard, the Absolute morality. 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect.' Moses did just the same thing. 'Be ye holy, as I the Lord your God am holy.'" "He bids men be like God, and He gives not the faintest hint that any

unlikeness to God in Himself obliges Him to accompany the delivery of that precept with a protestation of His Own personal unworthiness.* But do we therefore reason that Moses must have been absolute God? Is it not possible to separate the message from the messenger? Further, it is said, and we perfectly agree with it, that "those who believe Christ to have been merely a man endowed with the power of working miracles, or even only with the power of wielding vast moral influence over masses of men, cannot but recognize the rare loveliness and sublimity of a Life in which great powers were consciously possessed, yet were never exercised for those objects which the selfish instinct of ordinary men would naturally pursue. It is this disinterestedness; this devotion to the real interests of mankind; this radical antagonism of His character to that vile thing called selfishness; it is this unrivalled and majestic renunciation of all that has no object beyond self, which has won to Jesus Christ the heart of mankind."† And yet any one who believes that his work may thus "naturally" be accounted for, is triumphantly challenged to "dare to predict that eighteen hundred years hence his ideas, his maxims, his institutions, however noble or philanthropic they may be, will still survive in their completeness and their vigour."‡ But we are not all bound to be Homers or Shakespeares, though their poems will be read as long as language lasts, and "their name" may be "the rallying-point of a world-wide interest in some distant age." Still more unreasonable and contradictory, in the face of such a description of the ground of the affection which Christ has inspired, is the alternative which is held over unbelievers from the beginning to the end of the book. "If Christ be not God," we are told, "he is not sincere;" "if Christ be not God, he is not truthful;" "if Christ be not God, he is not humble;" "if Christ be not God, he is not unselfish." "If you deny his divinity, then you must conclude that some of the most precious sayings in the Gospels are but the outbreak of a preposterous self-laudation; they breathe, you might add, the very spirit of *another Lucifer*."§ Is it becoming for a great scholar before scholars to strive to force his doctrine on those who cherish the deepest affection and reverence for the most divine of their race, by insisting

* Pp. 246, 247.

† P. 294.

‡ P. 225.

§ Pp. 296, 299.

that the only possible suppositions concerning him are that he is God—or Devil?

Not less insufficient, it seems to us, though more subtle and infinitely more touching, is Mr. Liddon's plea for the divinity of Christ that it satisfies the spiritual wants. We may reply that a doctrine which is believed because it is *useful*, and not because it is *true*, has already fulfilled its mission; and it is time it should give way to something which is nearer the truth, to which our wants will in time adapt themselves. For there are certain spiritual needs which God has put into the human soul, and these He supplies Himself. There are other needs which custom, tradition, education, have, so to speak, artificially engendered, and these are artificially supplied by the creations of human thought and imagination. Roman Catholics could make the same appeal for the worship of saints which Mr. Liddon makes for the worship of Jesus. And that communion with Christ, which he so beautifully depicts as the privilege of the believer, does not *essentially* differ from that "life of God in the soul of man" by which the devout Theist—David, for example—has always been maintained in hope and trust. The fact is, that each rests upon the Infinite Spirit, lives and moves and has his being in God; but the one chooses, by difference of hereditary discipline, training, prepossession, to call his God Christ, the other does not. We are deeply persuaded that the gradual effect of the "New Reformation" will be to sweep away the traditional historic forms with which Protestantism has hitherto encumbered our spiritual consciousness, to weaken authority and strengthen self-reliance, and thus equalize our spiritual needs and refer them to One Source for their supply. And if the Son of Man then ceases to be the fountain of "life," but acts as one of its many channels, offers himself to us as the "way" and not the end, shall we refuse the help of his life and thought because it is not all? We have quarrelled enough about faith in Christ; let us have the faith of Christ. Its transient forms are being sifted out, but its permanent trusts remain. Fears for the "safety of a divided church," and anxiety for "a remedy for its wounds," are not more out of place than is dread of the freest thought or scorn of consciousness, so long as to us "there is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and *in* us all."

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

III—GOETHE AND RELIGION.

IT need create no surprise that to some minds Goethe appears to have had no religion. His religion was not that of orthodox Christians. He disliked and discountenanced popular Christianity. Certain things, customs and persons that were commonly revered, he abhorred. On the other hand, he rather veiled than displayed his own religion. It was a marked feature of the man to go with all his profoundest spiritual exercises into his closet, to shut to his door, and another day to say as much as was needful in "words that half reveal and half conceal the soul within." All his thoughts, like chaste beauty, hide themselves in coy reserve behind a beautiful drapery. And when his whole being is thrilling with emotion, he calls to his aid a droll, misleading humour. Common natures do not fear to profane sanctities with much speaking; it is no necessity of their nature to see with their own eyes and to speak in the language of their whole harmonious being; they feel no need of defence against the rush and tide of profound emotion. But men like Goethe, that have eyes to see and hearts to feel the halo of hallowed truths, fear to put forth their hand, fear to open their lips, lest they should desecrate it. It is only such men that have the child-humour by their side to shield them from the dangerous influence of overpowering thought. And it is only such natures that have the power to render spiritual truths into their own personal language.

In accordance with his great reverence for individuality, Goethe believed that every man must form his own philosophy and religion. Like his hero, Frederick the Great, he granted every man liberty to be saved after his own *façon*, and used the same liberty himself. He could not find amongst either the Lutherans, the Herrnhüter or the Illuminists, the religion that could save his soul. His nature obstinately refused to be saved by the magic of creeds and sacraments, by a mystic abandonment to pietistic feelings and dreams, or by a cold, shallow faith in morality, a personal God, and a future state of rewards and punishments. He had a man's heart and a man's intellect, and needed, therefore, a man's religion.

In the famous first chapter of the second book of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*, Goethe defines religion as reverence, and reverence for what is above us and for what is beneath us; further, reverence for our brethren; and, lastly, for ourselves. Religion is reverence, not fear, therefore, nor faith, nor simply feeling. And it is not a poor, limited, heartless prostration before a being like ourselves, only mightier, dwelling in some unknown distant region. It is reverence before the living presence of the encircling and the indwelling Universe.

All existing things form one connected whole, one inseparable world, a universe. The mineral, the vegetable and the animal kingdoms, are not separate and independent worlds. They overlap, intersect and run into each other. Nothing, and no series of things, exists in isolated independence.

Marks of order and law abound in every part of the universe. All forms of existence come into being and suffer change in regular sequence. The seal of necessity is stamped upon the world. Regularity and necessity constitute the beauty, and lay the basis of the security, of nature. "Nothing is that errs from law."

The whole world is full of life. Life throbs under and breaks forth from every form, from the dust to man. It is an element of unconquerable power, of infinite productiveness. It is marvellous to behold its creating, regenerating vigour, and the endless variety of its forms.

In animals and man appears that great wonder, intelligence. It manifests itself in various degrees, but every manifestation of it astounds the thoughtful mind. There appears also in both animal and man another miracle—the miracle of love—love inventive and self-sacrificing. Whether seen in the bird for her young, or in the mother for her child, it is equally an astonishing phenomenon.

Man in his higher forms presents still more astonishing phenomena. Here we meet the higher manifestations of intellect, the grander labours and sacrifices of love, the loftier and unconquerable aims and struggles of the soul, the eternal rejuvenescence of faith and hope. Here we find such characters as Shakespeare, Faust, Gretchen, Otilie.

This world of wonders within and without man was more clearly visible to Goethe than to most men. He saw

something of it while but a child, and in later life he gained from year to year deeper insight and more extensive vision. And if we ask the question, What was Goethe's religion? the answer is, Reverence for this world—for these wonderful phenomena, and what they let him surmise as lying in and behind them. He could not see all this glory and doubt its Divinity. He worshiped the All. His highest aim and most thrilling joy was to see more of this "*Gott-Natur*."

Goethe's religion, therefore, was more akin to poetry than to philosophy. It was a fire kindled in his soul by the light streaming upon it from the universe. Viewed in relation to thought, it was intuition, inspiration, and not the product of reasoning or induction. It was immediate vision, and not a subsequent result; the light of perception in its first living flash upon the mind, not the dim and broken light of reflection. It had not the certainty of proof, but of faith; not of demonstration, but of conviction. It was the impression produced upon a poet's heart by the great universe, with all the consequent hopes and surmises, jealously watched over, however, by a clear and sound understanding.

Goethe's religion, therefore, was neither a science nor a system. It lacked the fulness of a system and the certainty and precision of a science. Unlimitedly comprehensive as a law and a sentiment as reverence for the universe is, it can hardly be expanded into a system. And this is a supreme excellence of Goethe's and of all true religion. True religion is grandly simple: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." The decline and decay of religion commence with the formation of systems. As little is religion a science. Its elements are reverence, submission, inspiration, longings, hopes, surmises. It has to do with the undefined, the inexperienced, the unknown. Its light pales and dies when carried into the domains of clear knowledge and hard experience. And this is no evil or weakness. Neither science nor religion fills all the world. Each has its sphere, and each in its sphere leaves the other in peace, indeed ministers to the other, as Goethe's history strikingly shews.

Goethe's definition of the essential element of religion has all the truth and the advantages, with none of the errors and liability to mistake, of Schleiermacher's. The

great theologian's various ways of putting his idea of what constituted religion, as a sense, taste, feeling of the universe or of God, and, later, as the feeling of absolute dependence upon God communicated by the Redeemer, got rid of innumerable false notions as to its nature; yet his conception at first was not sufficiently clear, and subsequently he added an element to his definition that deprived it of half its value and efficacy. The great poet's definition, on the other hand, excludes equally with the theologian's all the false elements that had come to be looked upon as essential constituents of religion, while at the same time it includes an essential intellectual element which Schleiermacher's did not. Goethe's definition, therefore, is not exposed to Hegel's criticism, that according to Schleiermacher the dog is the best Christian. Reverence is not only beyond the capacity of brutes, but in its highest forms it is still a future attainment of our race.

What a world of errors and confusions Goethe's definition of religion frees us from! Religions that are not religious, waste and barren religions, contentious and hard-hearted religions, religions without life and freshness, without the glow and tenderness of genius, in which feeling is forced and not spontaneous, spasmodic and not natural, are all excluded. Such a religion as this definition has in view is the salvation both of the soul and the universe: the soul is nurtured and developed, while the world is hallowed and glorified.

The necessary consequence both of the poet's religious feeling and religious views was, that he spoke but sparingly on religious topics. He felt deeply that reverence and talk cannot dwell together. He said to Eckermann, of people who talk much about God, "If they were penetrated with the feeling of His greatness, they would be struck dumb, and for reverence would name Him but unwillingly." Goethe had profound intimations about God, but no knowledge. Therefore he could not speak about Him. This inability is expressed in the famous passage in *Faust*, where Gretchen tells her lover her doubts and fears about the reality and correctness of his religion. One of the Proverbs in Rhyme runs,

"If you doubly increase the star-light,
The All will still be eternally night."

The series of poems on God and the World opens in the name of Him whose name is often heard, but whose nature has ever been unknown. It was a main idea with Goethe, that in studying the world we are constantly coming upon ultimate phenomena, beyond which we cannot pass. "The summit of human attainment is astonishment," he said to Eckermann; "and if an ultimate phenomenon has astonished us, we ought to rest content; nothing higher can be granted to us, and we ought not to seek anything behind it; this is our limit. But generally the sight of an ultimate phenomenon does not satisfy, and we are like children, who after looking into a mirror immediately reverse it to see what is on the other side." At another time he exclaimed to Eckermann, "Dear child, what do we know of the idea of the Divine, and what will our narrow conceptions say of the Supreme Being? If, like a Turk, I would give the Supreme Being a hundred names, I should still come short, and in comparison with such infinite attributes have said nothing."

Further light will be thrown upon Goethe's religion if we now turn to the influence it exerted upon his mental life.

His religion, reverence for the universe, made him a conscientious and painstaking student of phenomena. From his earliest boyhood to his last hours, he displays an intense thirst for a knowledge of things. What his countrymen call philosophy, that is, metaphysics, never had any great charm for him. The facts, apart from the theories, of metaphysics, or the history of the struggles of great minds to reduce the facts into a system, could interest him, but not the theories and the systems themselves. Facts increased his knowledge of the great world, but systems and theories contradicted what he knew to be true, or produced the erroneous impression that the infinite universe could be weighed, measured and ticketed. This love of phenomena appears in all his labours. All his poetry rests upon concrete facts; and his prolonged and minute researches in natural science, in botany, anatomy, optics, geology, reveal a profound love of the productions of nature.

Goethe's strong love of everything individual and characteristic was closely connected with his religion. How carefully and devoutly he cultivated his own individuality, defending himself against all heterogeneous influences and maturing every gift, is well known as a peculiarity of the

man. This is the place to claim for this peculiarity a profound religious basis. Goethe was accustomed to call a person endowed with personal characteristics, a nature. In his poetry the same regard for individuality is everywhere manifest. There we meet with no vague generality. Everything is distinct, concrete, individual. In his life it is the same. Men of character, whether they are in other respects attractive or not, always caught his attention and often won his affection. *Dichtung und Wahrheit* is a wonderful portrait-gallery of individualities. Any new and characteristic form of stone, plant or animal, was to him a new revelation of nature. Certain strong and tough individuals he could think of only as *entelecheiai* or *monads*, as indissoluble and eternal individuals. This conviction, combined with a second, that will next be mentioned, formed the ground of his belief in the future personal and higher state of existence of great men.

His reverence for the universe produced in him the greatest reverence for those agents upon which Nature evidently sets great value as her servants in conserving and perfecting the world. One of these great agents is power, energy, activity, productiveness. Goethe felt the deepest regard for every powerful agent of nature, especially for energetic and powerful men. This quality so impressed him, that he could not conceive that nature would destroy it wherever it existed. The activity of great men seemed to him to be the pledge of their immortality. "I do not doubt our future existence," he said to Eckermann, "for nature cannot do without the *entelecheia*. But we are not all immortal in the same way; and to manifest oneself in the future as a great *entelecheia*, one must actually be one." Eckermann reports another conversation: "When one is seventy-five years old, continued Goethe with the greatest cheerfulness, it must naturally happen that one must among other things think of death. For my part, this thought leaves me in entire rest, for I have the firm conviction that our spirit is a being of an wholly indestructible nature; it is a ceaselessly working being to all eternity." At another time he said, "The stubbornness of the individual, and that the human being shakes off what does not agree with him, is to me a proof that such a thing as an *entelecheia* exists."

Another remarkable effect of Goethe's religion was his

self-renunciation. Greatest injustice is done Goethe when he is spoken of as a refined sensualist and a cultivated lover of pleasure. The truth is, and his works more than his words attest it, he lived a life of severe self-restraint and renunciation. Early in life the narrow limits of our thoughts and actions, the constant need of self-denial, very forcibly struck him. He was also impressed by the fact that not those who resigned themselves by slow degrees, but those who resigned themselves once for all, enjoyed comfort and repose. He, therefore, like the Stoics and Spinoza, submitted and resigned himself once for all. What helped him joyfully and calmly to renounce all his personal wishes and aims, was the recognition of the eternal order and necessity of the universe. In obedience to the laws of the great world he could gladly and fearlessly submit his poor thoughts and wilful desires. He began to ponder and to admire that awful saying of Spinoza's, that he who loves God will not desire that God should love him. In his purposes and plans he reckoned his own well-being as null. In his friendships he delighted to render services where none were returned. He resigned the idea of constructing a philosophy of the world. He resisted the temptation to seek for the meaning and design as well of single phenomena as of the whole universe. Of the three inquiries, What? How? and Wherefore? he considered it to be his great duty to put the first, that he might profitably put the second; but was absolutely forbidden to put the last. The search for final causes he gave up as presumptuous and hurtful. His self-denial is exhibited in a striking light in his treatment of the phenomena that refused to be reconciled with his religious faith. As he looked with his keen eye through the various ranks of beings, he discovered a certain something in a few individuals of every class to which he could assign no place in the great harmonious universe. It was something odd, anomalous, monstrous. He could find in it nothing divine, nothing human, nothing devilish or angelical. The temptation was great to bring this disorderly and isolated somewhat under some class. He might have overlooked some of the distinctive features, as others had done. He might have given his faith liberty to belie his knowledge in this one instance, as others have done. As the result of shutting his eyes to some characteristic sign, on

the one hand, and of trusting to his general conviction of nature's law and order, on the other, he might have euphemised the ugly creature, and euphemisms of this sort are not unknown. The temptation was great; submission to it was easy. But Goethe did not submit. Much as he loved the order of the world, laboriously as he sought to reduce all phenomena into orderly relations, strongly as he believed or hoped in the unity and order of the whole world, he would not overlook or misname this ugly demon-something. It was an eye-sore in his beautiful world; it was an ugly sphinx in his house of God. But he could not help it. He left it standing, shutting his eyes to it when duty did not call him to look at it, and all the time praying to "the great God who made and loveth all."

And, lastly, his religion manifested itself in the bond of friendship into which he entered with the world, and especially with its highest creature man. His realism as a poet and student, his universal benevolence as a member of our race, the contentment and gladness with which he filled the position assigned him in the world, his sworn antagonism to every form of croaking, was the result, no doubt, partly of his happy natural constitution, but largely of his religious convictions. From first to last he retained all the simplicity and gladness of a child. In the deepest and most sacred sense he was what he called himself, a *Welt-kind*; and being as a little child, he was able to see the kingdom of heaven open before him in God's world, and to enter into it. And having entered it himself, he proclaimed it to others, preaching in his poetry what he called "the gospel of this world." He converted the old motto, *memento mori*, into *vivere memento*. He could not bewail the existence of "evil." "Nature, he said, fills every space with her unlimited productivity. Consider our earth merely: everything that we call evil, misery, arises from this, that the earth cannot afford space to every production, and still less grant it duration." "Others," he said to Eckermann, "may reverence him who gives food to the cattle, and to man meat and drink in proportion to his needs. But I worship Him who has implanted in the world so great a productive power, that if only the millionth part of it comes to life, the world teems with creatures, so that war, pestilence, fire and water, avail nothing against it That is *my*

God." He believed in no disharmony between the ideal and the real, the subject and the object, the spirit and the world, man and God. "Search in your own bosoms," he said, "and there you will find everything, and rejoice when without, however you may name it, lies a nature which says Yea and Amen to everything which you have found in your own bosoms." And again: "All that we call inventing, discovering in the higher sense, is the important exercise, and putting forth in action of an original feeling of truth, which, long ago secretly formed, suddenly, like a flash of lightning, leads to a fruitful perception. It is a revelation forming itself from within upon the external world, which gives man a presentiment of his likeness to God. It is a synthesis of the world and the spirit, which gives the happiest assurance of the eternal harmony of all existences."

But an individual and personal religion is a great attainment, the result of long and severe struggles. Goethe's religious ideas and beliefs, the well-defined separation of them from other religious ideas, and the calm, strong conviction with which he held them in the face of scepticism and dogmatism, were possessions won only by long and stubborn conflicts. The author of the *Brief eines Landgeistlichen* is the author of *Werther's Leiden*, and he again is the author of *Prometheus*, and the author of *Prometheus* is the author of *Pandora* and of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. His, therefore, is a history of religious struggle and growth. Yet when we look deeper, we see in all these various works but one religion in different forms and stages of development.

Goethe was a great lover of orderly development. His very nature was perplexed and troubled by revolutions of every sort. His mental history is, as much as the history of a human being can be, a steady, orderly advance from one degree of perfection to another. It would create surprise, therefore, to find any great revolution, any inorganic change, in his religious life. Nor is such a revolution to be found. His peculiar religious tendencies reveal themselves with the first revelations of his mind. In the child's erection of an altar to the God of nature upon his father's music-desk, the religion of the man is foretold. When the child brings as his offering the productions of nature, he

performs an act of worship which the hoary hierophant of nature ever felt to be the highest and most acceptable. The trial which the boy's faith was submitted to by the earthquake of Lisbon, is only the juvenile form of the trial which the advanced worshiper of nature had to endure.

Goethe's religion, therefore, lay in his nature. It was a part of him, and grew with his growth. It was one of the marks of his great genius that he recognized so early in his life his religious characteristics. After all, as he said in a hundred ways, we are what we are. The great calamity of the majority is that they do not, and the great happiness of the few is that they do, very early discover and obey the laws of their own structure. That the religion of his old age, of his prime, of his early manhood, was the religion of his childhood, that it was the natural branch and fruit of the most powerful germs of his mental being, is in great part the explanation of the joy and strength of his religious convictions.

Before we attempt to follow the course of Goethe's religion, we must recall to our minds who he was. His was a gigantic poetic nature, and he yielded himself to its laws and demands with the deepest religious earnestness and conviction. What was akin to his genius, he appropriated; what was alien, he rejected. What helped him, he seized, with avidity; what impeded or opposed him, he threw out of his way. All this he did passionately and roughly at first. He was no nice casuist, but a mighty man following his instincts. He felt and thought powerfully, acted and spoke powerfully. He did not weigh every word or every deed. Many of his criticisms of others were unfair to them, but essential for him. He had greater thoughts to think, stronger feelings to feel, a grander life to live, than scrupulously just or delicately nice critics. His divine mission was to save his soul alive. What was it to him whether he understood the niceties of Spinoza's system? He did not read the dead Jew for the sake of the Jew; he read him to enlighten and becalm his soul in its stormy darkness. What if he thought and spoke too hardly of Claudius and Lavater, or too roughly of the crucifix? They blocked up his way to heaven, and he had high authority not merely to think and to speak roughly, but even to hate such obstacles. In the enthusiasm and pressing earnestness

of new convictions upon which depend life or death, it is neither possible nor desirable to give angels or devils their due. When the convictions have made their way and become full and indisputable occupants of the soul, judgments formed in the heat and necessity of hard conflict can be reviewed and moderated. Goethe in later life, in the calm and assured enjoyment of spiritual victory and repose, modified in minor particulars some of his earlier views of men and things. Still his deepest religious convictions and tendencies remained what they had always been.

The first form which Goethe's religion assumed, as has been already observed, was the worship of God in nature. His descriptions of his first acts of devotion may be read at length in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. And since this is the only source of our knowledge of his earlier years, and, further, inasmuch as we do not know how much of his account of this period has more than general truth, we pass on to the second period of his religious life.

The second period embraces the religion of Goethe's youth, as the former embraced that of his childhood. The third period commenced when he was at Strasburg, in about his twenty-second year. He had entered the fourth and final period when he took up his permanent abode in Weimar.

The Established Church of Germany had no religious earnestness when Goethe was a youth. Religious instruction was imparted by uninterested pastors in the driest form. It consisted of a frozen morality and an exercise of memory in repeating the catechism and quoting isolated texts of Scripture. The forms of religion, attendance on divine worship, confession to the pastor, eating the Lord's Supper, were gone through with little or no zest. One result of this orthodox indifference was the separation of earnestly religious people from the National Church. Independent congregations of Pietists and Herrnhüter, of Separatists and Quietists, left the Lutheran Church. Goethe's youth fell also in the time of free thought and rationalism. It was the age of Frederick the Great. It was the period when people said commonly that every man must have his own religion. Tolerance was the cry in everybody's mouth. In Frankfurt, all these religious and irreligious phenomena were abundantly exhibited. Indeed, in young Goethe's own circle of

friends and acquaintances there were examples of all three parties. As a representative of the Established Church, there was the old fossilized father-confessor, whom his young pupil confounded with questions about the sun standing still over Gibeon, who had one lesson for all his catechumens, one form by which he confessed and absolved them. Representatives of the Neologians were Doctor Albrecht and Hofrath Hüsgen. The Doctor loved his Lucian better than his Bible, and encouraged his young Hebrew pupil rather to search for contradictions and difficulties in the sacred text than to learn the language. The Hofrath saw faults not only in all his fellow-men, but in God also. The Moravians were represented by Fräulein von Klettenberg, the original of the charming picture in the *Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele*; and the poet's mother, Fräulein von Klettenberg's friend, had much sympathy with them.

It need, therefore, excite no surprise that the religion of the youth when he entered Leipsic University was of a somewhat nondescript character. His theology was wholly un-Lutheran, and a sort of mishmash of biblical and Neoplatonic notions. Once away from the influences of home, he separated himself wholly from the observances of the church. His student-life did not tend to preserve what remained of the thoughts and habits of his childhood. Fräulein von Klettenberg must have mourned over his backslidings, had she seen his life and known his thoughts while he was in Leipsic. Still, however much he separated himself from the society and practices of Christians, his deep religious sympathies remained undestroyed. The young student only needed to be called to himself by some admonitory stroke, and his slumbering religion and many of his old and half-forgotten beliefs would wake up in greater strength than ever. A severe illness befel him. A fellow-student read to him the Bible, and argued for its divine authority. The sick student listened and believed. He left Leipsic for his father's home with a stronger faith in the Bible than he had possessed before.

Once again in the Frankfurt circle, with body and mind relaxed, he came under the influence of the Herrnhüter. His mother, Fräulein von Klettenberg, with his physician and his surgeon, played upon the mystical chords of his

nature. It was not possible that he should become a Herrnhüter in reality; yet just then his mind was in the condition to receive impressions from what had any power in pietism. And he was deeply impressed by it, although Fräulein von Klettenberg did not fail to see "that he had no reconciled God" in her sense. Nevertheless, he became a member of the Moravian church. We quote passages from two of his letters written at this time, which shew the religious condition of his mind. Both are from Strasburg, whither he went after nearly two years' stay in his father's house. The first is to his friend Limprecht.

"As I was I am still, only that I stand somewhat better with God and with his dear Son Jesus Christ; whence it follows that I am somewhat wiser, and have found out what that means—'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' Granted that the Hosanna will be sung only *to him that cometh*; yet still this is a blessing; the king must make his entrance before he ascends his throne. . . . I am changed, much changed, for that I thank my Saviour; that I am not what I ought to be, for that also I thank him. Luther says, 'I am more afraid of my good works than of my sins.' And when one is young, one is nothing perfectly."

The second is to Fräulein von Klettenberg.

"I went to-day with the Christian church to record the passion and death of our Lord. . . . My intercourse with the pious people here is not very intimate. At first I sought their society very eagerly, but it seems as if it ought not to be. They are so heartily tedious when they begin, that my vivacity cannot hold out. Purely people of moderate intelligence, who thought with their first religious feeling their first rational thought, and are now of opinion that that is everything, because *they* know nothing besides."

The tone of these letters announces a break with the Herrnhüter. Fräulein von Klettenberg's bird was safe only in her cage. In Strasburg he flew away. The Moravians were altogether abandoned, and a process of estrangement from ordinary Christian people commenced. Great ideas of the universality and omnipotence of the laws of nature obtained ever fuller possession of his soul. Intercourse with the great mind of Herder must have given him more extensive and deeper views of the regularity, harmony and unity of the world. In Shakespeare's dramas he recognized

"a mysterious central point in which the peculiarity of our ego, the pretended freedom of our volition, comes into conflict with the necessary course of the universe."

The struggle with a religion that opposes nature and humanity is indicated in his first great work, *Götz von Berlichingen*. For it is impossible not to see more in the words of brother Martin than the feelings of a monk of the sixteenth century.

"*Götz*.—Why do you look so hard at me, brother ?

"*Martin*.—I am in love with your armour.

"*Götz*.—You do not desire a suit? It is burdensome and heavy to wear.

"*Martin*.—What is not burdensome in this world? To me nothing seems so burdensome as not to be allowed to be a man."

The deepest necessity of this period of Goethe's religious development, the strongest and most sacred longing of his heart, the spiritual conquest which he must win or die, is here indicated. Not in the heat and lawless insubmissiveness of youth, but urged on by a divine instinct, impelled by a sacred conviction, he enters the lists for the religion of human development. On his shield is emblazoned, *Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*. Faith in nature had always been the true basis of his religion; and now one half of this faith, faith in man as a part of nature, became increasingly powerful. Manhood and humanity obtained inviolable sanctity. He was prepared to avenge every violation, injury and slander of our nature. The doctrine of human depravity held by his Christian friends separated him from their society. The injurious extravagance of Rousseau's followers, on the other hand, obliged him to take in hand his satirical scourge. The clear and beautiful idea of perfected human nature, which ever afterwards lived before him as his ruling genius, in this period of his life commanded him to forsake all societies, to resist all tendencies, that opposed its realization.

The struggle for freedom to follow this idea led gradually to the third stage of his religious history. The boldest and most complete expression of the idea of this period is the fragment, *Prometheus*. This fragment asserts the divine right of every human faculty. It is a passionate revolt from the idea of an external, envious and tyrannical God. It is another way of saying, "In God we live and move

and have our being." It maintains that there is no antagonism, no dualism, in God's universe. It asserts this in revolutionary language; and the Titanic tone of the poem characterizes this third phase of the poet's religion. The conflict with dualism and the dualists, with unbelief and unbelievers in nature, is at its height. The young poet has become conscious of his own divine gifts, of his own power to help mankind; the magnificent endowments of other men, and the great services which they had rendered to our race, have also been made known to him. At the same time it has been impressed upon him with irresistible force, both by his own experience and by history, that only when men trust themselves, and both obey and use their own powers, do they accomplish anything valuable. Yet modern theology was protesting against these undeniable facts; it was violently contradicting this incontrovertible self-consciousness. It had utterly misunderstood the nature of the great and eternal duty of self-denial. It was endeavouring to convert this Christian virtue into an instrument for emasculating our true humanity. Goethe's profoundest convictions were thus violated, and he proclaimed deadly war. He could not shut his ears to a voice which said, "Physician, heal thyself." He had often had to sigh, "I tread the wine-press alone." He knew nothing more miserable under the sun than the gods of theology. He knew nothing greater and diviner than the God that dwelt in his own, and in every good man's breast. He rebelled, therefore, against the new Olympians, and served the God within him, the God of Nature.

This third period of Goethe's religious life was too violent to last. It soon made way for the fourth and last period. He calls the phase of this period a joyful surrender to the general faith. It is not difficult to know what he means by this. While the third stage was a daring and restless conflict for human rights against the oppressions and wrongs of false ideas of God and man, this final stage was a peaceful and happy resignation to a calm trust in nature. The last phase of his faith was but the return to the first, only with this difference, that the trust of the child was half-unconscious and rested on no intelligent basis, while the trust of the man was a conscious acquirement grounded upon the basis of years of thought and conflict. It was still

a childlike trust, but the man trusting like a child had learnt in a hard school the lesson that he must become a child to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

At the commencement of this period, Spinoza's *Ethics* fell into Goethe's hands. The providence of books is manifest here if anywhere. The poet found in the mathematical philosopher a more genial and helpful master than he could find anywhere in the world besides. If we call to mind a few of the main ideas of Spinoza which appealed so mightily to Goethe, we shall be gaining insight into the form which his religion finally assumed.

Spinoza's fundamental doctrine is the inseparable unity of God and the universe. In his system, God is the immanent cause of all individual existences. Further, God works in accordance with the inner necessity of his own being. There can, therefore, be no such thing in the world as arbitrariness and free-will. In these primary doctrines of the philosopher, Goethe found his own faith. Although the mathematical method of Spinoza formed a great contrast with his own habit of thinking, and he did not take in the connection of his system, he found in his primary principles the truths which had long been growing with him into an unconscious philosophy, and which laid a broad, firm basis for a religion of nature.

There is, further, a large number of moral and religious maxims in Spinoza, which, apart from the connection in which they stand, must have powerfully affected Goethe. Joy leads to greater perfection, sorrow to imperfection. Therefore gladness must be cultivated above all things. Past sins must not be bewailed; death must not be meditated upon; the future life is to be no object of concern. The mind is freed from the dominion of desire and sorrow by recognizing all things as absolutely necessary. The love of God is not consistent with the desire for His love in return. The knowledge of single things leads to the knowledge of God. True ideas are accompanied by the assurance of their truth. Activity is a gauge of perfection. Self-preservation is a gauge of virtue. Happiness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself.

All these and other ideas of the philosopher found an echo in the poet's heart. They are reproduced again and again in all his works. They were a part of his nature when the

Ethics fell into his hands. In later life this book continued to be his solace and instructor. Herder said Goethe had learnt his Latin from Spinoza, for he read no other Latin author. Goethe, in a letter to Jacobi, calls the Jew *theissimus* and *Christianissimus*; and in his Journal he speaks of his *Ethics* as his asylum from the troubles that Jacobi's views of nature occasioned him.

We see the poet, therefore, in the possession of the religion which we endeavoured to sketch at the beginning. We now pass to a special branch of our subject, Goethe's relation to Christianity. The importance of the subject seems to require a separate examination. Indeed, to treat it at all adequately, an entire article would be needful.

It is extremely difficult to speak of the relation of two objects so complex and variable as Goethe and Christianity. Indeed, it is extremely difficult for any gifted and independent mind to know its own relation to a system of doctrines and a society which have grown up in the course of centuries. However orderly and harmonious the growth of a great man's mind may be, according to the law of equilibrium, it will exhibit exuberance at one time and in one direction, and defect at another time and in the contrary direction. The starting-point and the goal of the mind's progress may lie in a right line, but the course will be more or less zigzag. The Titanism of the third period of Goethe's mental history was growth and progress; but it was exuberant growth of one side of his nature, and it was a bound forwards along the course, but not in a right line. The life of such a man is filled with great problems which must be solved one at a time, and the solution of each calls for a concentration of the whole man upon it. To vary the figure, the history of such a man is a series of conquests, each requiring the whole attention, skill and enthusiasm of the soldier. Such men are many-sided, to use the ugly term, not in the fray, not in the campaign, but when they have returned home victorious. When Goethe was fighting for the freedom of human development, for the Grecian idea of human perfection, he had no time and no disengaged faculty to go into the critical and historical question, whether there was not a form of Christianity that was favourable to this idea. Existing Christianity was one of the deadliest foes of the idea, and his pressing duty was to resist it.

When, on the other hand, he had won the victory for his idea, he had time and heart to consider and distinguish between the various forms of Christianity and their relation to his great work.

The doctrinal and ecclesiastical system of existing Christianity is more complex, and in its history more variable, than the heart and history of the most gifted man. What constituted a Christian in the days of the Apostles? what in the third or fourth centuries? what in the Middle Ages? what since the Reformation? what now constitutes a Christian in the Church of Rome? in the Church of England? amongst the orthodox Dissenters of England? what amongst the Unitarians? Tell me that a man is or is not a Christian, and what am I the wiser? You must first tell me what you mean by a Christian. It would, therefore, conduce to the clearness of this consideration of Goethe's relation to Christianity, to give a definition of what Christianity is, and who may be considered as one of its adherents. But I prefer to evade this difficult task. Goethe himself never defined Christianity. It remained to him a system of good and evil, both beneficial and injurious. In the first half of his life at Weimar, the evil repulsed him more than the good attracted him. In the last half, the attraction preponderated. But when he was most repelled by the evil, he was, consciously or unconsciously, deeply affected by the good; and in later years, when he gladly avowed his convictions of the world's obligation to Christianity, he stood in most direct antagonism to many of its aims and tendencies. We shall have done our duty if we point out, on the one hand, some things in Christianity that repelled, and, on the other, some things that attracted Goethe.

Goethe was repelled from Christianity by the inorganic and unnatural place in our race which most Christians demand for its Founder. His mind refused to conceive the solitary and unnatural position assigned to Jesus, whether as the only Redeemer or the only perfect and exhaustive possessor of all human virtues. He also felt that there is in this claim, or at all events in the common mode of making it, a great injustice towards other men, Christ's virtues being generally exalted at the cost of other men's. One of Goethe's letters to Lavater makes both objections.

"With your wish and desire to enjoy everything in one indi-

vidual, and with the impossibility that one individual should satisfy you, it is fortunate that a portrait has come down to us into which you can transfer your whole self, reflecting and adoring yourself in it. But I cannot call it anything else than an injustice and a robbery, that you pluck out every precious feather from the whole winged creation under heaven, as if they had been usurped, for the purpose of adorning your bird of Paradise exclusively. This is a proceeding which must necessarily offend and appear insufferable to us who are devoted scholars of every utterance of wisdom revealed by and to man, to us who, as sons of God, adore Him in ourselves and in all his children."

Again, it cannot be denied that Christianity generally assumes a position unfavourable to both nature and art. Its doctrines of sin and redemption, its exaltation of the supernatural above the natural, its ascetic and devotional tendency, its preference for the passive to the active virtues, do not promote but check the free play of human nature and art. It is no cause for astonishment, therefore, that the humanist and the artist often judge unfairly of its real educational value. Goethe professed at one time a Julianic hatred, and often called himself a heathen. He said he was not an Anti-christian, nor an Unchristian, but a decided Non-christian. He writes to Lavater:

"You look upon the gospel as it stands as the divinest truth; but an audible voice from heaven would not convince me that water burns and fire quenches, that a woman conceives without a man, and that a dead man comes to life; on the contrary, I hold this to be blasphemy against the great God and his revelation in nature. To you, nothing is more beautiful than the gospel; to me, a thousand written pages of ancient and modern favoured men of God are equally beautiful, as well as useful and indispensable to mankind."

In his travels in Italy we find him, on the one hand, constantly enraged and regretting that the Church gave its great artists such miserably inartistic subjects, and, on the other, constantly expressing his wondering admiration that their genius enabled them so far to overcome the great difficulty. With Claudius, Jacobi and Lavater, he had less and less intercourse. He said they had not comprehended the first and simplest truths of nature, and yet were desirous to sit upon the first seats near the throne. In his poems we meet such sentiments as these: He who has art

has religion ; the poet will affect his own reconciliation ; we must look God in the face, and think well of ourselves. These strong utterances are directed against the opposition of the Church to art and nature.

A number of other unhappy ingredients in the Christianity that he came into daily contact with, were repugnant to him. He observed amongst Christians too great indifference to truth. "Piety," he says, "leaves false things standing, and, therefore, I hate it." Amongst his own friends he experienced the sad truthfulness of Coleridge's warning words, "He who begins by loving Christ more than the truth, will end by loving himself most of all."

"Piety," Goethe says, "is not an end, but the means of attaining the highest culture by peace of mind. Wherefore, it may be remarked, that those who set up piety as end and goal mostly become hypocrites."

Further, the fetichism prevalent among Christians filled him with horror. Amongst the four things that were as repugnant to his nature as adders and poison, he names the cross. He tells Suleika, his mistress Self-denial, that he cannot endure this talisman which she had suspended to her necklace. It was his sorrowful experience before he went to Italy, and especially there, that Christians and crosses were so numerous that both Christ and his true cross were forgotten. Again, Goethe had more than a dislike for fanaticism and religious wildness. He asks that every fanatic (*Schwärmer*) may be crucified in his thirtieth year, lest the dupe should become a knave.

Goethe was thus repelled from Christianity ; but he was ultimately more attracted than repulsed. In the very period of his heathenism, as he called it, he wrote one of the most Christian poems of his or any age, *Die Geheimnisse*. The two characters, *Humanus* and *Marcus*, which he has there sketched are truest disciples of Jesus. Indeed, the deepest springs of Goethe's religion and the deepest springs of Christianity mingle, however much the streams may divide upon the surface.

Christianity appears in its origin as the religion of humanity. It is philanthropic, proclaiming God's love to all, commanding and inspiring merciful and helpful deeds, striving to bind men together in bonds of brotherhood, shewing exceeding tenderness towards sin and suffering. Goethe's

sympathy with such a religion is evident to every reader of *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *die Geheimnisse*, such poems as *der Gott und die Bajadere*, or the *Paria*. Of all men he was one of the most philanthropic in the broadest sense of the word. The rule of life on which he laid greatest emphasis was to hate no man. The measure of a man's worth he considered was his usefulness to his brother-men. He spent his life in discovering and bearing witness to the real value and greatness of human nature. When sinners were brought before him, he said, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." A sweet, radiant humanity shines on all his life as over all his works. From all his productions there breathes a tender, healing spirit. He knew and felt all human pains, weaknesses and temptations, and words of forgiveness and encouragement were ever on his lips. His love of human nature is the charm and secret of the power of his pictures of mankind. His humanness won from every human being an interesting and happy or touching trait.

Notwithstanding such strong utterances against Christianity as we have quoted, there are not a few express testimonies to its great worth in his later writings. In his notes to the *West-östlicher Divan*, after remarking that the original value of a religion can only be estimated when centuries have gone by, and having passed in successive review the Jewish, the Mohammedan, the Hindoo, and the Greek and Roman religions, noting in each one corruption and decay in its later form, he goes on to say,—

"On the other hand, the highest praise is due to Christianity, the pure and noble origin of which has always been thereby substantiated, that after the most erroneous courses into which blind man had brought her, she ever came forth again, before one suspected it, in her first fair character as mission, or as family and brotherly society, for the regeneration of the moral wants of man."

His well-known testimony in *Wilhelm Meister* is very striking:

"But now we must speak of the third religion, founded upon reverence for what is beneath us; we call it the Christian religion, because in this religion such a disposition is most evident; it is an ultimate attainment, to which our race could and must come. But what is included in this? Not alone to let the earth lie beneath us and claim a higher birth-place, but also to acknowledge as divine humiliation and poverty, mockery and contempt,

shame and misery, suffering and death—yea, to reverence and learn to love even sin and crime as helps, and not as hindrances, of holiness. Of this, indeed, there are traces in all ages; but traces are not the goal; and since this has once been attained, humanity can never retrograde, and, we may venture to say, that the Christian religion, since it has once appeared, cannot pass away again; since it has actually become divinely incarnate, may not be again dissolved."

However much the cross when used as a talisman, and the crucifix as a revolting exhibition of agony, offended Goethe, the true cross of Christianity symbolized an idea that had the force of a law and an inspiration in his life. This was the idea of self-sacrifice to which reference has already been made. He has erected in his poem *Die Geheimnisse*, a beautiful monument in praise of the cross encircled with roses. He tells us that the beautiful history in Wilhelm Meister of the ivory cross is an illustration of the fortunes of Christianity, "which, often dismembered and scattered here and there, must nevertheless be ever re-united at last on the cross." His horror of the crucifixion arose from the fineness of his feeling. He drew a veil over the scenes of Golgotha, and held his peace about the deeds done there from purest reverence. Wilhelm Meister puts the question to the Ancient,

"'You present the life of this divine man as an instructive and exemplary ideal; have you also given prominence to his passion, his death, as a model of noble endurance?' 'Most certainly,' replied the Ancient. 'We make no mystery of that; yet we draw a veil over these sufferings for the very reason that we reverence them so highly. We hold it to be a damnable insolence to expose that scaffold of agony and its suffering saint to the view of the sun, which hid his face when a base world forced upon him this tragedy; we hold it to be a damnable insolence to play with, to trifle with, to dress up these profound mysteries, in which the divine depth of suffering is hidden, and not to rest until the most exalted objects become common and unmeaning.'"

The meeting of Jesus and Goethe at the cross, where, as the story of the ivory cross teaches, all Christians must ultimately meet, is a most sure sign of their religious kinship. Jesus said, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father;" and he said again and again,

"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily." Goethe could write to Plessing,

"This I can assure you, that in the midst of prosperity I live in persevering self-denial, and daily see to it with all painstaking and toil that not my will, but the will of a higher Power is done, whose thoughts are not my thoughts."

And to Knebel,

"It is an article of my creed that only by steadfastness and faithfulness in the position in which we find ourselves do we become worthy and able to fill the higher stage in a future position, whether it be in this or the future world."

And to the Gräfin Bernstorff (Augusta Stolberg), in his seventy-fourth year,

"All my life long I have been honestly minded both towards myself and others, and in all worldly pursuits have ever had an eye to that which is supreme ; you and yours have done the same."

But no single passages from Goethe's works or correspondence can convey to the mind an adequate idea of the essentially Christian tone of his mind. His works and life must be studied in their grand unity, and then a profound impression will be left upon the mind of the noble intensity and thoroughness of his submission to the will of God and obedience to His laws. Perhaps he could not say, "Lord, Lord," as many do. It may be, the surmise expressed in *Werther* was well founded :

"Does not the Son of God himself say, that those would be with him whom the Father had given to him ? Suppose I am not given to him ? Suppose the Father will keep me for Himself, as my heart tells me ?"

Still, if this were so, his work was one with the work of Jesus. He laboured night and day that men might know, and, knowing, love and serve God. And of such co-workers Jesus said, "He that is not against us is for us." Surely, the life is more than the lip, and, before God, the will than the deed. No doubt Goethe did not help to build up the religion of the church of his day, but there is as little room to doubt that he was and is and will be one of the greatest master-builders in the church of Jesus and the church of the future. In heart and work he was *christianissimus*.

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

IV.—BIBLE CHAPTER HEADINGS IN THE "AUTHORIZED VERSION."

WE are all so accustomed to speak of the version of the Scriptures best known to us as "authorized," that it has probably occurred to very few to ask the question, "By whom?" The "Order set down for the Translating of the Bible by King James," seems to have come from the King personally, not from the King in Council; and the result of the Translators' labours appeared from the press of R. Barker, the King's Printer, in 1611. Then, as now, the title-page asserted that the book was "newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by His Majesty's special command." It is said, moreover, that it is "appointed to be read in Churches." The statement that it was newly translated, must, as all men know, be taken with much limitation, since the Translators followed the instruction to adhere, where possible, to earlier versions far more closely than the title-page would lead us to suppose. With regard to the second statement, there is no evidence to shew that either the King himself, or the Council, Convocation or Parliament, ever formally sanctioned its use. Such formal sanction was probably considered unnecessary when all loyal Churchmen were only too willing to comply with a monarch's wish, and the matter is of no great practical importance at this moment. The version is unquestionably the best we have, or are likely to have for many years to come, and has the weighty, if not convincing, authority of custom and tradition. If, however, at any time a version of the whole or part of the Bible should be found better than that we now possess, it may facilitate its adoption to understand that the words, "appointed to be read in Churches," are really as idle as the notice-boards sometimes erected against other trespassers on close preserves.

But it is obvious that any words printed with the actual version come to us with less force than they would otherwise have, unless it can be shewn that they were placed there by the whole body of Translators, and have the sanction of Church or State. Nor in any case can they have the weight which all words must have which, however

imperfectly, are renderings of those in which the original writers gave their message; they are at best comments which stand on their own merits. Such comments may be divided into five classes, as printed in the edition of 1611.

1. Dates given to various books, or to the circumstances narrated in them.
2. Marginal readings.
3. Parallel passages.
4. Paginal headings.
5. Chapter headings.

And though our subject is the last class especially, it is necessary to touch very briefly on the others.

1. Biblical scholars of all shades of opinion admit the extreme difficulty of the chronology of the Bible. Two instances may be specified on which the most orthodox are divided,—the date to which we are to assign the fact narrated in the first verse of Genesis, and that which we shall give to the book of Daniel. If in the one case it seem to all who have special knowledge on the subject that ages almost inconceivable are written in the records of our cliffs and streams, and in the other case that philology, which each day becomes a more exact science, would place the date of Daniel very materially later than that given in our margins, minds may be and are deeply distressed if they consider they are driven to reject the decision of the Church, which would feel no pain at all at having merely to hesitate about accepting the calculations of a single man, even one so learned as Archbishop Usher.

2. There seems no doubt that the marginal readings were made in all cases by the Translators themselves, or by the revisers, and have therefore precisely the same authority, whatever that may be, as the text; that they are in fact alternative renderings, which all are free to adopt, in public as well as in private reading.

3. The references in the edition of 1611, which are reprinted in a very convenient Oxford edition, form a pleasing contrast to those given in most modern "reference Bibles;" they are few and often to the purpose. But the system of references is in itself radically vicious, tending as it does to lead the reader to dwell on verbal coincidences, rather than on a likeness in spirit and tone; to obliterate differences in the times and places of the composition of various books, so

material to a right understanding of the whole ; to reduce the Bible to a mere aggregate of texts, instead of the gradual growth and development of the religious consciousness of man. Whatever of use there may be in references, would be far better supplied by a concordance bound up at the end of the volume, as is the case with some editions of the Geneva Bible, and of some printed by Messrs. Bagster ; the present system, even in the only edition which has any seeming authority, is mischievous and misleading.

4. In the paginal headings we come very near our proper subject ; they are, and they are used as, a commentary, more than perhaps we are aware, by all, very much by the unlearned. But a moment's reference to any two Bibles which our readers may have at hand, will shew that these headings are not, and indeed cannot be, the same ; the contents of pages of different size and print varying, so must also the summary of contents in those pages. It will probably be supposed that at the three presses from which most of our Bibles proceed, the Clarendon and Pitt presses and that of Her Majesty's Printers, every care is taken even down to the minutest details. The following is what we have been able to learn on this point. At the Clarendon press, the paginal headings are said to be "taken from the contents placed in italics at the head of every chapter ; they are selected by the Bible-reader, who has done it for forty years."

"The page headings in Bibles printed at the Cambridge press are partly derived from the chapter headings, and partly a repetition of the page headings in former editions."

The Queen's Printers are understood to leave "the running (paginal) headings at the discretion of their Bible-superintendent, who says he takes many or most of them from the chapter headings."

All this is singularly vague and inaccurate, as may be easily discovered. Turning to an Oxford Bible (ruby 8vo, 1839) which happens to be at hand, and opening it without choice of page, we find along the top of the page containing Genesis xiii. and xiv., "Lot removeth toward Sodom, is taken captive and rescued." In the chapter heading, with of course much more detail, we find, "Lot goeth to wicked Sodom. Lot is taken prisoner. Abram rescueth him." In the first complete page of Isaiah, the paginal heading runs,

"The coming of Christ's kingdom, the terrible day of the Lord ;" while the chapter heading has, "Isaiah prophesieth the coming of Christ's kingdom," and the words, "the terrible day of the Lord," are not there at all. The last page of Revelation has, "The new Jerusalem, the blessed state of God's servants ;" while the chapter heading has, "The heavenly Jerusalem," and the later words again are not found there. Nor are these variations so unimportant as they may seem ; for it is obvious that if the paginal headings *were* chosen from the chapter headings, it would be possible to select them in such a manner as to give a very distinct colouring to the interpretation of a book. For instance, it would be quite possible so to select from the chapter headings to Isaiah, as to head almost every page with a prophecy of Christ ; it would be still more easy to leave out his name altogether. The licence of possible interpretation is far greater if the chapter headings are not consulted. But more ; what confidence are we bound to put in any man's interpretation, or selection of interpretations, because he has interpreted or selected for forty years, unless we know what he was when he begun to do so ? Our own view would be, that the critical faculty and the intellects of most people would be weakened, rather than strengthened, by perpetual reading of the Bible, not with a view to edification, but to the correction of printers' mistakes. What we have shewn to be the case of the Oxford Bibles, is that also of those printed at Cambridge and by the Queen's Printers.

5. There seems no direct evidence to prove that the Translators rather than the revisers of the Authorized Version are responsible for the chapter headings, but the probability is that they were so. These have not throughout the same colour and tone of interpretation, as would be the case if done at once either by one man or a committee ; in fact, the theological schools of the headings of different books are marked : the doctrine of election is not prominently brought out in the headings to the Epistle to the Romans, where we might expect to find it, but it is prominent in those of the Epistle to the Ephesians. They would appear, therefore, to have been done in each case by the Translator of the chapter or book, and, as far as can be discovered, are original. The coincidences between them and the headings of the Bishops' and the Geneva Bibles are slight and apparently accidental.

In giving summaries at all, Protestant versions abandoned the plan pursued in the case of those versions which have almost the authority of originals, the Septuagint and the Vulgate ; but such headings exist in the first German and French Bibles as well as in earlier English translations.

It seems highly improbable that with the chapter headings was adopted that mode of procedure which gives to the version itself the weight of the whole Committee, namely, that each part was read by the translator in the presence of the rest, who followed his reading with either the original text or some good version in their hands. It may therefore be safely assumed that each chapter heading has only so much value as attaches to it from the personal scholarship, orthodoxy, and in some degree character, of the individual translator, who is at this day not to be discovered among the several to whom each portion of the translation was entrusted. This is tantamount to saying they have no authority at all even in their original form. We have not, however, always this. Some twenty alterations of greater or less importance have been made in the chapter headings since 1611, besides a very large number of mere press corrections and changes in the spelling of words. One is well known. The edition of 1611 has in its heading to the 149th Psalm, as a comment on the verse, "To bind their kings with chains and their nobles with links of iron," these words, "The power which He hath given to the Church to rule the consciences of men." The comment now ends at the word "Church," and the alteration is so plainly for the better that we can scarce quarrel with it ; but Dr. Paris, who made it, acted solely on his own responsibility. He revised the Bible for the Pitt press in 1762 ; Dr. Blayney did the same for the Clarendon press in 1769 ; and a previous revision had taken place under Laud and Charles I., of which the Cambridge folio of 1638 was the result. No doubt these revisions were needed ; but they should have been carried out by authority, and the changes made properly acknowledged. We can detect without much labour the changes made in the headings ; but it is not likely that three meddling people, allowed to roam over the Bible and freely alter what they found, have come and gone without far more, and more important, changes in the text than we can discover at a glance.

We pass to the character of the headings themselves

as we now find them, altered, as it is fair to say, but little in passages of importance from the edition of 1611. Most people probably imagine that the headings are simple tables of contents—no more, no less. This, however, is a mistake. The very fact that they are not a *complete* summary raises certain verses, and the events narrated in them, into greater prominence, and casts others into the shade; a colour is given to the chapter by the very fact of the selection. But more than this, they are, especially in the Psalms and Prophetical Books, a commentary of the most important character. In some instances, explanations are introduced by way of a gloss on the text; in others, as more direct interpretations; occasionally, ideas of a later date are read, as it were, into the text. We proceed to point out some of the more typical instances.

Gen. iii. 6. "Man's shameful fall. 16. The punishment of mankind." The text speaks of the misdeed of a given man and woman; we do not meet in the Bible with the general statement in the heading earlier than St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Gen. xv. 6. "Abram is justified by faith," is a scholastic comment on the words, "And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness."

Gen. xviii. 1. "Abraham entertaineth three angels." The text says they were three *men*.

Exodus iii. 2. "God appeareth to him in a burning bush." The text says the *angel* of the Lord.

Numbers xiv. 13. "Moses persuadeth God and obtaineth pardon." It need scarcely be pointed out that the word *persuadeth* is not in the text, and that its adoption involves a theory of prayer from which many Christian persons would shrink.

The political tone of the Translators is perhaps apparent in two passages, one of which, Genesis x. 8, describes Nimrod as "the first *monarch*," and the other heads "of reverence to *magistrates*," Exodus xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile the gods (or judges, *marg.*), nor curse the ruler of thy people."

In the Historical Books there is little to remark, save in some cases the arbitrariness of selection. Two passages, however, call for notice.

2 Kings xx. 8. "The sun goeth ten degrees backward for a sign of that promise." The text speaks of the *shadow*

going ten degrees backward, not an unimportant difference, especially when compared with the parallel passage in Isaiah, where it is said that the sun went back ten degrees.

2 Chron. xvii. 10. "His," Jehoshaphat's, "enemies *terrified* by God, some of them bring him presents and tribute," is not quite the same statement as, "The fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands which were round about Judah."

No book is perhaps more difficult to docket and analyze than Job, and to our mind it is ill done throughout. Among much that is unsatisfactory, two chapter headings stand out as remarkable for their oddity.

Job v. 1. "The harm of inconsideration." The text is, "Call now if there be any that will answer thee, and to which of the saints wilt thou turn? For wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth the silly one."

Job xxxviii. 4. "God by his mighty works convinceth Job of ignorance *and of imbecility*!"

It is well known how untrustworthy are even those inscriptions to the Psalms which are a part of the text, ascribing them to various authors. Yet, since they are there, no one would wish the Translators to have omitted them; but it is quite another thing that they themselves should have found authors for anonymous Psalms. No less than eight Psalms are ascribed to David in the headings, which are not given him in the text; and if anything is certain in Biblical criticism, it is that not one of these is David's. A few other points call for special notice.

Psalms xiv. and liii. are headed, "David describeth the corruption of a natural man." It is at least open to suspicion that the Psalmist (certainly *not* David) is describing the men of an exceptionally evil nation and time, possibly the people of the heathen empires, when Babylon was tottering already to her fall, and not that unnatural fiction which divines are pleased to call "a natural man."

Psalm cxii. 1. "Godliness hath the promises of this life; 4, and of the life to come." The text is, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness; he is gracious and full of compassion, and righteous." It surely is a violent intrusion of the ideas of a later time to insert into any Psalm any definite assertion of a "life to come;" there is nothing more remarkable in the Jewish faith than the absence of

even so clear views as obtained on this subject among the heathen nations of antiquity, so far as their creeds are known to us.

Psalm cxlvii. 1. "The prophet exhorteth to praise God, 15, *for his power over the meteors.*" The text is, "He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth, and his word runneth very swiftly" !

To pass by some explanations which seem wholly unwarranted, but would delay us too long were we to dwell on them, we are met in the Psalms with great numbers of comments of a character which has occurred before, but which we have reserved till now to speak of them more fully. Such are, in Genesis xii., "God calleth Abram, and blesseth him with a promise of Christ." Such are here, Ps. ii. "The kingdom of Christ." Ps. xx. "The church blesseth the king in his exploits." Ps. lxxxiii. "A prayer against them that oppress the church." Ps. xcvi. "The church rejoiceth at God's judgments against idolaters." Ps. cix. "David complaining of his slanderous enemies, under the person of Judas devoteth them." Explanations of this class run through the whole Bible, but are of course more frequent in the Psalms, and other prophetic books. All interpretations of prophecy, various as may be their details, fall generally into three classes, which may be thus stated.

1. That prediction has no place whatever in prophecy, and that all that was said by prophet or psalmist or poet had reference solely to the events and persons of his own day, however his words were afterwards adapted to after events. This is a view which, gaining ground steadily, yet makes way but slowly, and finds scant favour among orthodox people.

2. That prophecy is almost wholly predictive, and that, though a few allusions to the speaker's own times can scarcely be mistaken, these are by the way, and, as it were, parables ; that such prophecies have little or no meaning till explained by after events. This view would seem to be that of more persons than the former, but not that most usually taken.

3. That prophecy has two senses, the one relating to the writer's own day, but not being of "private interpretation," has a fresh and increased meaning, *also intended by God*, in the future. This, though not our own explanation, appears

to be the one generally received, with more or less tendency to either of the other opinions.

It is of course open to a commentator on, or summarizer of, the Bible, to take one or other view, and in expounding this be consistent and useful. But with singular ingenuity our Translators have confused them all. A few instances are as good as many.

Isaiah xxviii. "The prophet threateneth Ephraim for their pride and drunkenness; the residue shall be advanced in the kingdom of Christ." If Ephraim here means Ephraim, then the kingdom of Christ is not spoken of in the same breath; if the kingdom of Christ be the subject of the prophecy, we have nothing to do with the temporal Ephraim.

Again, Isaiah xxii. "The prophet lamenteth the invasion of Jerusalem by the Persians. 15. He prophesieth Shebna's deprivation; 20, and Eliakim, prefiguring the kingdom of Christ, his substitution." In the former of these instances, the first and second methods of interpretation are confused; in the latter, the first and third.

If it is said that "prophecy" in the mouths of our Translators, though not etymologically, meant of necessity *prediction*, and that therefore, by the mere force of the term, more is meant than the declaration of that immediate future which is so involved in the present that no special inspiration is needed to discover it, we reply, that certainly not all the Translators used the word prophecy in this sense, that it was not therefore the necessary meaning in their day. For the Translator of 2 Kings, when he does mean prediction, has these words, "He burnt dead men's bones upon the altar of Bethel as was *foreprophesied*."

It may be supposed that the Translators, not wishing to dogmatize on so difficult a subject, have simply followed the tradition of the Church, ascribing to later days whatever persistent consent has sealed and consecrated; but the least examination will shew again that this is not so. Perhaps no verses in the whole of the Old Testament have ever been so adopted into and appropriated by the New as those which end its roll: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." And these by the

chapter heading are *not* referred to John the Baptist. Even the 53rd chapter of Isaiah is headed ambiguously, where, if anywhere, the trumpet should not give an uncertain sound.

The same astonishing confusion prevails in the headings of a book of which it is difficult to speak—the Song of Solomon. The only justification for its inclusion in the canon (other than that the Bible is the collection of all Jewish literature, profane as well as sacred) is that given by Niebuhr. According to M. Renan, this distinguished man answered a young minister who was disturbed at the necessity of admitting a love-song into the canon: "For my part, I should think there was something wanting in the Bible if no expression were found in it for the deepest and strongest of all human feelings." Our Translators have, however, followed the tradition which sees in it a spiritual poem, in which is signified the mystical marriage of Christ and the Church. This conception has not raised the poem, but it has degraded religion, in that it has made a book of the Bible an instance of and authority for a class of devotional writings which have done, and still do, much to make piety effeminate and prayer hysterical, to popularize a mode of thought not unnatural in a cloister, but even there to be regretted and repressed. Our Translators have ascribed the whole to Christ, but, untrue to their own principles, have introduced an expression contrasting strangely with the rest: Cant. i. 8, "Christ directeth her to *the shepherds' tents*." And they have oddly enough seen the "Calling of the Gentiles," Cant. viii. 8, in the words, "We have a little sister and she hath no breasts; what shall we do for our sister in the day when she shall be spoken for?"

But enough of this. It would require a treatise to work out in detail the way in which the prophetic and poetical books are interpreted, its vagueness and want of consistency. We pass to the New Testament.

The headings to the Gospels are for the most part simple summaries of contents, not always complete and satisfactory. But in some cases interpretations of parables are given which would not find universal acceptance, and there are some few sermonets which travel beyond summary and are open to criticism. Such are St. Mark xiii. 24, "The manner of his coming to judgment, the hour whereof being known to none, every man is to watch and pray, that we

be not unprovided *when he cometh to each one particularly by death.*" St. Luke vi. 36, He "sheweth by occasion of Mary Magdalene how he is a friend to sinners, not to maintain them in sins, but to forgive them their sins, upon their faith and repentance."

In the Acts, again, are a few such passages and one important misstatement. Acts xix. 13, is headed, "The Jewish exorcists are beaten by the devil;" while the text has, "*The man* in whom the evil spirit was." There are quite enough misconceptions about the spirit of evil, without our adopting the notion of a personal devil who resorts to physical force!

What has been said about the difficulty of condensing and making a summary of the book of Job, might be repeated of the Epistles with increased force. That on the whole the headings lean to the Calvinistic interpretation cannot be disputed, though, singularly enough, not conspicuously so in some marked passages. Except for their general colour and inefficiency, only two passages call for distinct notice.

1 Cor. i. 3. "Milk is fit for children," is surely a most absurd statement of the apostle's meaning in the verses, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat."

1 Tim. ii. 15. "They shall be saved, notwithstanding the testimonies of God's wrath in childbirth, if they continue in faith," is a judgment on a most difficult passage by no means that in which scholars are now inclined to acquiesce.

The Revelation is summarized with great care, and the summary is with praiseworthy moderation almost confined to the analysis of the text, without interpretation. There is, however, one mischievous comment. Rev. xxii. 18, "Nothing may be added to the word of God, or taken therefrom." The text speaks of "*this* book," that is, the book of the Revelation, and certainly no more is meant; yet these words and this interpretation have done more harm in encouraging bibliolatry than any others, except perhaps the much misunderstood and misused words, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God."

Having now gone carefully through the headings to the various books, and selected such as are types of whole

classes, often very large classes, we find them open to these objections: that they have no authority—that they have been altered without authority—that we do not in all cases know by whom the alterations have been made—that they are careless, insufficient, misleading and ambiguous; we only do not say in some cases false, because that would be to assume to ourselves a right of judgment which we could wish the Translators had denied themselves.

It may seem to some that the whole question is one simply of literary curiosity, but we do not think this is or will be the opinion of those who really examine the subject. The American Bible Society felt a few years since that the publication of the existing chapter headings was in some sort a violation of their fundamental principle to distribute the Bible without note or comment; they therefore extracted from them all that savoured of doctrinal interpretation, and printed a handsome Bible with new chapter headings. This raised such a storm about their ears, that they were at once obliged to withdraw the book from circulation; and plainly the mode of obviating the difficulty was far from felicitous. We are informed that the British and Foreign Bible Society consider that they have no power to touch the chapter headings of English Bibles, as being part of the Authorized Version; but that even now the headings to their Foreign Bibles are undergoing examination, with a view to the omission of doctrinal comments. Within the last few months this Society has printed an English Old Testament for the use of Jewish readers without any headings whatever, a step in the right direction.

For if, indeed, there are any errors, or even blemishes, it is most desirable to remove them from a book which is, and will probably long continue to be, the Bible of all English-speaking people. If there be in the Bible truths denied by some who use it, these will triumph more by their own weight than when commended by the criticisms of those whom the objectors do not and cannot be expected to trust. Moreover, these interpretations bias our judgment more than we always admit. What our eyes rest on unconsciously, sinks unconsciously into our mind; and as we drink from pure fountains with these prepared rods of direction before us, the produce of our brains, like the produce of Jacob's cattle, is marked in the manner designed

by those who placed them there. We are quite sure that some biblical interpretations we have had deliberately to reject, have stayed with us longer than would have been otherwise the case through the influence of these chapter headings. And what educated people read unconsciously and mechanically, the uneducated read deliberately. We know that the poor use them much, and draw their views of Scripture largely from them.

In drawing attention to the subject, we are not seeking any sudden and violent change, but rather as pointing out an unnoticed source of error, prejudice and inaccuracy, in views on some leading doctrines. If what we have said induce any to demand a Bible "without note or comment," supply will follow demand; and a paragraph Bible without chapter or paginal headings, dates or references, would be a boon which the Bible Society would do a real kindness in supplying.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Horæ Hebraicæ*. By Francis J. Crawford. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

"THIS little volume professes to offer to the reader many novel speculations on the subject of Semitic philology. . . In pursuing these investigations, the writer has ventured to deviate very far from the beaten track, and in consequence has been often constrained to differ widely from eminent scholars on the questions discussed, and to whose learning he can make no pretensions. . . . However, . . . advances in the study of comparative philology have not been always due to the most learned scholars; and the fortunate suggestion which gave a decided impulse to its progress in modern times was owing rather to the happy inspiration of an original thought, than to the laboured processes of painful research."

It was to be anticipated from the tenor of these words, extracted from the Preface, that, like Newton when he saw the apple fall, Mr. Crawford has a "happy thought," but

that, unlike that philosopher, he leaves to others the "laboured processes of painful research" necessary to establish the truth and the scope of his thought. And this anticipation is not far from the truth. His happy thought is, that the ultimate Hebrew roots cannot be the trilateral forms which are traditionally treated as such, but that these must be divisible into simpler forms. He therefore assumes the existence of prefixes of either one or two consonants, playing the part of the prepositions used in composition with verbs in the Aryan languages, and also of affixes; so that in any trilateral verbal stem we may take, the first and second letters may be the root, and the third an affix; or the second and third the root, and the first a prefix; or, finally, the root may be represented in an abridged form by the third only, the first and second being a prefix. Mr. Crawford appears to think this is a perfectly new theory. In the extent to which he pushes it, perhaps it may be; but I doubt whether any Semitic scholar of eminence now or in several past centuries would dispute the point that the so-called weak or vowel roots guide us to an earlier biliteral root; e.g. קָנָה , קָנָה and קָנָה to קָנָה . And the writer on the ancient language of Egypt in Bunsen's "Christianity and Mankind," develops this point with especial care, shewing the Semitic trilateral verbs to have sprung from earlier biliteral roots, and regarding this biliteral stage as the original or undeveloped form of Semitism, on which its affinity with the language of Egypt (and probably with the Aryan stock) can be traced. What strikes me as new on this head in Mr. Crawford is the distinct prepositional meaning which he assigns to his prefixes. I do not reject this idea; if a simple root receives an addition, this addition must have a meaning, or rather must qualify or limit the meaning of the root; and such qualification of a verbal idea can hardly be other than prepositional: thus from *go* we have to *go up, in, out, &c.* I do not say, as some will, that verbal composition is foreign to Semitism altogether, on the ground that there the qualifying word follows and never precedes the governing one. For, in the first place, we have an instance to the contrary in the derivative verbs Hiph'al, Hithpael and Niph'al, where qualifying *prefixes* are used; and in the second, Mr. Crawford is dealing with times before the distinguishing characteristics of Semitism

had emerged at all. Still, I think that Mr. Crawford assumes the use of such prefixes too lightly, as if unconscious of its utter absence from the formative principle of the known Semitic tongues.

So much for Mr. Crawford's "happy thought." As to the establishment of its truth and its competency to explain the formation of the later trilateral roots, he has certainly trusted too much to the "painful research" of his followers, and done too little himself. He can only be judged by what he has done, and this again can only be judged by the evidence of his competency which is here afforded. It is obvious that as we approach the fountain-head of language, more caution is required than in discussing its later development—for example, in treating of the affinities of a biliteral root than of a trilateral. If the ultimate root be *k-t-l*, then the occurrence of these identical letters in a synonymous word in another far-off language may convince us of the connection. But if *l* be an affix and the root be *k-t* only, then the probability of derivation is greatly lessened, since the two languages may have independently hit upon the same combination. If, again, the two first letters be a prefix, we have only *one* root-consonant left, and there is then a greatly increased possibility that another language may have this letter occurring independently in some root of similar meaning; so in *sh-m-r*, what wonder if the Sanskrit, Chinese or Mongolian dictionary should present some verb meaning to *keep, hold, have*, in which the single letter *r* occurs? We must therefore have very strong arguments to force us to acknowledge such a derivation for the single letter *r*. Yet Mr. Crawford does not seem to see the necessity for establishing even cases like this upon firmer bases than the most obvious cases of derivation.

I am compelled to add that all his instances require to be most carefully sifted, since his citations are too often (unconsciously, perhaps) plausibly coloured. So the Hebrew *שמד* to *destroy*, is divided *שמד* *shm-d*, and the radical *d* is affirmed to occur in the Hebrew *תש* *destruction, ruin*, (though its older meaning is *calamity*), and the Sanskrit *ad* = to *destroy*; this latter being the ordinary verb to *eat*, Lat. *edere*. The verb *ענה* to *answer*, is variously given as to *hear* and to *give a favourable answer* (in opposition to an *unfavourable*) without comment. The Sanskrit at least Mr.

Crawford ought not to have used, for he does not know even its alphabet, and exposes his ignorance by persistently treating its consonant, which is generally written *ch*, and is pronounced as the English *ch* (= tsh), as if it were the guttural *ch*, as in *loch*, and identifying it with the Hebrew ח. Thus he says, "From a root or organic form חם, related to the Sanscrit [*cham*] *to eat*, comes the Hebrew לֶחֶם [l-ch-m] *to eat*." The note which he appends to this unfortunate *cham* exhibits another very frequent but inexcusable fault, that of deriving from the most modern and derivative languages, instead of tracing them back to their well-known sources: he says, "Compare the Spanish *comer*, *to eat*." Can he, in the name of common sense, believe the modern Spanish to be derived directly from the Sanskrit? Or if he cannot see that *comer* is a mere contraction of Latin *comedere*, how can we trust his judgment in treating with far obscurer affinities between ancient languages of which the history has yet to be recovered? But Mr. Crawford not only misreads the Sanskrit letters, he also mistranslates the Sanskrit words. He derives an alleged Hebrew עַל *to do*, from Sans. *hal*, "*to labour, work*," for which we must read "*to plough*." And he is very reckless in the assumption of the interchange of similar sounds. He says, "Sometimes in the interchange of gutturals an initial *Aleph* is hardened into *Cheth*." The normal progress of language is in the reverse direction, towards softening the harder sounds; and I refuse to accept this dictum except on the most unimpeachable evidence. Again, he has no conception of the force and tenacity of the guttural ע, and assumes its free and constant conversion into the spiritus lenis נ; as in the alleged אר *ar*, *to shine*, whence (he says) *to burn*, and thence ער and the actual verb בַּעַר *to burn*; inserting parenthetically that אֵשׁ *fire*, is "akin to the Latin *uro*"—which is false, because the root of *uro*, exhibited in *ussi*, *ustum*, is *us*, from the Sans. *ush*.

I have taken these cases merely as samples of the various classes of error into which Mr. Crawford has fallen. I should be willing to believe all the combinations which cannot be proved erroneous to be well founded, but it is unfortunately impossible that where so much ignorance and so little good judgment have been proved in the few cases tested, the others should exhibit an entirely opposite character.

For the sake of others who may wish to follow similar investigations, I must, in conclusion, express my opinion that the comparison of Hebrew with Spanish, Swedish, Irish, Persian, and other modern languages of known history, can bring no good. Irish comes from the old Celtic, of which Zeuss has written a grammar; Persian from the Old Persian extant in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis and the still older Zend. These alone can have anything to do with the language of Moses. Sanskrit, though ancient enough, is locally and linguistically too distant to be relied on for satisfactory results. Much more is to be hoped from investigation of what Semitism was in distant parts and ancient times, where the triliteral system was not so fully developed as among the Hebrews and Arabs—from the ancient language of Babylon and Nineveh, and from the south of Arabia (Himyarite) and Ethiopia. The labours on these fields are not so easy, but at least they are certain to yield some result, and not to violate history and probability.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

2. *Dawning Lights: an Inquiry concerning the Secular Results of the New Reformation.* By Frances Power Cobbe. London: Whitfield.

THE most fascinating, and perhaps the most generally useful, of Miss Cobbe's earlier works, has always appeared to me to be her "Broken Lights," and the present volume is in many respects a worthy sequel to the one with which its similarity of title serves naturally to connect it. The progress of events appears to justify the step thus taken, from the sketch of the condition and prospects of religion in the former work, to speculations on the results of the new faith in the present one. Portions of its contents have already enriched the pages of this Review. None the less, however, do they deserve a careful perusal in their collected form, so amply do they repay any time and thought that can be bestowed upon them.

It seems strange, but so it is, that there are persons who deny the assumption on which "Dawning Lights" is founded, namely, that a great change is taking place, and a new era is being entered on, in religion. The most they will acknowledge is that some accretions and corruptions are being got

rid of, and a return to primitive Christian purity and simplicity of doctrine and practice is becoming possible. To every great truth which a Theistic writer dwells on, they make an eager claim as being in fact stolen from Christianity; to every declaration of principles which they cannot controvert, they reply, "This is nothing new, but what we have been long maintaining." Now it is not a question of any practical importance whether ideas and methods are new in themselves, if it be granted that the clear perception and comprehension of them distinguishes the thought of the present from that of a past generation. If it pleases men to think that "the New Creed" of which our author writes, is all to be found, by those whose mental vision is clear enough, in the New Testament, and that Theism is only Christianity under another name, at least they cannot deny that men in general have hitherto failed to understand the Scriptures as teaching these truths, and that to substitute for "orthodox" creeds, the ideas and tendencies of thought on which Miss Cobbe dwells, is a complete spiritual revolution. But little observation is needed to shew us that this change is going on around us. It affects, in different degrees, every Christian church and sect. There is no form of religious faith altogether free from its influence. And hearty thanks are due to the writer who, with a spirit of true reverence for the past, and a tender touch for all that men deem sacred, helps us to estimate aright the tendencies of the present, and to gain a glimpse of the results at which we may expect to arrive in the future. The chapter on the "Change in the Method of Theology," is one of the most important of the book, and its clearness and power are equal to its importance. To shew that men may adopt a creed on the ground of individual consciousness, in place of depending on external authority, and that religion is not thereby endangered, is to remove the great dread which has deterred multitudes from countenancing or sharing in the progress of bold inquiry. At the same time, there is here given to those who have made the change, the much-needed warning, "There lurks danger in this excessive tenderness to error—truth is the thing of which we need to be tenderest—it behoves us ever to choose the very plainest names, the very clearest expressions of our thoughts." Not less need is there that advanced thinkers should ponder and take to heart the hints as to the duty of

duly exercising the faculty on which we rely when we renounce authority. There are some who say they cannot receive religion on the testimony of another, and yet take no trouble to gain a testimony of their own. It is only those in whom the flame of piety burns bright and clear in the individual soul, who can safely dispense with all light from without.

The space at my disposal forbids me to dwell on the instructive thoughts and suggestive hints with which every chapter abounds, or to touch on the points as to which, in same minor matters, the conclusions may be questioned. I can only refer to the chapter on "The Idea of Christ." This is the least satisfactory in the book, not so much on account of what is said, as of what is left unsaid. The tendency of present thought is described as a stream "of genial, reverent, fervent sympathy with the human side of Christ's character, combined with a strong reliance on the veracity of moral and spiritual evidences, and a sense of the small value of external authority." But it is urged that with this there is not combined a logical view of the facts of the case, and that many men cease to value the miracles of the Gospels, and yet treat the narrative with which they are interwoven as reliable. The conception of Christ's goodness, as a special and *exceptional* moral revelation of God, is criticised, and is met with objections that are to many minds fatal to it. It is granted that Christ was good; it is denied that his goodness was of a different order from that of all other men. But all this is negative, and we long for some statement of what is left when all these theories and beliefs are abandoned; we desire a picture, such as Miss Cobbe's pen could draw, of what Jesus appears to the mind of the Theist. It is only from hints dropped incidentally that we can supply the omission. "The utter unreliability of the Christian biographies," we are told, will be generally acknowledged, the modern picture of the character of Christ will be regarded as a mere beautiful work of art, no portrait. Will men then believe anything about Christ? Will they then be conscious of any benefit from him? Perhaps in the writer's own mind there is no very definite answer to such questions. Avowedly she shrinks from attempting to depict the consequences of such a change of opinion, taking refuge in vague generalities, which are a striking contrast to the clear, sharply-cut statements of other chapters.

This is the more to be regretted, as a positive and definite statement as to the Theist's idea of Christ, would do much to clear up the question how far any one who holds such views as the author, may justly retain the Christian name. It is said, somewhat contemptuously, "Our modern liberals may call it Christianity to believe in a righteous God, a beneficent Christ, &c. . . . I call their faith, not Christianity, but Theism." The idea of retaining a name denied to us by a majority of those who bear it, is emphatically rejected. But to settle the question, we require to know whether the Theist receives benefit from the spiritual influence of Christ, so superior, either in kind or degree, to that obtained from other teachers, as to call for some distinction; if so, those who feel they are thus benefited naturally express the fact by calling themselves Christians. The name does not necessarily express any belief of the intellect. It may be used also (I might say, there are better grounds for using it) to express a spiritual experience, a sense of benefits received from the influence of Christ on the soul. Those who on this ground retain the name, even while they go through many changes of theological belief, are not open to the charge of inconsistency, so long as they speak openly and plainly as to what their actual opinions are on all religious questions.

Such considerations do not, however, justify the taunt often directed against "pure Theism," that it is nothing new—nothing but "pure Christianity." To establish that charge, it would be necessary to shew that what is called "pure Christianity" was the belief obtained from the Christian records by the great majority of those who have gone to them to look for truth, and this is manifestly opposed to fact. The intellectual conclusions of men change from age to age, those of each period being modified, if not superseded, in a succeeding period; and it is vain to claim for any scriptural teachings an exception to this law; but spiritual facts and experiences are in their essence the same in all successive generations, and in these the dawning lights of the day that is, must be fed from the same sources as sufficed to enlighten mankind in days long gone by, must keep up a connection with the past from which they draw much of their inspiration. This is clearly shewn in pp. 38—40. But with equal force it is argued, that to call the creed of Christianity and of Theism one and the same, is an

abuse of language. The solution of both questions, that as to whether he who holds a Theist's creed may justly call himself a Christian, and that as to whether the Theist is warranted in supposing he has a "new creed," and not the old one in a modified form, is found in the recognition of the same truth. I should answer both in the affirmative, on the ground that our connection with the past, and indebtedness to its teachers, is not so much intellectual as spiritual, and that the truly religious, as distinguished from the theological, faith of man may find its nutriment in the influence of those from whom we widely differ in opinion. Not that theological truth is not of highest value, but that while we may and do make constant advances in regard to it, the affections of the soul remain the same; whatever new light, in this or in a succeeding generation, may dawn upon the mind, the heart can never rise above the piety of David and the resignation of Christ, or cease to be indebted to the Psalms and Gospels for materials for its devotion, and incentives to its struggles to a spiritual oneness with the Father.

JOHN WRIGHT.

3. *Friedrich Schleiermacher. Ein Lebens und Charakterbild.* Zur Erinnerung an den 21 November, 1768, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet von Dr. D. Schenkel. Elberfeld: Friderichs. 1868.

Friedrich Schleiermacher. Sein Leben und sein Wirken. Für das deutsche Volk dargestellt von Rudolf Baxmann. Elberfeld: Friderichs. 1868.

Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern. Von Friedrich Schleiermacher. Mit Einleitung herausgegeben von Dr. Carl Schwarz. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1868.

The commemoration, on the 21st of November, of the birth of one of the most important theologians of modern times, will no doubt have the effect of attracting fresh attention to his life and work. His books and his life are the best introduction to the study of the present condition of the German church and German theology. In Schleiermacher the most divergent tendencies, which have been since developed, met as in a centre. But the greatest interest of the

man lies in this, that he undertook the Herculean task of harmonizing the natural and the supernatural. Dr. Schwarz expresses the great importance of the man thus :

"The great importance of Schleiermacher's genius consists in the reconciliation of the antitheses, otherwise so hostile, by which, in both theology and the church, mutually contending and exclusive parties are so often formed,—the antitheses, namely, of piety and science, of devoutest Christian faith and the broadest and freest human culture."

Dr. Schenkel's Biography tells us all that we need to know about Schleiermacher. Although the author declines to call his book a *life* in the broadest sense of the word, to most English readers its size will argue in favour of it, to the disadvantage of the voluminous work of Dilthey, which is gradually appearing. Dr. Schenkel's work deserves great praise. It is well written, rich in characteristic facts, fully supplied with quotations from Schleiermacher's correspondence and works. The reader is brought face to face with the man himself. We consider it a peculiar excellence of the book that it contains full and careful analyses of Schleiermacher's chief works. For the general reader, especially if he be a foreigner, these analyses are of great use. Schleiermacher wrote a hard style. His sense is often difficult to catch. No English reader can make out the meaning of parts of his *Reden* without much toil. Such analyses as Dr. Schenkel gives will assist him greatly; indeed, he may read them and not the *Reden* if he likes, although, of course, these are well worthy to be mastered. To us, Dr. Schenkel's criticisms of Schleiermacher's theology also are very acceptable. They are clear, and tell. Dr. Schenkel always hits straight and hard. The sore place in Schleiermacher's Christology, for instance, is thus pointed out:

"Since religion, according to Schleiermacher, is an immediate, purely internal process, the original communion of the soul with the Infinite, it is not as such mediated by historical events or external facts. When, therefore, the historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, is made an object of the religious consciousness, in this case there is no longer an immediate internal religious fact, but exertions of knowledge and of action interpose as connecting links. A definite conception of the peculiar and unique importance of the person of Jesus, and a definite resolve to accept that

conception, have been added ;—that is, something which is no longer religion, but knowledge and act."

Dr. Baxmann's little book is also well worthy of commendation. A clear and interesting picture of Schleiermacher as a man, and, to a certain extent, as a theologian, is presented. We have, however, met statements in it which we could not approve, and there is no criticism of Schleiermacher's views when they are detailed. But it is a book for the people. As such it is worthy of circulation. Schleiermacher's history as a man is as characteristic and important as his course as a theological thinker. His early life as a school-boy, as a student, his courtships and friendships, his married life and his political career, are intensely interesting ; and these Dr. Baxmann describes vividly. If the mass of books and pamphlets which this birthday brings out are half as good, the reading world may be thankful.

The edition of the *Reden*, published in the excellent "Bibliothek der Deutschen Nationalliteratur," with a Preface from the able pen of Dr. Schwarz, is a very useful addition to Schleiermacher literature. The Preface contains a very interesting summary of the great theologian's work, and a sketch of his life. And the whole book sells for a shilling !

J. F. SMITH.

4. *Miscellaneous.*

The little volume of sermons by the Rev. Samuel Minton, called "The Glory of Christ in the Creation and Reconciliation of all Things,"* is another of the many noteworthy signs of the times which have been lately perceptible. Mr. Minton has evidently no leanings in the Broad-church direction, and appears to be perfectly "sound" on most of the points of Calvinism. Yet he argues in these sermons vigorously and, to our minds, conclusively against the doctrine of eternal torment, maintaining that it is altogether unauthorized by Scripture, as well as inconsistent with every instinct of man's heart as to what is just and right. The words "death"

* The Glory of Christ in the Creation and Reconciliation of all Things, with special reference to the Doctrine of Eternal Evil. A Course of Sermons preached at Eaton Chapel, Eaton Square. By Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1868.

and "destruction," used so often of the doom of the wicked, he insists, mean in Scripture precisely what they mean in common language, and therefore exclude the notion of a perpetual existence in suffering; and as to the strong expression, "everlasting punishment," in Matthew xxv. 46, not only does the original adjective mean simply "lasting for the period referred to," without necessarily involving the idea of endlessness, but if by the "punishment" he understood the *loss* of eternal happiness, it might then, though ceasing to be felt, yet as enduring for ever in its effects, be called everlasting even in the most extensive sense of the word. Whether there is not a little special-pleading in the explanation of this and some of the other passages of Scripture bearing on the subject, may perhaps be open to question; at least when Josephus says the Pharisees believed that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment,* we doubt if any one ever supposed him to mean suffering that would endure only for a limited time. When, however, Mr. Minton appeals to our natural instincts, it is at once felt that his position is impregnable. The following eloquent passage, which reminds one of the famous saying of Mr. Mill, will give a fair notion of the force of the moral repulsion which even an "evangelical" preacher must feel to the horrible doctrine of eternal torment, when he has the courage to bring it to the test of his own sense of justice.

"If a single creature is to be kept alive in a state of agony for ever, in flames that would instantly consume him were not Almighty power put forth to sustain him under the torture, so that he may never be put out of his misery—then God may be something which He calls Love; but it is mere mockery to talk to *us* about it, inasmuch as we cannot form the faintest conception of what it means. By telling us that He is love, He implies that we can understand what is meant by it. And if we can understand it in any degree whatever, then we may be as certain as we are of our existence, that He would never have created anything at all, if it had involved the necessity, or even risked the possibility, of one single creature writhing in eternal agony. It would destroy His own happiness. Infinitely rather would He have remained alone in solitary existence, than take a step that could possibly lead to anything so dreadful. But when we are told that the creatures who are thus to suffer, and who will be counted

* Wars, ii. viii. 14.

by millions, will know Who is thus keeping them alive in their torments, and consequently hate Him with ever-increasing hatred, we reach the climax of impossibility. To suppose that a God of infinite love can be perfectly happy, while conscious of being the object of eternal hatred to multitudes of His own creatures, is the most violent moral self-contradiction that could possibly be invented.

"It is believed—indeed, it is essential to the consistency of the theory—that the endless sufferings of the condemned will heighten the enjoyment and enhance the blessedness of all holy creatures throughout the universe. Now here we can speak not from inference, but from intuition. Our feelings, of course, are liable to considerable alteration when we are placed in other circumstances; but again we say, that there must be *some* limit to this, or we should wholly lose our identity. And, for myself, I can only express the confidence I feel by repeating the formula in all seriousness, that I am just as certain as I am of my own existence, that before long I should rush to the Throne in despair, entreat to be annihilated, in order to escape from the intolerable thought of the unceasing agonies of the condemned. And not believing myself to be an exceptional case, I am equally confident that this would be the feeling of every creature in the universe who possessed a spark of love within his breast. They would come again and again with the same importunate cry to the great Creator, saying, Lord, if it must be that this is never to end, if the condemned *cannot* be put out of their misery consistently with Thy glory, oh, then blot *us*, we pray Thee, out of existence, or send us into an eternal sleep—anything to escape the horror of the thoughts that haunt us incessantly; we cannot, indeed, see the writhings of their agony or hear their shrieks of despair, but we know what they must be, we can never forget them for a moment, and the thought of them makes life unendurable to us."*

The first edition of Professor Ewald's most important commentary on the Prophets appeared in 1841.† This is not the place to speak of the invaluable services to Biblical science which this work has rendered. The object of this short notice is to call the attention of students of the Bible to the fact that an enlarged and improved edition has now appeared. As might be expected from the marvellously

* Pp. 28—32.

† Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt von Heinrich Ewald. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen, 1867-8.

indefatigable and active genius of the author, this second edition, appearing after an interval of more than a quarter of a century, is no mere reprint of the first. The work is now three volumes instead of two. This increase of bulk is owing partly to the insertion of new matter throughout the work. This new matter shews how keenly the author has himself pursued Biblical science and watched its course. Any new discoveries in geography, history, or other department of knowledge, that throw light on the prophets, he has immediately laid his hand upon and turned to good account. Of course the results of so many years' unwearied examination of the language of the Bible have also been turned to account here. But the work owes its enlargement especially to the valuable addition of a complete commentary on the books Jonah, Daniel, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy. This addition will be welcomed by the true students of the Bible. In studying so difficult a book as the book of Daniel, it is an invaluable help not only to have the general results to which such a scholar and critic as Ewald has come, but also an exposition of the process and the grounds upon which his conclusions rest. We have now the latter, and a translation of the book as well, with the two languages in which it is written distinguished by a difference in the type. May this great work of Ewald's find an ever-increasing circle of students in England, and help to deliver us from the groundless and injurious views upon the prophets promulgated by the Auberlens, Hengstenbergs and Puseys!

It is also an encouraging sign of the times that Ewald's *History of Israel** has now reached the third edition. The third edition of the fifth and sixth volumes, which contain the history of Christ and his time, and the history of the apostolic age, is more than a reprint of the second. It contains valuable additions and emendations. In the fifth volume, for instance, there is a new chapter of thirty-six pages on the *School of Hillel and its Opponents*. This chapter has special interest at a time when most contra-

* *Geschichte Christus' und seiner Zeit* von Heinrich Ewald. Fünfter Band der *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Dritte Ausgabe. Göttingen, 1867.

Geschichte des Apostolischen Zeitalters bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalem's. Von Heinrich Ewald. Sechster Band der *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Dritte Ausgabe. Göttingen, 1868.

dictory things are said about the relation of Christ to the rabbinical schools. In this volume there is also a new chapter on the recently discovered book, *the Ascension of Moses*. The sixth volume, having fifty pages more print, contains "a number of important additions and emendations here and there." The seventh and last volume of the work will appear in a new edition in the course of a few weeks.

We welcome with great pleasure the announcement of a second edition of that portion of Ewald's History of Israel which appeared some time ago under the editorial supervision of Mr. R. Martineau.* A second volume is now added (procurable separately by purchasers of the first edition), which brings down the history to the time of Samuel, and contains, in an Appendix, a very interesting dissertation, from the pen of the editor, on the Divine Name, in which he gives his reasons, in face of much hostile criticism, for adopting the pronunciation Jahveh. It need hardly be said that Ewald's narrative does not diminish in interest as he follows the development of the national fate of the Hebrews; while it appears to us that the translator—practice making perfect—is increasingly successful in dealing with the intricacies and roughnesses of the author's style. The work is one which, while indispensable to the student of theology, offers no stumbling-block to the mere English reader. We trust that the speedy sale of the first edition of the first volume will encourage translator and editor to persevere till they have produced a complete English version of the whole of this great work.

Such of our readers as were interested in the article on "Lessing" which appeared in our pages not long ago, will receive with pleasure a new translation of his most celebrated poem, "Nathan the Wise."† We are not quite able to accept the high opinion of "Nathan" as a poem which the anonymous translator expresses in his interesting Introduction: while we fully admit the estimation in which it is held as a masterpiece of German literature, and the influence it has exercised upon public sentiment, we are bound

* The History of Israel, by Heinrich Ewald, &c. Translated from the German. Edited, with a Preface and Appendix, by Russell Martineau, M.A., &c. Vol. II. Joshua and the Judges. London: Longmans. 1869.

† Nathan the Wise: a Dramatic Poem, by G. E. Lessing. From the German: with an Introduction. London: Trübner. 1868.

in honesty to confess that we have always found it a little dull. Poetry was not the natural and irrepressible voice of Lessing's soul, but a language which he consciously and deliberately adopted: the secret of his influence is to be sought for much more in the matter than in the form of his speech. The present translation is fairly executed, though at times too periphrastical; and the original loses less than it would do, were its beauties of a subtler kind. We can recommend the volume to those persons who, ignorant of the German language, are yet desirous to make acquaintance with one of its best known monuments.

"Man's Origin and Destiny, sketched from the Platform of the Sciences,"* is the title of a course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston, by Mr. J. P. Lesley, and now re-produced in a handsome volume. The field of view is vast, the survey rapid, the statements of fact precise and even dogmatic, the generalizations wide and confident. Much knowledge, which does not inspire us with absolute faith in its exactness, is poured out in a style which disdains no expedient to be picturesque; and even the reader whose confidence is not conciliated, rarely fails to be interested and amused. But the reliance even of the most trustful will receive a rude shock before he reaches the end of the volume. Mr. Lesley there announces that "Jacob Bryant has not yet had his day," and devoting the whole of one and portions of several lectures to the exposition of what he calls "Arkite Symbolism," attempts to prove the rejected thesis of the almost forgotten mythologist, by help of the most astonishing audacity of statement and the strangest misapplications of etymology. Mr. Lesley has only himself to thank, if readers who have any knowledge of the principles of comparative philology receive his physical and geological statements with more than a grain of caution. The wildness of his last lecture would corrupt the truthful soberness of a dozen volumes.

"A Man's Belief†" is the title of an anonymous pamphlet of some 100 pages, the author of which examines, with considerable metaphysical acuteness and in a lucid and

* *Man's Origin and Destiny, sketched from the Platform of the Sciences, &c. &c.* By J. P. Lesley. London: Trübner. 1868.

† *A Man's Belief: an Essay on the Facts of Religious Knowledge.* London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

graceful style, the foundations of religious faith. He arrives at the three following conclusions: "We know that there is a God, and goodness, power and wisdom, in the highest belong to Him. We know that there is a life to come, and that the permanent happiness of a living soul depends upon its character. And we know that the character described as that of Christ is the true excellence of our own nature." We cannot, in this necessarily brief notice, follow the author into speculations which extend over the whole of the religious ground, and indicate the points at which we should be disposed to question or modify his conclusions; but we can speak in high terms of the general thoughtfulness of his procedure, and of the success with which he limits his inferences to a just deduction from his premisses. His little book belongs to a large and increasing class which are perhaps a more convincing sign than any other, of the religious revolution which is taking place, almost silently, in the minds of thoughtful men.

Mr. O'Dell Travers Hill reproduces for the benefit of English readers a treatise on Christian evidence, entitled "*The Triumph of the Cross*,"* by the celebrated Savonarola, in the expectation that it may not be without influence upon the doubts and denials of our own day. We cannot think that this expectation is likely to be justified by the event. Although the matter of the great controversies which affect the foundations of belief remains unchanged, their form perpetually varies from age to age, and no books become more rapidly obsolete than books of evidence. Who reads now, except as a matter of literary curiosity, or as an indication of the thought and feeling of the time, the works of the early Christian apologists? Have any books more decisively gone down to the limbo of forgetfulness than the replies to the English Deists? So this book of Savonarola is sufficiently interesting as a statement of the aspect in which Christian evidence presented itself to the mind of the very remarkable man who wrote it, and it may even supply believers with fresh arguments in support of their faith; but we do not think that it will be very effective as a counterblast to Strauss and Renan. Every age has its peculiar

* *The Triumph of the Cross*, by Jerome Savonarola. Translated from the Latin, with Notes and a Biographical Sketch, by O'Dell Travers Hill, &c. &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1868.

sickness of the mind, and each requires a remedy of its own.

A contribution of very different value to the controversies of the day is Mr. Martineau's "*Word for Scientific Theology, in appeal from the Men of Science and the Theologians.*"* In this admirable address, delivered at the opening of the present session in Manchester New College, Mr. Martineau first vindicates the continued existence of the institution in which he performs so important a function, by pointing out with great force that theology is not taught as a science—with reference, that is, to the attainment of the truth only, and not of any foregone conclusions—in the older Universities, which, so far as tests are concerned, are now practically open to Nonconformist students. He then, by a natural transition, passes to the indictment against Natural Theology, preferred by Dr. Hooker at the Norwich meeting of the British Association, and, in an argument which is at once brilliant and profound, claims a relation of Religion to the moral faculties of men, as natural and necessary as that of Science (commonly so called) to perception and reason; maintaining at the same time that, in regard to method, Theology is capable of scientific treatment, and cannot be refused the character and dignity of a science. In view of debates which every day assume a more pressing importance, we cannot too highly recommend Mr. Martineau's pamphlet to all thoughtful readers.

Mr. Josiah Bull, the grandson of the William Bull who was the friend of Cowper and Newton, has just published for the Religious Tract Society a new *Memoir of John Newton*,† "compiled chiefly from his diary and other unpublished documents." Newton is so characteristic a figure in the history of the Evangelical revival of the last century, and includes in his own life and experience so many strange contrasts, that we looked eagerly for the self-revelation which an unpublished diary seemed to promise. The result, however, is only blank disappointment. Either the

* *A Word for Scientific Theology, &c. An Address at the Opening of the Session 1868-9 of Manchester New College, Oct. 5, 1868. By James Martineau. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.*

† *John Newton, of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth: an Autobiography and Narrative, &c. &c. By Rev. Josiah Bull, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society. 1868.*

diary contains no new materials of any interest, or Mr. Bull is incapable of selecting and using them. The volume neither adds to our knowledge of Newton in any important particular, nor deepens our impression of his character. It is an average piece of evangelical biography, colourless and flavourless.

An unpretending little volume preserves the record of the "Centenary Celebration of Cheshunt College,"* held on the 25th of June, 1868, at which, much to the scandal of High-churchmen, the Dean of Canterbury presided, and other clergymen assisted. Its contents are, "An Introductory Essay on the Character and Work of the Countess of Huntingdon," by the Rev. H. Allon; a sermon by Mr. Binney; Dr. Alford's address, and, generally, a report of other proceedings. The chief interest of the volume, except to those who are bound to Cheshunt College by personal ties, is the clear way in which is brought out the comparative freedom of its constitution, arising, in the first instance, from the indeterminate relation to Church and Dissent in which its foundress was obliged to stand. A paragraph, which was first inserted in the Annual Report of 1793, and has been repeated in subsequent Reports, states that

"It is the characteristic of this institution that it is of no party. The great object that it has in view is the faithful preaching of the pure Gospel of Christ; and the young men educated in this seminary will be at full liberty to follow the leadings of Providence, and the dictates of their own judgment, in the line they choose on leaving College. The Society is well affected to the Church of England, and to all their Christian Dissenting brethren who hold her doctrinal Articles. On this broad bottom, therefore, they solicit the zealous support of all real Christians to perpetuate this truly Evangelical establishment."

We are glad to know and to record that Cheshunt College is not limited to the uses of any single denomination; but we cannot quite subscribe to Mr. Allon's statement, that "it is an institution for the education of young men for the ministry on ecclesiastical principles of the most catholic character." Manchester New College is an example, almost as old as Cheshunt, of the much greater length in which it

* Centenary Celebration of Cheshunt College, 25th June, 1868. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1868.

is possible to go in a free and catholic education for the Christian ministry.

In the translation of a volume of *Sermons** by Dr. De Pressensé, we have a very favourable specimen of the French Protestant pulpit. While their tone is such as would satisfy the English orthodox Christian, there is less in them than would be found in most similar sermons by an English preacher, that prevents their being acceptable to readers of all shades of opinion. In picturesque description and vigorous rhetoric they abound, and in many passages they touch with a tender but skilful hand the deepest problems of the soul's experience. The translation is very satisfactory, though the full beauty of the style is necessarily lost to those who do not make acquaintance with the discourses in the original. Many English preachers might take some useful hints from this volume as to the methods of increasing the power of the pulpit.

Mr. Madge gives us a pleasing proof of the vigour of his old age in his "Reasons for Believing in the Genuineness of John's Gospel"† The controversy has of late been so fully entered into in these pages, that we may be excused from the task of defending or attacking the positions which he assumes. It may be enough to say that he rates very highly the external evidence to the genuineness of the fourth Gospel; that he fails to perceive the discrepancy between John and the Synoptics in their several accounts of the Last Supper; and that he feels strongly the force of many minute internal indications of Johannine authorship.

E.

* *The Mystery of Suffering, and other Discourses.* By E. De Pressensé, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

† *Reasons for Believing in the Genuineness of John's Gospel, with some Notice of the Rev. J. J. Tayler's recent Publication on the Fourth Gospel.* By Thomas Madge. London: Whitfield. 1868.

THE
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—MILMAN'S ANNALS OF ST. PAUL'S.

Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral. By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., late Dean of St. Paul's. 8vo. London: John Murray.

A WITTY lady not many months ago said to Dean Milman: "When I hear of all the foolish things done by our Bishops, I hardly feel that I can call myself a member of the *Episcopal* Church of England. But of the *Decanal* Church, represented by you and Dean Stanley, I am a sincere disciple!" The venerable old gentleman laughed heartily at the nice distinction; and probably most of our readers will agree with the lady in question, that a Church whose representatives should be the authors of "Latin Christianity" and the "Life of Arnold," backed by the Deans of Bristol and of Canterbury, would be a fold of no very difficult or narrow entrance.

That mysterious charge of the parochial clergy called the "Cure of Souls" is, we believe, not incumbent upon Deans and cathedral dignitaries. They are, theoretically, the proper guardians of Learning in the Church of England. But it is not often that theory and practice meet so accurately as they did in the late Dean of St. Paul's; a man the depth of whose erudition was that of an age of earlier and more laborious scholarship than ours, even while his width of philosophic comprehension might seem to forestall the toleration of centuries yet to come. Perhaps a Church must have passed its zenith before one of its ministers, wise and great as Milman, looks back, as he has done in these Annals, on the fires of martyrdom out of which (like Polycarp's dove) it rose, with the same calm and even-handed criticism wherewith elsewhere he

records the debates of Gnostics and Montanists extinct fifteen hundred years ago. Yet, on the other hand, none can esteem a Church to be yet sinking beneath the horizon of contemporary intelligence which can count among its dignitaries, and, what is far more important, count as *honestly* among its dignitaries, such a man as the late Dean of St. Paul's.

The work with which we intend to concern ourselves in this paper, is the last bequest which Dean Milman has added to his great legacy of Histories,—his “Annals of St. Paul's.” Whether stimulated or not, we cannot tell, by the delightful book of his friend and fellow-Dean of Westminster, the thought of writing the story of his own Cathedral assuredly came to him very happily for the world. A more charming monograph could hardly be conceived; and he who has read it will not often look on that stately dome and glittering cross, rising over the smoke of London, without rejoicing in the store of recollections with which its Dean has furnished him. In the present Review, the writer has not the ambition to offer the big book boiled down into a résumé of facts and dates. For a discriminating analysis of the history, chronology, biography, archæology and all the rest of the contents, let the seeker for knowledge apply elsewhere. We mean to behave like a child at a pastrycook's, and pick and choose our facts and our reflections at our own indiscretion; regardless of the final blushing confession that we have “only had four of those, and three of these, and six of those little ones.”

The site of St. Paul's, Dean Milman frequently treats as a lofty eminence. We cannot say that it has ever struck us in that light. When the exigencies of interpretation require some future Dr. Cumming to point out the Seven Heads of the modern Babylon, we can easily believe that he will prove Ludgate and Notting Hill and Maida Hill and Primrose Hill and Cornhill and Tower Hill to supply six of them, and will solemnly remind his hearers that the Holborn Viaduct did not always exist, but that where it now stands one of the original bestial Heads had been “cut off” in the prophetic year 1866—a most remarkable date, being, as the reader will perceive, compounded three ways of the number 6, three times six being 18, and two sixes

following. But though these Hills are quite big enough to serve the purpose of interpretation of the sort favoured by such expositors, we hardly think they deserve the appellation of lofty. On the "high places" of Ludgate, however, whether very exalted or otherwise, Dean Milman tells us there is really reason to believe once stood a temple of Diana, worshipped by her Roman votaries on their way to those Happy Hunting-grounds in the primeval forests, somewhere about Finsbury. The tradition is full of suggestiveness; and we are not surprised at the good Dean's pleasure at the corroboration afforded to it by the discovery of an altar of Diana in Foster Lane a few years ago; nor at his note of triumph* over his "dear friend the Dean of Westminster," who "must produce an image of Apollo as like that of the Belvidere as this is to the Diana of the Louvre, before he can fairly compete with us for the antiquity of heathen worship." "Great is Diana"—of St. Paul's, at all events! The two eminent Christian Deans vying for the honour of their pagan deities, is a delicious glimpse of refreshment amid modern controversies of Ritualism and Rationalism.

We believe it was Wesley who complained that

"Where God erects his House of Prayer,
The Devil builds his temple there."

But the Methodist should have been comforted by the reflection that, *per contra*, wherever the old heathen gods had a fane, there the early Christians delighted to build a church, or to convert the existing edifice into one; with what small artistic success let the Pantheon and the Parthenon testify. When "great Pan" and all the rest of them were dead in England, a Christian Church seems at once to have risen on the hill of St. Paul's. Mellitus, the companion of Augustine, was the first Bishop of London; and fourth in succession from him came St. Erkenwald, whose life forms one of those fairy tales of continual miracle in which the monks of old and the babes of our day equally found, and find, delight. The author of *Alice in Wonderland*, we have often thought, would have been invaluable as a writer of holy chronicles. The worst of the old ones is, that they have not enough imagination. There is a certain

* P. 8.

sameness in continual prodigies of carts which go straight on one wheel, and hearthstones which become ecclesiastical velocipedes, and rivers which stop running whenever saints want to cross over them. One moral alone these fables teach ; to wit, that in ages before men had got the idea that God was the Orderer of Nature, or that Nature had any order at all, it was precisely the most religious and simple-minded men who earned, like St. Irenæus, the title of a Father of Tales. The cock-and-bull story which, told in the nineteenth century, marks the spirit-rapping impostor, in the ninth only identifies the pious and "Venerable" Bede.

The fires of heaven and earth seem both to have borne a special despatch against St. Paul's. So often in Dean Milman's book occur all the terms for conflagration and burning and lightning and smoking ruins and molten lead, that, not pretending to chronology (as we confessed from the first) we can only think of the old edifices as periodically burnt and revived at least once a century. Diana's temple gave way to a church, and the church was burned, and then a cathedral was built, and the cathedral was burned, and burned again, and struck by lightning, and finally burned for good and all in the great Fire. Meanwhile it had seen so many curious scenes, and its walls had echoed to such a variety of doctrines, that if they possessed the qualities of Wren's Whispering Gallery they must have been repeating a dozen creeds in a continual Dutch concert. Splendid councils, headed by Papal Legates, Royal processions and thanksgivings, had alternated with perpetual masses and preachings. St. Paul's (as its Dean obviously desires us to understand), *St. Paul's*, and not Westminster, was, and is, the Cathedral of London, the very core of England's busy heart. The tale is tersely, admirably told ; but as the Reformation begins to dawn, with Dean Colet for its Morning Star, the interest rises and the power of the historian becomes more manifest. Nowhere, we think, save in the pages of Mr. Froude (from which Dean Milman has largely quoted), have the wild features of that stormy time been so vividly reproduced as in these Annals. It is as if, hidden in some nook of the clerestory of the vast old pile, we looked down and watched the tumult below. Now we see the images of Saint and Virgin removed, and hear loud doctrines of Royal supremacy taught from the pulpit. And

now the great Rood is pulled down, and Ridley thunders against the adoration of saints, and all the rich endowments of obits and chantries are seized, and the private masses silenced (Dean Milman moralizing thereon—"Whether any soul fared the worse, our colder age may doubt!"), and the immense harvest reaped and gleaned afterwards again and again, of all the decorations and vestments and rich plate of the cathedral. Then, again, we see noisy crowds listening to profane harangues, wherein the mystery of the Eucharist is described as "Jack in the Box," and Latimer talks sternly of duties before doctrines; and at last comes a day—All Hallows as it well might be—when the English Liturgy in the noble Anglo-Saxon tongue first rolls its sonorous cadences through the wide arches of St. Paul's.

But again come storm and darkness. Mary is on the throne, and the Rood once more lifted over the altar, and the Latin mass is restored, and Philip, Alva's master, goes in solemn procession, with his stately train of three hundred nobles of England, Germany and Spain, that he may receive the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Pole, in St. Paul's. And then—and then—through the open cathedral door we can almost see the smoke of that dread fire in Smithfield, to which brave Canon John Rogers, the proto-martyr of England, passed on (as De Noailles records), "not as to his death, but as to his wedding."

It would seem that all the story of the Reformation must needs be revised and re-written in our day. Undoubtedly old Foxe and his followers were guilty of many a *suppressio veri* when the truth told against their heroes, and perhaps of some considerable exaggeration of the faults of the yet remembered and hated persecutors. It is time (when is it *not* time?) that the whole truth should be told, and no lingering reticence maintained as to the weaknesses of the sufferers or the palliations of the offenders' guilt. Thus may be silenced and put to shame those evil tongues which, like Dr. Littledale's, can dare to speak of Ridley and Hooper and Latimer as "scoundrels" unworthy of comparison with Danton and Robespierre. We need but the truth assuredly to answer such coarse and stupid ribaldry. Yet when the story *is* told with all possible sincerity, would it be unfitting in the historian to permit his sympathy with the martyr, his indignation against the persecu-

tor, to become transparent through his pages? We cannot think so, and we must honestly avow that Dean Milman's brilliant story of the Reformation, veracious to the last degree as we doubt not it is, and with all its keen elegance of criticism, pleases us less than the hot, strong words which ever and anon drop from the pen of Mr. Froude, and betray the man under the robe of the historian. Men *ought* not to write, any more than to read, of great and holy deeds, of the achievements which are the glory and crown of our humanity, as if they were nothing to them beyond matters of scientific inquiry. Neither, surely, need they describe cruelty and malignity with calmness and judicial serenity. Not much, perhaps, but certainly somewhat, of this (to our thinking) overstrained critical impartiality of tone marks all these pages of Dean Milman's "Annals." He tells what there was to be told of the martyr's weakness with little regret, and of the martyr's virtue with a temperate approbation. Ridley's "dastardly political tergiversation" receives from him epithets quite as forcible as Ridley's "quiet, unshaken intrepidity" amid the flames, which surely more than expiated that mournful mistake.

Was it, perchance, that Milman himself was one who, in times like those of the Reformation, would have cast in his lot with the martyrs, and that to him the virtue he felt able to imitate did not seem surprising? Certain it is that such lesser sacrifices as are demanded in our day by religious honesty he freely made, and that in publishing his "History of the Jews" he relinquished for life the highest prizes of his profession, otherwise within his grasp.

Speaking of the spoliation of the treasures of the Romish Cathedrals, Dean Milman adopts another tone from that which he uses regarding the martyrs:

"The Ritualist," he says, "of our day may read in Dugdale—if he can read for tears of fond but vain regret—the pages which recount the gorgeous robes, the chasubles, copes, and other purple and gold and embroidered attire, once the possession, once the raiment of the clergy of St. Paul's. . . . We read these seemingly wanton demolitions and spoliations with indignation, sorrow and shame." (Are not these terms somewhat too forcible for the occasion?) "Yet are we not unjust to those to whom we owe so incalculable a debt of gratitude? Many of these

observances, much of the garniture of the august ceremonials, much of the rich architectural shrinework, much of the splendid decorations of the churches, which to us may be the incentives, the language and expression of genuine spiritual piety, to the Reformers was part and portion, an inseparable part and portion, of that vast system of debasing superstition, of religious tyranny, of sacerdotal domination, the intolerable yoke of which it was their mission to burst, if they would open to themselves and to the world the realm of religious freedom and true Christianity. There are higher things than Gothic fretwork or 'storied windows richly dight'—truth, pure worship, and last-born Christian tolerance and charity. . . . If the priesthood, from gods, as they sometimes called themselves, with the power of making God, of materializing Him even to the grossest form, if the priesthood . . . were to shrink into (mere) instructors of the people . . . great changes were inevitable. . . . If in these changes the Reformers saw not how or where to draw the fine and floating and long obscured line between religion and superstition, who shall dare to arraign them ?'

Such words do us good to read. We know not which is the more dismal of two sights common enough in these days: that of the Ritualist who identifies piety with chandlery and millinery, or that of the Dilettante who treats religion as subordinate to æsthetic taste, and theology as if it were a sort of archæologic heraldry. For our own part, we confess that the second error seems more hopeless than the first. It is of course an amazement to discover that there are men, otherwise sane, and not uneducated, who, in England, in 1869, deliberately affirm their belief in the doctrine of the Real Presence; who hold it to be a fact that pieces of wheaten loaves are transformable by a certain process (quite other than that of chemical assimilation and digestion) into the Body of a Man; nay, of a certain and particular Man who died eighteen centuries ago; and further, that that particular Man was actually and truly the Eternal and Almighty God, and that the act of eating him is the highest possible mark of reverence and piety, and directly obtains for the soul of the eater certain high spiritual benefits. All this, we say, is simply amazing to us. When we further read that these modern transubstantiationists hold that their rite when practised in the forenoon is essential to salvation, but becomes in the afternoon "mortal

sin,"* we seem to have arrived at the last expression of grovelling superstition. But wretched as such ideas appear to us—puerile as is such morality in "this world of sorrow and sin, this world of strife and of passion"—there yet seems a lower deep. The Ritualists (as we read their history) at least *desire* communion with God as the highest of all attainments. It is, we believe, not because of the superabundance in them of true spiritual faith, but from the half-conscious lack of it, and the eager desire to obtain something equivalent to it, that they have recourse to all their devices, as the poet whose afflatus has deserted him supplies its place with gross material stimulants. The true Age of Faith, we are persuaded, must ever be a Puritan age, which dispenses with Form because it is so deeply imbued with Spirit, and despises outward Authority because it is full of inward Assurance. But still the Ritualist, if blindly and stupidly, yet actually and honestly seeks the true treasure of religious communion even among the "beggary elements" of his forms and ceremonies. The contrary holds true of the Dilettante. He neither has true Faith, nor any desire to say, "Lord, increase our faith." To his mind, the "carved work" of the altar is the significant thing—not either the soul of the worshipper or He who is worshipped thereon. These are they who tell us with complacency that "for their part they can adopt no religion whose ritual does not meet the requirements of a cultivated taste." These are they to whom false doctrines preached in a Gothic building, are far more welcome than true ones taught in a chapel with a Doric portico; and the Communion Service well sung, more impressive than the Beatitudes simply read. These are they who condemn bitterly the breach of a Church custom, but heed little the infraction of the eternal Law of the universe; and who lament more grievously over a broken-nosed statue than over a ruined soul.

Truly for these men we have no sympathy at all. It is a pity when beautiful things are destroyed and their grace lost to the world. But we would rather that all the sculptures of the Vatican should be thrown into the mud of the

* See the letter of the Rev. A. H. Stanton to the *Daily News*, dated "St. Alban's Clergy House, Brook Street, Feast of the Circumcision, 1869."

Tiber, than that human spirits should be for ever sunk in the deep filth of idolatry. Away, we say, with the senseless childish lamentations of our day over the spoliation of the old Romish Churches of England! In the great intellectual hurricane of the Reformation, which has purified the air for us ever since, it was inevitable that all these images and shrines and painted windows and copes and vestments and banners should have been swept to the four winds of heaven. Such a disease as that of mediæval Romanism could never have been cured by homœopathic doses of archæologic taste, nor could its infection have been removed till all its garnitures and hangings had been utterly destroyed. What the Great Fire was to the Great Plague, such was the iconoclasm of the Reformers to the moral pestilence of Popery.

Very curious are the accounts Dean Milman has gathered of the actual state of old St. Paul's both in Romish and Protestant times. Such sights as that which so much startles English pilgrims to Jerusalem,—a market held in the very Court of the Holy Sepulchre and a guard of soldiers gambling within the massive antique doors,—seem to have been perpetual in the great old Cathedral of London. In the first year of Philip and Mary, an act of the Common Council of London complained

“—that many of the inhabitants were accustomed to make their common carriage of great vessels of ale or beer, great baskets full of bread, fish, flesh and fruit and other gross wares thorow the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's; and some in leading mules, horses and other beasts irreverently, to the great dishonour of Almighty God.”

Queen Elizabeth's first proclamation was much to the same purpose, but (as Dean Milman remarks) was only idle thunder:

“The Elizabethan literature teems with passages which shew to what base uses the nave and aisles of the Cathedral were abandoned, as lounging places for the idle and hungry, for knaves, thieves or women, a mart for business of all kinds. The walls were covered with advertisements not always the most decent. Shakespeare makes Falstaff buy Bardolph in St. Paul's. Parasites who wanted a dinner haunted what popular fame had transmuted into the tomb of the good Duke Humphry (thence the phrase, ‘to

dine with Duke Humphry'). At length Ben Jonson actually lays the scene, in the third Act of his *Every Man out of his Humour*, in the middle aisle of St. Paul's. . . . If when the whole Cathedral was more or less occupied with sacred objects, roods, images and shrines,—if when services were daily, hourly going on, masses in the chapels and chantries,—these profanations (at least countenanced by the Church itself, which drove its own trade) obstinately resisted all attempts at suppression, now that the daily service had shrunk into forms of prayer, when the pulpit and the hearers under the pulpit were all in all, now it cannot be wondered at that the world took more entire possession of the vacated nave and aisles."*

But the Fire came at last to make a clean sweep of the oft-profaned temple. Inigo Jones' splendid portico and immense restorations were again needing repair, and Evelyn and Wren, with the Bishop and the Dean, had visited the building on the 27th of August, and had agreed that a new foundation must be laid, and that over all should rise a "noble cupola, a form not yet known in England."† Seven days afterwards, however, destiny decided that far more complete restoration should be made, and that Wren alone of all architects should have the glory of conceiving and completing one entire and splendid Cathedral, from the foundations to the cross on its summit. The descriptions of the great Fire, taken by Milman from Pepys, Evelyn and Taswell, fill many pages. The poor souls driven from their homes by the conflagration had filled the whole building with their property, and the vaulted Church of St. Faith beneath had been made a receptacle of books by the stationers. But the intense heat of the surrounding atmosphere seems of itself to have set the vast edifice in flames; the lead, covering six acres of roof, ran down like lava from a volcano; the columns, friezes and capitals, were actually calcined by the heat; and after a week, during which the burning lasted, nothing remained of old St. Paul's but a heap of ashes.

Then was the field open for Sir Christopher Wren, a great man in many ways, as well as the greatest of English architects. Dean Milman gives us many interesting details of his life. His father was Dean of Windsor;

* P. 289.† Evelyn's *Memoirs*.

his uncle, Bishop of Norwich—both faithful adherents of Charles I. “From his father Wren inherited a passion for scientific inquiry. He was one of those few precocious youths who entirely fulfil the promise of their boyhood. At the age of thirteen he presented to his father an astronomical instrument of his own invention, with a copy of Latin verses by no means destitute of merit. . . . At fourteen he entered Oxford. . . . No higher testimony can be borne to his character and attainments than that of Evelyn, who calls him ‘that miracle of a youth,’ ‘that rare and early prodigy of universal science.’ His range was boundless. In Astronomy, Wren became Savilian Professor at Oxford and Gresham Professor in London. In the higher mathematics he gave a solution of Pascal’s celebrated problem; with his friend Boyle, he ascertained the use and value of the barometer; he studied chemistry, mechanics. There is extant a catalogue of fifty-two inventions or discoveries, some of high importance, attributed to Wren.” And in the midst of all, “he suddenly breaks out a consummate architect. He is installed as Surveyor to the King;” builds for his first work the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and from that time “ruled supreme as the undisputed oracle of architecture.” Not only had he no special education for architecture, but he never saw the greatest works of architecture. “He who was to rival St. Peter’s never saw St. Peter’s.” We possess his own account of a journey he made to France in 1665, in which he never even mentions the cathedrals of Amiens, Rheims, Rouen and Notre Dame, so utterly outside of art were Gothic edifices then supposed to be. All he had to study were the Louvre and Versailles, and some designs of Bernini! And with no more equipment of experience than this, Wren built St. Paul’s! The whole subject is full of interest and curiosity in more ways than can be easily dealt with at once.

We must needs regard it first for a moment in the proper point of view for a *Theological* Review—namely, as the one great *Protestant* Cathedral of England, the one which, if it had possessed a distinct religious character, would have saved us from the startling reflection that our national religion is the only one which, having prevailed for centuries over a wealthy and highly civilized country, has yet

failed to create for itself a distinctive Architecture. The Druid, the Egyptian, the Brahmin, the Greek, the Catholic, nay, the Aztec and Peruvian, had all their proper temples instinct with the individual life of each religion. Even when one architecture appears to have been derived from another, as the Greek from the Egyptian, the whole expression is transmuted to bring it into accordance with the peculiar sentiment of the borrower's creed. A man of high religious genius and vivid perception of all the indications of the religious sentiment, might visit the fanes of the world and almost reconstruct from them the cultus and theology of the races who worshipped therein. But no man will ever hereafter revive Protestantism by any such process. Of all the thousands of churches built since Luther's time in England, Germany, Scandinavia, there are not a hundred out of which by any imagination a spirit could be extracted which should express Protestantism, as a thousand cathedrals express Romanism, a thousand mosques the faith of Islam. In the last century there seemed some small chance that such an architecture might be originated—a semi-Palladian style, making much use of dark wood, and adapting the ground-plan very literally to the requirements of the congregation. It was never, so far as it went, worthy to be called a style, and perhaps never would have developed into one, but it was at least an honest attempt to build a church for Protestants in the thoroughly utilitarian stage through which Protestantism was then passing. But in any case it died out altogether unhonoured; and the great High-church revival of the last thirty years has carried us back into Mediævalism, architectural and doctrinal, out of which it must take many a day to return.

A Protestant congregation—we do not mean a Ritualist, half Catholic, half Protestant, but a congregation whose leader is a Minister rather than a Priest, and says Prayers rather than Incantations—such a congregation occupies in a Gothic cathedral a singularly awkward position. It is like a hermit-crab in the shell of a murex. The tenant and the house have no natural fitness, and the crustacean betrays his invasion of the gastropod's abode by the extreme clumsiness of his attitude. For persons who want to hear much and see little, who desire no processions, and

who are obliged to sit in one spot in an English winter's day for two or three hours at a time, the vast expanse of the useless nave, the lofty arches and dim aisles, receptacles of thousands of cubic feet of cold, damp air, are all, not merely superfluous, but impertinent. Yet we go on building such churches by the score every year, because they are associated with ancient sacredness; and because they are more beautiful than any style we have had the sense to create for ourselves. But Beauty to be really beauty must be harmonious, and suited to its time and place; not like the finery of a servant-girl going to her work in a crinoline or a train.

St. Paul's is the only national Cathedral of England built since the Reformation, and its architect was the greatest England ever had. With the exception of some minor details, he carried out his whole grand scheme (not his first plan, but his second) during his own life-time. Thus we are almost bound to accept St. Paul's as the type of English Protestantism in stone. And in point of dignity and grandeur we should gladly take it as such. But honesty compels us to confess that it is hardly more a distinctly Protestant place of worship than its Gothic rivals of York and Winchester and Salisbury. It is true that the deep relation between the Renaissance and the Reformation shews itself everywhere by giving to the works of the Renaissance an atmosphere of light and openness, far less incongruous with the essential spirit of Protestantism than the heavy arches of the Norman or the mysterious intricacies of the later Gothic. St. Peter's itself is much less distinctly imbued with the feeling of (at least *northern*) Catholicism, than Milan or St. Mark's, and might hereafter become not unfitly what Lamartine named it, an Universal Church, *un Temple Théiste*. St. Paul's doubtless shares this Palladian sentiment; and, free as it is from even the vestiges of an earlier worship, it has nothing in its lofty and spacious and majestic form that is actually inharmonious with the spirit of the national religion. But, on the other hand, can we say it has anything specially adapted to its exigencies or expressive of its sentiment? St. Peter's, smaller, but far more perfect in its proportions,—St. Peter's (but this is its misfortune, not the architect's fault) under the leaden London sky, and huddled up and crushed upon by hundreds of

hideous London shops and offices,—St. Peter's without air, without light, without colour within or without,—this is our national Cathedral described without flattery, and we refuse to call *this* the type of our national religion.

Dean Milman's pride in his Cathedral, and his peculiarly highly cultivated taste, seem to us in curious contest through nearly all his description of the newer edifice. He praises again and again its noble proportions. He describes its admirable acoustic properties (*this* ought to be a specially Protestant characteristic), which enabled his own voice to be heard by every individual of the vast multitude who thronged to witness the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. He has very much to say about Thornhill's paintings, and the uncomfortable converging columns in the dome. But when he comes to speak of the walls and their monuments, which should have been the ornament and glory of the building, the good Dean visibly struggles to be as little critical as his own exquisitely critical nature could possibly permit. He rejoices that the prejudice against adorning the Cathedral with monuments was first broken in favour of Howard. Then came Johnson. Then, after Philanthropy and Literature, came Art, represented by Sir Joshua Reynolds. After this there was a perfect incursion of barbarians—generals and admirals to whom Parliament voted a place in the English Valhalla, not neglecting simultaneously to vote "large sums of money for monuments, which could not be expended but on vast masses of marble, more to the advantage of the artists than of their sublime art. Fames and Victories and all kinds of unmeaning allegories rose on every side, on every wall, under every arch." But the great British Parliament, whose power stretches from the Himalayas to the Rocky Mountains, was totally unable to order, along with its statues, a sculptor. Michael Angelos, nay even Berninis, are not to be made to command. The nation paid first in gold, and has paid ever since, we trust, in blushes, for those awful tributes of gratitude and esteem to its heroic defenders by land and sea—those truly frightful groups,

"Where the Man and the Angel have got Sir John Moore,
And are quietly letting him down through the floor."

Or the other with the two Sphinxes,

"On one of the backs of which singular jumble
Sir Ralph Abercrombie is going to tumble,
With a thump which alone were enough to despatch him,
If that Scotchman in front shouldn't happen to catch him!"*

One subject only connected with St. Paul's, Dean Milman has wholly omitted in his book. He gives no account of any person connected with the Cathedral during the present century. Thus we lose all reminiscences of the two memorable Canons whose wit has scintillated round the venerable edifice like the gas corona under the dome. Sydney Smith and Barham were, in different ways, perhaps the two men in England who carried humour, drollery, pure, honest fun, to the greatest height they have reached in our country. And what glorious wit is English wit! Not too ponderous, like the German, nor merely sparkling, like the French, but joyous, open, innocent, kindly; a wit at which saints may laugh with no loss of saintship on earth; and of which (it is our earnest private hope) we may none of us be deprived in heaven! Is it not a curious evidence of how deeply ingrained was the grim Calvinistic spirit in England in the last generation, when it was a notorious fact that Sydney Smith's ecclesiastical promotion was stopped by the public opinion that he was the wittiest of living men? Vain was it for him to be also an exemplary clergyman; to have been content for years (he who was the born prince of society) to perform patiently and laboriously his pastoral duties in his wretched parish "*en le Clay*"—vain for him to write admirable sermons and essays overflowing quite as much with solid wisdom as with foaming wit. The Philistine mind marked him with distrust. No Government would have dared in those days to place a mitre on the head out of which came so many and such inimitable jokes. Would it be different now?

Then Barham—a lesser man, a lesser wit, but still how matchless in his special line of verses, so easily turned, so marvellously smooth and pat, that having once read an Ingoldsby Legend it sticks in one's memory, a thing of laughter and a joy for ever! We wish that Dean Milman had but given us some words of reminiscence for his Canon Ingoldsby. Oh that he had survived to treat Ritualism as

* Ingoldsby Legends. The Cynotaph.

it had best be treated, by pure good-humoured fun, shewing up its absurdity *as* absurd, rather than solemnly attacking it with the weapons of orthodox theology, as if it were a real thing, and not a sham *simulacrum* altogether! Its first young dream in the early Tractarian days was so cheerfully despatched by such lines as

"Even by day
When he went to pray,
He would light up a candle that all might see ;"
and the description of the procession—

"Forth from the doors
The torrent pours ;
Acolytes, Monks and Friars in scores ;
This with his chasuble, that with his rosary,
This from his incense-pot turning his nose awry ;
Holy Father and Holy Mother,
Holy Sister and Holy Brother,
Holy Son and Holy Daughter,
Holy Wafer and Holy Water,
Every one drest
Like a guest in his best,
In the smartest of clothes they're permitted to wear,
Serge, sackcloth and shirts of the same sort of hair
As now we make use of to stuff an arm-chair !"

Last and greatest, the Jackdaw of Rheims, the most delicious quiz extant on Mediævalism in all its branches.

Among the last of those of whom Dean Milman's self-imposed rule allowed him to write, we find Robert Lowth, Bishop of London in 1777. Concerning him he gives us some piquant anecdotes and makes some profound remarks. Warburton, that model of most things which a Christian Bishop ought not to be, had been fiercely incensed by Lowth's claiming for the Book of Job a higher antiquity than fitted conveniently with his own famous theory of the Divine Legation of Moses. Accordingly the stormy Bishop of Gloucester poured the vials of his wrath on the head of the mild Bishop of London, and in particular spoke with supreme contempt of Lowth's education. The episcopal lamb turned on the wolf in the following truly delightful manner—a very model of elegant sarcasm :

"To have made a proper use of the advantages of a good education is a just praise ; but to have overcome the disadvantage

of a bad one a much greater. In short, my Lord, I cannot but think that this inquisition concerning my education is quite beside the purpose. Had I not your Lordship's example to justify me, I should think it a piece of extreme impertinence to inquire where you were bred; *though one might justly plead an excuse for it, a natural curiosity to know where and how such a phenomenon was produced.* It is commonly said that your Lordship's education was of that particular kind of which Lord Clarendon remarked, 'that it peculiarly disposes men to be proud, insolent, and pragmatical' (Clarendon had so described Harrison, the son of a butcher and bred as an attorney's clerk). Now, my Lord, as you have in all your writings and in your whole behaviour distinguished yourself by your humility, meekness, forbearance, candour, civility, decency, good temper, moderation with regard to the opinion of others and a modest diffidence of your own, this unpromising circumstance of your education, so far from being a disgrace to you, highly redounds to your praise."*

Is it possible to conceive more cruel strokes more delicately administered? On the subject of Lowth's great work on Hebrew Poetry, Dean Milman makes some reflections which appear to embody more nearly his own special views than any we have met elsewhere in his writings. Our readers will thank us for copying the passage, long as it is:

"But besides its exquisite Latinity and the almost original discovery of the rules and principles of Hebrew verse, the Lectures on Hebrew Poetry make an epoch unperceived and unsuspected by its author. These Lectures first revealed to the unstartled world that a large portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was pure poetry; addressed to the imagination, or to the imagination through the reason, and therefore making a very different demand on the faith of the believer. This appears to me what I will venture to call *the* great religious problem. We have had a Hooker who has shewn what truths we receive from Revelation, what truths from that earlier, unwritten revelation in the reason of man. We want a second Hooker, with the same profound piety, the same calm judgment, to shew, if possible to frame, a test by which we may discern what are the eternal and irrepealable truths of the Bible, what the imaginative vesture, the framework in which these truths are set in the Hebrew and even in the Christian Scriptures. Theology has so long accepted and demanded the same implicit belief in the metaphors, the apologies, the allegories, as in the sublime verities or the plain

* P. 466.

precepts of our Lord. It has refused to make any allowance for poetry, and endeavoured to force upon our slower and less active minds all the Oriental imagery, all the parabolic creations, as literal objects of the Christian faith."*

Most true, very reverend Dean. But the infallible test which is to divide infallible truth from fiction will need a greater than Hooker to frame it, according to your aspiration. Are you not merely putting in a new form the old, old demand for a fixed standing-point of certainty, whereon we may take our places and move the world? Our fathers *only* wanted a test to prove Church or Bible infallible. You ask for a test to distinguish within the Bible the fallible from the infallible. Will the next generation perchance see that such tests cannot be found, simply because the thing they should attest does not exist?

FRANCES POWER COBBE

II—THE MISSION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

THE first two chapters of the third Gospel, with the exception of the introductory verses, are distinguished from every other part of the evangelical history by certain peculiarities which must be taken into account in estimating their historical value. It is only here that we read of an angel with a proper name, sent from heaven in a bodily form, and conversing with mortals as one man converses with another. It is only here that we find the historical narrative interspersed with songs or poetical effusions. It is only here that we learn about the parentage of John the Baptist, and are informed that he, as well as his greater successor, was born out of the ordinary course of nature. But what most distinguishes these chapters is their peculiarly Hebraistic diction and their peculiarly Jewish sentiments concerning the Messiah. The language of the Gospels generally is more or less tinged with Hebraisms. But this is more especially the case with the chapters referred to, and very striking is the contrast between the

* *Annals*, p. 467.

good Greek of the four introductory verses and the harsh Hebraistic Greek of what follows. Of one passage in particular, the song of Zacharias, the Dean of Canterbury remarks, that "it is entirely Hebrew in its cast and idioms, and might be rendered in that language almost word for word."* As with the language, so also is it with the sentiments. They are imbued with the narrowest spirit of Judaism; for what but that spirit could have dictated such sentiments concerning Jesus as the following? "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever" (i. 32, 33). "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David" (i. 68, 69). What can be understood from such expressions but that the personage here referred to was to be a mighty sovereign, who would sit on the throne of his father David, and make the Jewish people pre-eminent over all the nations of the earth? And what could be more contrary to such expectations than the actual character and career of Jesus? These narrow Jewish notions, and the peculiar character of the language in which they are expressed, indicate the hand of a Jewish Christian, such as the reputed author of the Gospel certainly was not; and with good reason is it supposed by the learned critic above quoted, that these chapters are "translated or compiled from an Aramaic oral narration or perhaps document."† It behoved the evangelist to inform his readers of the source from which he obtained a history so peculiar. But as he is silent on that point, we must be guided by internal evidence in judging how far the narrative is credible. That evidence is too plain to be mistaken. Viewed in the light of modern science, the story of an angel sent from the presence of God, and alighting in a bodily form on the surface of what we now know to be a planetary world, can only be classed with similar stories of heathen mythology, based on the same primitive conception of a local heaven where the Almighty holds His court, and beneath it a flat and stationary earth to which He sends His messengers;

* Alford's Greek Testament, note on Luke i. 68—79.

† Ibid., note on Luke i. 5—25.

and, viewed in the light of modern criticism, the "Gabriel" we read of can only be understood as one of the names belonging to that doctrine of tutelary angels which the Jews learnt from a heathen people during their captivity in Babylon, and which is justly characterized by Bishop Horsley as "nothing better than the Pagan polytheism somewhat disguised and qualified."* The whole passage has more the character of legend than of genuine history. But even legend may have some basis of historical truth; and from this narrative we may not unreasonably infer that John was really a native of Judea, where his parents are said to have resided (i. 39, 40), and perhaps also that it was his practice to abstain from wine and strong drink (i. 15).

In the third chapter of the same Gospel we enter upon the history of the Baptist's mission, and this history, like many of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, begins with a statement of the time when "the word of God came to him," that time being indicated by the names of the sovereigns or rulers then reigning or governing in Rome, in Judea, and in the countries bordering on Judea (Luke iii. 1, 2). This is the only instance in all the Gospels of any attempt at chronological exactness, and it is attended with difficulties which have given much trouble to biblical critics. To enter upon any statement of these difficulties, or upon any discussion of the attempts which have been made to remove them, would be foreign to the purpose of this paper, which is to consider, from the combined testimony of the Gospels and of Josephus, and in the spirit of *reconstructive criticism*, how we may best understand the mission and work of the Baptist.

In all the Gospels the Baptist is represented as the divinely-appointed harbinger of a greater prophet who was shortly to succeed him, and the language of ancient prophecy is appealed to in support of this view: for he, we are told, was the person spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, saying, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4; John i. 23). Some such words as these are found in the third verse of the fortieth

* Bp. Horsley's *Sermons*, Vol. II. pp. 412—417, quoted in Hewlett's *Commentaries*, note on Heb. i. 14.

chapter of Isaiah ; but the correct translation of the passage, with its context, as given by Bishop Lowth, is as follows :

“ Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God :
Speak ye animating words to Jerusalem, and declare unto her
That her warfare is fulfilled ; that the expiation of her iniquity
is accepted ;
That she shall receive at the hand of Jehovah
[Blessings] double to the punishment of all her sins.
A voice crieth : In the wilderness prepare ye the way of
Jehovah,
Make straight in the desert a highway for our God.”

These words evidently relate to the return of the Israelites from their captivity in Babylon. It is a poetical anticipation of their march through the desert from Babylon to Judea, with Jehovah at their head. The prophet “hears a Crier giving orders by solemn proclamation to prepare the way of the Lord in the wilderness ; to remove all obstructions before Jehovah marching through the desert ; through the wild, uninhabited, impassable country. The deliverance of God’s people from the Babylonish captivity is considered by him as parallel to the former deliverance of them from the Egyptian bondage. God was then represented as their King, leading them in person through the vast deserts which lay in their way, to the promised land of Canaan. It is not merely for Jehovah himself that in both cases the way was to be prepared, and all obstructions to be removed ; but for Jehovah marching in person at the head of his people.” “The idea is taken from the practice of eastern monarchs, who, whenever they entered upon an expedition, or took a journey, especially through desert and unpractised countries, sent harbingers before them to prepare all things for their passage, and pioneers to open the passes, to level the ways, and to remove all impediments.”* Such is the meaning of the above passage as explained by Bishop Lowth, whose words are here quoted. It is not, then, of a *proclamation to be made in the wilderness* that the prophet here speaks, but of a command to *prepare a way in the wilderness* for the march of Jehovah and His people ; and, thus understood, the passage has no bearing whatever upon John the Baptist and his preaching, unless it be in that

* Bp. Lowth’s Notes on Isaiah, xl. 1, 3.

"spiritual" sense for which the Bishop pleads in saying that it "shadows out a Redemption of an infinitely higher and more important nature"—"a deliverance of the people of God, Gentiles as well as Jews, from the captivity of sin and the dominion of death." Without entering into a full examination of this hypothesis of a "double sense" in the language of the prophets, it is enough to remark, that in this instance the hidden or spiritual sense is founded on a false reading of the quoted passage. For the reading of the original, "the way of Jehovah," the evangelists have substituted, "the way of the Lord," following indeed herein the reading of the Septuagint, which uniformly substitutes the word *Κυριος* (Lord) for the name of Jehovah, yet departing from the Septuagint in the next line by writing "his paths," instead of "the paths of our God." Another instance of misquotation is found in the passage from Malachi quoted in the second Gospel, the words in the original being, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before *me*" (Mal. iii. 1); while those in the Gospel are, "Behold, I send my messenger *before thy face*, which shall prepare *thy* way before *thee*" (Mark i. 2). The first and third Gospels, though they omit this altered passage of Malachi in the narrative of the Baptist's preaching, yet put it into the mouth of Jesus himself on the occasion when he is represented as speaking of John the Baptist (Matt. xi. 10, Luke vii. 27). The evangelists themselves, supposing them uninspired, may be excused for thus altering and misapplying the language of the Old Testament, as they probably quoted from memory, and paid no regard to the context of the cited passages, herein following the example of the rabbis, who were notorious for their loose and uncritical interpretation of the language of Scripture. But when they represent Jesus himself as misquoting Scripture to make the prophets appear to say what they never did say, we must conclude that they have wrongly reported his *words*, and are therefore not to be relied on in all they tell us of his *deeds*.

The scene of John's preaching is stated in the first Gospel to have been "the wilderness of Judea" (iii. 1). The tract of country so called lay wholly on the western side of the Dead Sea, without bordering on the Jordan. Yet afterwards we read that he baptized in the Jordan, and that

people came to him from "Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan" (iii. 5). In the second Gospel it is stated that he both preached and baptized "in the wilderness;" but as it is not called the wilderness of Judea, and it is afterwards said that he baptized in the Jordan, we must here understand the desert plain, now called the Ghor, through which the Jordan flows from the lake of Gennesareth into the Dead Sea. The same must be understood from the account in the third Gospel, where it is said that "the word of God came to John in the wilderness," and that "he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins" (iii. 2, 3). These vague statements leave us quite uncertain as to the precise locality, and we can neither determine in what part of the Jordan valley, nor on which side of the Jordan, John preached and baptized. It is only in the fourth Gospel that we find a more precise statement of the locality, and the name given to that locality in the *amended* text of the Gospel is Bethany *beyond* Jordan (i. 28). As no place of that name in Peræa is mentioned in any other history, we are still in the dark as to the precise locality, and at a loss to determine whether it was a town, or a village, or a hamlet, or a mere ford or ferry. Still more are we perplexed on finding it afterwards mentioned that Jesus was *abiding* in this place at the time when John was baptizing (i. 39), and that here he met for the first time with five disciples, four of whom were afterwards enrolled among the number of his apostles. One of these is supposed to have been the writer himself, though not named, and the other, Simon Peter, is said to have been the authority from whom the author of the second Gospel derived his information concerning Jesus. Yet Bethany beyond Jordan is never once mentioned in the second Gospel, though Peter could hardly have failed to mention it to his disciple as the scene of his first introduction to Jesus.

But there are difficulties still greater than these in the Gospel accounts of the Baptist's preaching. If he was, as we are given to understand, the divinely-appointed harbinger of Jesus, it might have been expected that he would exercise his ministry in those regions where Jesus was afterwards to appear. Yet we read not of his preaching either

in Galilee or Jerusalem, which were the chief scenes of his successor's labours. We read only of his preaching somewhere in that desert plain through which the Jordan flows, and where he could have had few, if any, auditors, except those who might come to him from a distance.* It is, indeed, stated that crowds flocked to him from Jerusalem and all Judea, and were baptized of him in the Jordan, confessing their sins. But it is difficult to believe this statement, when we remember that they of Jerusalem must have had to travel a long day's journey† through a country peculiarly wild, mountainous and rugged. And when, in other passages of the Gospels, we read how John reproved Herod for marrying Herodias, his brother Philip's wife (Matt. xiv. 4, Mark vi. 18, Luke iii. 19), and how Herod "feared him, knowing that he was a just and holy man, and observed him; and when he heard him, did many things [by his advice], and heard him gladly" (Mark vi. 20), we must infer that this preacher in the wilderness was no stranger at court, and the fact, which is asserted by Josephus, and confirmed by several passages in the Gospels, that he had great influence over the people who came in crowds about him, and accounted him as a prophet,‡ is hardly consistent with the belief that he ever shunned the busy haunts of men, and sought disciples in the desert plain of the Jordan. Is there not, then, some reason to suspect that the story of his preaching in the wilderness, discredited as it is by the geographical uncertainties and difficulties which have been pointed out, is a mere fiction, founded only on the misinterpreted language of Isaiah, and arising from the desire to find prophetic authority for representing him as the divinely-appointed harbinger of Jesus?

This suspicion will be greatly strengthened when we come to consider the very discordant accounts which are given us of the Baptist's preaching. All the Synoptic Gospels agree in the report that he exhorted to repentance, or

* * Speaking of the Jordan, Dean Stanley says, "It is the river of a desert. The 'Desert' is the ordinary name by which its valley was known; hardly a single city or village rose upon its actual banks."—*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 286.

† Lord Lindsay was nine hours in travelling from Jerusalem to the Jordan. See his *Letters on Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land*, p. 246, 5th ed.

‡ *Antiquities of the Jews*, xviii. 5, 2. Matt. xiv. 5, xxi. 26; Mark xi. 32; Luke xx. 6.

preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. In the first Gospel, and in that alone, he enforces this exhortation by adding, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iii. 3). In the second Gospel nothing more is said of his preaching but that he announced the coming after him of one mightier than himself, the latchet of whose shoes he was not worthy to stoop down and unloose, and who, instead of baptizing with water, as he himself had done, would baptize with the Holy Ghost (i. 7, 8). The first and third Gospels report the same announcement of a mightier successor, and the same prediction concerning a different sort of baptism which that successor would administer, but introduce them in the midst of other matter peculiar to these Gospels. In the first Gospel it is stated that "when he (John) saw many of the Pharisees and the Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance: and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire" (iii. 7—10). The same speech, nearly word for word, is reported in the third Gospel, but with this difference, that it is stated to have been addressed, not to many of the Pharisees and Sadducees, but to *the multitude*; which is consistent with the statement elsewhere made in the same Gospel, that "all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John: but the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him" (Luke vii. 29, 30). It cannot be said that the two Gospels absolutely contradict one another on this point, as it is possible that some of the Pharisees and Sadducees may have accepted John's baptism, while the majority rejected it. But it is hardly possible that John should have addressed the common people, over whom, as we have shewn, he had great influence, in the same severe terms of vituperation that he applied to those who altogether rejected his teaching. Be this, however, as it may, his hearers, whoever they were, must have under-

stood from the latter part of the above speech that a day of judgment was at hand; for what other meaning could they attach to the figurative language in which it was declared that "*now* also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees," and that "every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire"? And when John proceeded to announce the coming of his greater successor, who would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, adding, "whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire," what could they understand but that this successor would at once assume the office of a judge, and for ever separate the good from the bad, to reward the one class and to punish or destroy the other? This prophecy was not fulfilled by Jesus in his life-time, nor has it yet been fulfilled. If it be said that the Baptist alludes to that final judgment which is to take place at the end of the world, we can only wonder that he did not choose his language better; for certainly his language was calculated to excite the expectation of a *speedy* judgment, and we are fairly entitled to ask whether it is credible that an inspired person should have used language which was certain to mislead his hearers, or whether it be not far more likely that the history of the Baptist has been shaped according to the notions of the early Christians, among whom the whole Gospel history grew up by oral tradition? We know from various passages in the Epistles that the early Christians expected the end of the world and the second coming of Christ to judgment at no distant period. It appears, indeed, from 1 Thess. iv. 15, that Paul himself, together with the majority of those to whom he was writing, expected to be alive at the Lord's coming, and Jesus himself is represented as declaring that some of those who were then listening to him would not taste of death till they saw the Son of Man coming in his kingdom (Matt. xvi. 28). As no such event has yet taken place, we have no alternative but either to ascribe a false prediction both to John the Baptist and to Jesus, or to admit that words they never uttered have been imputed to them by a tradition which had no better foundation than the fond hopes of the early Christians.

The third Gospel, and that alone, relates how certain

classes asked counsel of John concerning what they ought to do. To the people (*οἱ ὄχλοι*) who thus consult him, he says, "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath meat, let him do likewise." To the publicans who come to be baptized, and say, "Master, what shall we do?" he answers, "Exact no more than that which is appointed you;" and to the soldiers who make a like inquiry, he replies, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any man falsely; and be content with your wages." These practical instructions are quite consistent, as will be shewn hereafter, with the account given of John the Baptist by Josephus. But they are hardly what we should have expected from one who announced himself as merely the harbinger of a far greater Teacher to come after him. Reserving, however, the fuller comparison of the two accounts for a later stage of this discussion, let us proceed to the consideration of the events which are stated to have followed the Baptist's preaching.

The first Gospel informs us that when Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan to be baptized by John, the latter demurred at first to perform this rite on Jesus, saying, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" But on Jesus pleading that "thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," John complies, and the ceremony is performed. When Jesus emerged from the water, the heavens, it is stated, were opened to him, and he saw the spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him, and at the same time a voice was heard from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (iii. 13—17). The second and third Gospels agree in these statements, except that they make no mention of the Baptist's scruples about baptizing Jesus, and represent the voice from heaven as more directly addressed to Jesus, saying, "*Thou* art my beloved Son, *in thee* I am well pleased." Commentators differ widely as to the character of these manifestations. Some consider them to be of a subjective character, that is, mental perceptions of Jesus and John unknown to any but themselves; while others understand them in an objective sense, or as real outward manifestations to the senses of sight and hearing. The former of these interpretations has some support from the manner in which the facts are stated in the second Gospel, where it is said that *Jesus saw* the

heavens rent, and the spirit like a dove descending upon him, which seems to imply that he alone saw this. But the very next statement, which tells us that "*there came a voice from heaven*," can only be understood as asserting a real outward utterance of the words which follow; and the narrative of the third Gospel, which plainly states that when Jesus was praying, after having been baptized, "the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said," &c., admits of no other than the obvious literal interpretation. In vain has it been attempted by some commentators to explain this voice from heaven as a clap of thunder, and this opening or rending of the sky as an expression similar to the language in which poets describe a flash of lightning. The evangelists were not poets, but illiterate men, whose minds, being prone to materialize abstract ideas, could see no absurdity in ascribing a visible form to the divine spirit, and no difficulty in imagining God speaking from heaven in human language. We must bring these narratives to the test of our philosophy; for we have a right to presume that no supernatural revelation, however imperfect, can be at variance with the truths of science; and what could be more opposed to our present knowledge of nature than this story of the divine spirit coming down from heaven in a bodily form, and of God uttering words from the sky, as if He had organs of speech like ours? The words heard must have convinced the hearers that there were lips from which those words proceeded, and a speaker in the human form not far from them overhead; and can we imagine that a miracle was performed to cheat their senses, and confirm them in this childish notion of the Deity?

But now let us proceed to consider what account is given of John the Baptist and his preaching in the fourth Gospel. Widely as that Gospel differs from the rest in its reports of the discourses of Jesus, it differs still more widely, if possible, in its report of the Baptist's discourses, in which we find not a word about the kingdom of heaven being at hand, or about the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—not a word of exhortation to bring forth works meet for repentance, or of rebuke to those who prided themselves on having Abraham for their father—no warning

about the axe which was laid to the root of the trees, and the hewing down and burning of those unproductive of good fruit—no counsel to different classes about their respective duties, and no mention of the fan in hand wherewith the chaff was to be separated from the wheat for the purpose of being burnt with fire unquenchable. The first speech of John reported in this Gospel begins at the 15th verse of the first chapter, and appears to include the three following verses. But in these following verses there are expressions which could not have been uttered by the Baptist, because they are suitable only to one speaking at a later period of Christian history. Who but a member of the future Christian church could say of Jesus, "Of his fulness *have all we received*"? And who but those who lived after him and believed that he was exalted to heaven, could say, "The only-begotten Son, which *is* in the bosom of the Father, he *hath declared him*"? The name "Christ," it is generally admitted, did not come into use till after the death of Jesus,* and the putting of this name into the mouth of his predecessor is a palpable anachronism. The same may be said of the expression, "the only-begotten Son," which is applied to Jesus only in this Gospel (i. 14, 18, iii. 16, 18) and in 1 John iv. 9. For these reasons it is generally admitted that the three verses which follow the 15th cannot be considered as utterances of the Baptist, but must be construed as the remarks of the evangelist. Yet the 16th verse is connected with the 15th by the conjunction "and" or "for,"† as if it was a continuation of the Baptist's speech, and there is a like grammatical connection between the 16th verse and the 17th; so that there is no alternative for us but either to read all the verses 15—18 as the reported speech of the Baptist, or to suppose that the evangelist forgot what he was about, and carelessly threw in his own words as part of the Baptist's speech which he professes to be reporting.‡ Admitting, however, that the

* See Dr. Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations to the Four Gospels, Dissertation v. Part iv.; also Dean Alford's Greek Testament, note on Matt. i. 17.

† *For*, is the more approved reading.

‡ Some critics have endeavoured to remove the difficulty by supposing that the 15th verse has been accidentally misplaced, its right place being between the 18th verse and the 19th. But this is a mere conjecture, unsupported by any manuscript or version.

Baptist's speech is limited to the 15th verse, we are still in a great difficulty; for we are at a loss to understand how John could say, when speaking of Jesus for the first time, "This *was* he of whom I *spake*, He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me." Here, again, it seems as if the evangelist had forgotten that he was reporting the speech of the Baptist, and was referring to what he had himself said about the Word which was in the beginning, and the Light which had long been in the world, and to which John was sent to bear witness. A similar difficulty occurs in the speech ascribed to John in the third chapter, where the six verses, 31—36, are so evidently incongruous with the time and position of the Baptist, that Bengel, Wetstein, Kuinoel, and other eminent critics, consider them to be the words of the evangelist. Even in what purports to be a discourse of Jesus in the same chapter (iii. 11—21), there are expressions so inappropriate to the alleged speaker, that commentators of the highest name ascribe part of the discourse to the evangelist, though they cannot all agree in determining where the speech of Jesus ends and the remarks of the evangelist begin. But our present subject is the Baptist's preaching, the fuller account of which begins at the 19th verse, where we read of what he answered to a deputation of priests and levites, afterwards described as "of the Pharisees" (ver. 24), whom the Jews sent from Jerusalem to ask him who he was. In his reply he confesses that he is not the Christ; and when further asked whether he is Elias (whom the Jews expected before the advent of the Messiah), he equally disclaims that name, though it was a name which in another Gospel Jesus himself is represented as applying to him (Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 12). Being further urged to give a more positive answer, he is represented as quoting and applying to himself those words of Isaiah which in the other Gospels are quoted, and, as we have shewn, misapplied, by the evangelists. It is here, and here only, that this perversion of Isaiah's language is ascribed to the Baptist. Then being asked why he baptizes, he answers, not by explaining the origin and meaning of the rite, about which there is much uncertainty, but by directing the attention of his interrogators to one then standing among them whom they knew not. "I," he says, "baptize with water; but among you standeth one whom ye

know not, my successor, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (i. 26, 27).^{*} Thus ends the Baptist's speech to the deputation from Jerusalem, in which we find the same remarkable expression concerning his own inferiority to his successor which we have noticed in the other Gospels, but not a word of that stern reproof which in the first Gospel he is stated to have addressed to the same class who here question him. Nothing is said of this deputation in the other Gospels, and it is difficult to find in them any suitable place where it might be consistently introduced. Commentators are divided on the question whether it occurred before or after the baptism of Jesus, and there are difficulties in either way of deciding that question. If we suppose it to have taken place before the baptism, how are we to reconcile John's declaration that the successor whom he announced was then standing among his auditors (i. 26), with his subsequent declaration that he knew not the person of this successor till the descent of the Spirit had pointed him out? (i. 33). If, on the other hand, we assign the deputation to a period after the baptism, how are we to reconcile this date with the statement in the second Gospel, that Jesus, *immediately* after the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven on the occasion of his baptism, was driven by the Spirit into the wilderness, and remained there forty days with no human companions? (i. 12, 13).

Leaving these difficulties, as we must, without satisfactory explanation, let us proceed to consider the occurrences and discourses^{*} of the next day. Seeing Jesus coming to him, John, we are told, exclaimed, but in whose hearing is not stated, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (i. 29). Here is a description of Jesus which has no parallel in any of the other Gospels. It may almost, indeed, be said that it has no parallel in the whole New Testament, since it is only in 1 Peter i. 19 that we read of Christians being redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," and only in the Apocalypse that "the Lamb that was slain" and "the blood of the Lamb" are phrases of common occurrence. These expressions are generally understood as al-

^{*} Verse 27 is here translated according to the amended reading of Griesbach and Alford.

luding to the atonement which Jesus made for the sins of men by his death on the cross. But if the Baptist spoke the above words with such meaning, he must be supposed to have known more about the mission of Jesus than Jesus himself knew ; for, among all the descriptive names which he is said to have assumed, such as "the living bread which came down from heaven," "the light of the world," "the good shepherd," "the true vine," "the resurrection and the life," "the way, the truth, and the life," we nowhere read of his calling himself "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." If the doctrine of the atonement is to be considered as the great fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, it must surely have formed a prominent and frequent topic in the discourses of Jesus. Yet in the fourth Gospel it is never alluded to except in the above saying ascribed to the Baptist, and in the other Gospels, if mentioned at all, is only obscurely hinted at in two brief expressions ascribed to Jesus (Matt. xx. 28, xxvi. 28, and the parallel passages in Mark and Luke).

After the above remarkable declaration, the Baptist's speech is continued as follows : "This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me ; for he was before me. And I knew him not : but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water" (vers. 30, 31). The first of these sentences is a repetition almost word for word of the 15th verse, except that the present tense is here used instead of the preterit tense which was improperly used before. It cannot, I think, be otherwise understood than as an obscure allusion to the same doctrine of Christ's pre-existence which is so prominently put forth at the outset of the Gospel, and, thus understood, it is another instance of the evangelist's tendency to put his own ideas into the speeches he reports. In the second sentence the Baptist states the purpose of his mission to be, that he might make manifest to Israel by baptizing with water a person whom as yet he knew not. He then proceeds, in verse 32, to state how he became assured that Jesus was the person to whom his mission related. "And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not ; but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt

see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God" (i. 32—34). This is all the notice to be found in the fourth Gospel of that manifestation from heaven which is related in the other Gospels as having immediately followed the baptism of Jesus. Nothing is here said of the voice from heaven, and nothing of the act which gave occasion to it. Judging from this Gospel alone, we should never suppose that Jesus had been baptized by John, still less that he was known to John before his baptism, as is plainly intimated in the first Gospel (iii. 14). The only instance of a voice from heaven mentioned in this Gospel is that related in the twelfth chapter (ver. 28), concerning which the bystanders who heard it were divided in opinion, some thinking that it merely thundered, while others said that an angel spake. But in what manner, we must here ask, was that divine communication made to John, of which he bare record? Those words of God foretelling the descent of his own spirit in a visible bodily form, and telling John what that miracle would shew him—were they spoken in an audible voice from heaven, or were they in some mysterious way suggested to the mind of John? On this point we are left to conjecture. But whatever the speaker or writer meant, we may be very sure that those reported words of God were in reality the words of man; for how can it be imagined that a figure of speech so incongruous and puerile as that of *dipping in holy spirit** was conceived in any other than a human mind? And how could it be, if John had really borne record of this divine prophecy and its visible fulfilment, that his disciples not very long afterwards had never even heard that there was a holy spirit? (Acts xix. 2). Have we not, then, just grounds for thinking that in this alleged divine communication we have only the ideas and traditions of that time of spiritual gifts when "great religious fervour, especially at the moment of conversion, seized the early believers, and this fervour vented itself in expressions of thanksgiving, in fragments of psalmody, or hymnody, or prayer . . . sometimes even having the appear-

* Βαπτίζω εν ύδατι. Βαπτίζω εν πνεύματι άγιω.

ance of wild excitement like that of madness or intoxication"?*

If John the Baptist had really declared himself to be only the harbinger or precursor of a greater prophet who was shortly to succeed him, was it not to be expected that he would resign his office when that greater prophet came upon the stage? If he had really pointed out Jesus to his disciples as one whose shoe's latchet he was not worthy to unloose, and told them that this superior personage would administer a nobler baptism than that which he administered, would not all his disciples have gone over at once to this more authoritative teacher, and would not the new baptism in holy spirit have entirely superseded the old baptism in water? Yet what do we read in the subsequent history? We read of John continuing to baptize in water after Jesus had entered upon his public ministry (John iii. 23), and of his having followers who were baptized into his baptism long after his death (Acts xix. 3). Nay, more—we are told that Jesus enjoined the continued use of water baptism in the case of all who should be converted by his disciples (Matt. xxviii. 19), and even spoke of it as a necessary condition of salvation (Mark xvi. 16); and accordingly we find repeated instances recorded in the book of Acts of water baptism applied to converts, and repeated mention of it in the Epistles as an established practice in the Christian church. To this day the practice is continued in a modified form, while the spiritual baptism, such at least as that we read of in the early church, has been long ago forgotten except among fanatics. Again, I ask, had John the Baptist really seen and heard what he is related to have seen and heard in the Synoptic Gospels, is it conceivable that he should ever afterwards have entertained a doubt about the divine mission and Messiahship of him whom God himself had thus signally recognized as His beloved Son? Yet in two of these Gospels we read of his sending disciples to ask Jesus, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" (Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19). The inconsistency of this inquiry with what is previously related has much perplexed both ancient fathers and modern commentators,

* Stanley on the Corinthians, Vol. I. p. 257.

and various hypotheses have been proposed for explaining the difficulty. Some suppose that the inquiry was made, not for John's own satisfaction, but for that of the disciples whom he sent. But this is hardly consistent with the narrative; for "the text," as Dean Alford justly remarks, "evidently treats the question as coming from John himself; the answer is directed to John; and the following discourse is on the character and position of John."* Others suppose that John's inquiry was prompted by his disappointment at "the slow and unostentatious course" which Jesus had hitherto pursued, and his desire "to obtain from his own mouth a declaration of his Messiahship, from which hitherto he had seemed to shrink." But this, again, is without support in the narrative, and imputes to John a want of faith which can hardly be imagined in one who, according to the history, had been assured of the Messiahship of Jesus by an authority which it was impossible to doubt. How was it that the evangelists did not themselves perceive the glaring inconsistency which has so perplexed their commentators? This is the question that is here forced upon our attention, and I know not how we can answer it but by supposing that the voice from heaven belongs to one tradition, and John's doubts and inquiry to another. It is admitted that "the writing of the Gospel history did not originate in any design to give a connected account of the life and public ministry of Christ as a whole, but rather grew out of a series of *traditional accounts of separate scenes in his history*;" and that "our first three Gospels resulted from the *compilation* of such separate materials, as Luke himself states in his introduction."† In a history so formed inconsistencies were unavoidable, and it is needless to say that the above inconsistency is not the only one to be found in the Gospels. Even in accounts of the same transaction as given in different Gospels we often find perplexing discrepancies, and such is the case with the two narratives that we have of John's deputation of inquiry. In the first place, the inquiry is differently dated, being placed *after* the mission of the twelve in the first Gospel, but *before* it in the third. In the next place, it is stated in

* Greek Testament, note on Matt. xi. 2—30.

† Neander's *Life of Jesus Christ*, translated by John McClintock and Charles E. Blumenthal, p. 7. Bohn, 1851.

the first Gospel that John was *in prison* when he heard of the works of Christ, and sent two of his disciples thence to ask, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" while the other narrative contains no such statement, but implies that John was *at liberty*, since it tells us how his disciples shewed him of all these things that Jesus had done, and that then he called two of them and sent them to make the same inquiry. It is true, the imprisonment of John, and the cause which led to it, have been already briefly mentioned in a previous chapter (iii. 19, 20); but that is clearly an anticipation, which leaves the date of that event undetermined; and it is not till near the close of the history of those labours of Jesus in Galilee which in the other Gospels are expressly made subsequent to John's imprisonment, that we find brief mention of his death (ix. 7—9). To say nothing, moreover, of the improbability of John being allowed free intercourse with his disciples when a prisoner, is there not something very improbable, and very unlike the alleged conduct of Jesus on a similar occasion of unbelief (Matt. xiii. 58), in the statement that he there and then cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits, and gave sight unto many that were blind? Instead of thus displaying his miracles, which John had already heard of, would it not have been more to the purpose if he had told John's disciples to remind their master of the heavenly voice he had heard at the Jordan, and of the distinct testimony he had himself borne to the divine character of him whom he there baptized? Considering all these inconsistencies and improbabilities, have we not good reason to doubt whether John and Jesus had ever any intercourse, direct or indirect, with one another, or any other relation to one another than that of being labourers in the same cause? What this cause was we learn distinctly from Josephus, who speaks of John the Baptist as a good man, who exhorted the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards each other and piety towards God, and so to unite in baptism, considering that rite as acceptable to God only when used for the purification of the body, *after having first purified the soul by righteousness*.* This description substantially agrees with

* Antiquities of the Jews, xviii. 5, 2.

the Gospel representation of John as one who preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and at the same time urged the necessity and duty of bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. His advice to different classes of people, as reported in the third Gospel, though it does not touch upon piety towards God, recommends righteousness towards men in the fullest sense of that expression.* There is a further agreement in as far as relates to the high esteem in which John was held by the people; for while the Gospels inform us that all accounted him as a prophet, Josephus relates how the people came in crowds about him and were greatly moved by hearing his words. He further states that the destruction of Herod's army in his war with Aretas was considered by many as a divine judgment upon him for having put John to death, which is another proof of the high place he held in popular esteem. But respecting John's preaching in the wilderness, and announcing the advent of a greater personage who was to inaugurate an entirely new order of things, Josephus says nothing, nor was it to be expected, seeing that throughout his works Christianity is never noticed.† He is silent also about the rustic dress, the spare diet and the ascetic practices which are attributed to John in various passages of the Gospels (Matt. iii. 4, ix. 14, xi. 18; Mark i. 6, ii. 18; Luke i. 15, v. 33, vii. 33). He agrees with the evangelists in stating that John was imprisoned and put to death by the order of Herod the Tetrarch; but differs widely from them in regard to this monarch's motives: for whereas *they* assert that the Baptist was imprisoned, it is not said where, because he had boldly reproofed Herod for living in adultery with Herodias, his brother's wife, and was beheaded in consequence of a rash promise he had made to the daughter of Herodias, who had pleased him by her dancing, Josephus states that Herod feared lest the great influence which John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to incite them to rebellion, and for this reason

* John's exhortation to the practice of piety towards God and righteousness towards one another, as reported by Josephus, more closely resembles the two great commandments insisted on by Jesus (Matt. xxii. 37—40). But perhaps Josephus, in his ignorance of "the sect of the Nazarenes," confounded their Teacher's lessons with those of the Baptist. But of this more hereafter.

† The passage about Christ in Ant. xviii. 3, 3, is evidently an interpolation.

sent him a prisoner to the castle of Machærus, and there caused him to be put, in some unmentioned manner, to death. For the purpose of reconciling these statements, it has been conjectured that "Josephus gives the *ostensible*, and the evangelists the *real* and *secret*, reason that impelled Herod."* But perhaps we may find a better explanation in supposing that Josephus was ignorant of the real cause and manner of John's death, and imagined that all who used the rite of baptism were his disciples. Thus he might ascribe to Herod those fears which were afterwards more generally entertained of Christians, as a people who seemed to be turning the world upside down (Acts xvii. 6). Without this mistake, the fears imputed to Herod are wholly unintelligible; and if Apollos, who knew only the baptism of John, could yet be described as one instructed in the way of the Lord, and speaking and teaching diligently the things concerning Jesus† (Acts xviii. 25), we need not wonder that Josephus knew of no distinction between Johnism, if so we may call it, and Christianity. In truth, it was no very great mistake; for John and Jesus were teachers of the same school, and that school was not of recent origin. It had its origin as far back at least as the times of the ancient psalmists and prophets, who so contemptuously decried the religion of forms and ceremonies, and so eloquently pleaded for the religion of the heart and life. Their noble lessons were familiarized to the Jewish mind in the services of the synagogue, and it was only natural that they should sink deep into the hearts of the most earnest thinkers, and call forth such teachers of kindred spirit as John in Judea‡ and Jesus in Galilee. In both these districts influences were at work which could not fail to train and stimulate a reforming spirit; for in Judea, Pharisaic formalism had been carried to such an extreme as must have caused a revulsion in favour of practical religion, and that revulsion had already shewn itself in the

* Neander's Life of Jesus Christ, p. 191, note.

† This reading is adopted in the amended text of Dean Alford.

‡ Though latterly a subject, and perhaps friend, of Herod the Tetrarch, and therefore resident then in some part of that monarch's dominions, that is, in Galilee or Peræa, yet we have seen reason to believe that he was a native of Judea, and his fame in Jerusalem affords a fair presumption that at one time he had there lived and taught. See Matt. xxi. 23—27, and the parallel passages in Mark and Luke; also John v. 35.

existence of a sect, not mentioned in the New Testament, the members of which, neglecting the festivals, and substituting synagogue for temple worship, without the observance of any outward rite but that of ablution, cultivated purity of heart as the most acceptable worship, and made "the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man," the great aim and study of their lives;* while in Galilee, the mixture of Jews with a numerous population from the neighbouring heathen nations had served, we may suppose, to correct Jewish exclusiveness, and create a longing for a cosmopolitan faith; and to this may perhaps be added the extreme to which Jewish zealotry had been carried by Judas and his followers, and which may have contributed (for extremes naturally produce their opposites) to form in the mind of the Nazarene reformer that wiser zeal which looked for a kingdom not of this world. Without admitting that John the Baptist belonged to the sect of the Essenes, as Strauss supposes,† we must believe, from various passages in the Gospels already referred to, that he was more addicted than Jesus to ascetic practices. But the rustic garb wherewith he is invested in Matt. ii. 4, Mark i. 6, may be only a tradition suggested by the belief that he was the antitype of Elijah, or that prophet himself returned from the dead (see Malachi iv. 5; 2 Kings i. 8). Jesus himself appears, from several passages in the Gospels, to have approved of occasional fasting (Matt. vi. 16, 17, xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29), and it cannot be supposed that either of these teachers was entirely superior to the notions and customs of their time and country. But unquestionably they were both "burning and shining lights," to whom mankind are indebted, though in very different degrees, for the advancement of "pure and undefiled religion." They both endeavoured to enlighten and elevate the masses of the people, and they both underwent at the hands of power the too common fate of those who attack prevailing errors. But there was this difference in their fates, that whereas John was the victim of a single tyrant, who caused him to be secretly despatched in a distant prison, Jesus suffered a public and more cruel death amidst crowds of exulting

* Philo, as quoted in "Time and Faith," p. 282.

† New Life of Jesus, Vol. I. p. 257.

enemies and sorrowing friends. No wonder, then, that the Galilean reformer engaged, as he had certainly deserved, by far the largest share of those honours which are always paid to martyrs in the people's cause ; and when the followers of John became absorbed in the vaster numbers of the followers of Jesus, it was only natural that the former was honoured only as the harbinger and subordinate of the latter, hardly worthy to hold a candle to his Master, or, in the phraseology of the day, to perform the menial office of stooping to unloose the latchet of his shoe.

WILLIAM JEVONS.

III.—THE LIFE, LABOURS AND CREED OF ULFILA, BISHOP OF THE GOTHs.

LITTLE is known of the Goths till they came in contact with the Romans in the third century of the Christian era. They were a Germanic race, who in their progress southward broke into the territory of the Romans for the first time in A.D. 237. In the year 180 A.D., they were already in Dacia, i.e. the present Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, so that they might have been slightly affected by Roman civilization even then. But they were averse to a peaceful life, and disturbed Dacia. After they had ravaged Thrace, Decius encountered them in Dacia, but was defeated and slain (251). His successor Gallus purchased a peace ; and though Aurelian drove them back beyond the Danube, he found it expedient to abandon Dacia, restoring the ancient boundaries of the empire as they stood before Trajan.

From the fourth century we meet with two divisions of this people ; the West or Visigoths, scattered over all the territory reaching from the Danube to the Carpathians and the Dniester, over east Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia ; and the East or Ostrogoths, in southern Russia, between the Dniester and Don. The king of the latter, Ermanrich, ruled over both, till his kingdom was destroyed by the Huns in 375. Though the Goths owned a common head up to this time, their union was

loose, and they had begun to separate in name as well as religion early in the fourth century. The Ostrogoths continued rude heathens; the Visigoths, from their contiguity to the Romans, became partially civilized and Christian.

On the present occasion we are concerned only with the latter branch, or rather such of them as chiefly inhabited Mœsia, and are therefore styled Mœso-goths. Among these the figure of Ulfila rises prominently to view, casting its light on the dark picture, and giving it an enduring brightness. We learn from Philostorgius that Ulfila sprung from a family which had been carried away by the Goths from a village of Cappadocia near the city Parnassus. The year of his birth is not altogether certain. If we follow Auxentius's account that he lived till the age of 70, he was born in 313. And this is the most probable statement. How he was brought up and educated can only be inferred from his subsequent life and labours. He was instructed in the principles of Christianity and in Greek literature. The Gothic language he probably spoke from his youth, in addition to Latin, the tongue of his fathers. As he grew up to manhood he manifested those peculiar talents which marked him out as the teacher of his people, their public instructor in the principles of Christianity. Nor did he fail to follow the high calling for which both natural gifts and education fitted him. He endeavoured to imbue his countrymen with what he had learned to regard as the best culture. In his thirtieth year he was ordained bishop; by whom or where, it is difficult to tell. Philostorgius's account is, that in the time of Constantine he was sent on an embassy to the emperor by the ruler of the Goths, and consecrated to the episcopal office by Eusebius of Nicomedia and other bishops then assembled.* But this statement disagrees with Auxentius, according to whom the thirtieth year of Ulfila coincides with 343, when Constantine was dead. Are we to suppose that the Arian historian had an interest in making it appear that Ulfila was an Arian from the first, having been set apart to his office by Eusebius? It may be so; and therefore Philostorgius styles him the *first* bishop of the Goths, implying that the Christian church in their territory was Arian at the beginning. On

* *Histor. Ecclesiast.*, Lib. ii. 5, p. 434, ed. Valesius.

the other hand, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, who give a different account, may have had an interest in representing matters in a light favourable to orthodoxy. We learn from Socrates that Theophilus, Metropolitan of the Goths, subscribed the decrees of the Nicene Council in 325,* whose teaching was followed by Ulfila till the reign of Constantius, in which he subscribed the Arian creed drawn up at Constantinople, A.D. 360. But Sozomen and Theodoret place his defection from the Nicene creed in the time of Valens; the former stating that Ulfila arrived at Constantinople at the head of an embassy to this emperor, and coming in contact with the leaders of the Arian sect there, promised for himself and his countrymen to embrace Arianism in order to ensure the success of his mission. The historian speaks of the promises of Arian bishops at court;† Theodoret adding that money helped to gain over the influential Ulfila.‡

The difficulty of selecting the truth from these conflicting accounts is apparent. The mode in which the orthodox church historians attribute Ulfila's departure from the Nicene doctrines to outward influences and causes, one of which is discreditable, with their fixing on the reign of an emperor zealously devoted to Arianism, is suspicious. Not less so is the statement that Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, was present at the Nicene Council and subscribed its decrees. But Philostorgius's narrative cannot be implicitly adopted, any more than the orthodox one. Ulfila could not have been ordained in Constantine's reign by Eusebius of Nicomedia. It is more probable that he was consecrated to his office by certain Arian bishops in council at Philippopolis in Thrace, in the year 343. His alleged defection from orthodoxy is contrary to his own solemn confession of faith, in which he asserts that he had *always* been an adherent of Arianism.

After his consecration, the zeal of Ulfila for the reformation of the Goths must have been great, because the numbers of converts attracted the notice of their ruler, who being a heathen, regarded the new religion with disfavour.

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. 41.

† Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi. xxxvii. p. 1405, ed. Migne.

‡ Hist. Eccles. iv. xxxvii.

Athanasius (A.D. 350) began to persecute the Christians; many of whom died as martyrs for the truth. Yet their unshaken constancy and noble death did not lessen the severity of *the Judge*, as Athanasius was styled. Hence Ulfila, accompanied by a crowd of Christian Goths, withdrew beyond the Danube; the emperor Constantius having given them permission to settle in the Roman dominions, i.e. in Mœsia, according to Philostorgius. Jornandes describes these emigrants as the *Gothi minores* who settled in the territory of Nicopolis at the foot of Mount Hæmus, saying that they led a patriarchal life, tilling the ground and keeping cattle. There is little doubt that the emperor who favoured Ulfila and his followers on this occasion was Constantius; not Valens, as Hug, after several authorities, supposes. He, too, is meant by Philostorgius affirming that the emperor had a high respect for Ulfila, and used to call him the Moses of the Goths, because he led them across the Danube, as Moses did the Israelites out of Egypt. In Mœsia accordingly, and the adjoining Thrace, Ulfila passed the greater part of his episcopate. For thirty-three years he lived and laboured there, from 350 till his death, A.D. 383. In the year 360, he was present at the Synod of Constantinople, giving his adhesion to the confession of faith which was drawn up; a confession the same as that already passed at Ariminum in 359, from which the word *ousia* (substance) was excluded as unscriptural. Socrates's statement that he was a Nicene Christian till then, must be rejected.

A second persecution by Athanasius after the year 370 shews that Christianity had taken deep root among the Goths, notwithstanding the removal of Ulfila and others to the more congenial and apparently secure soil of which the Romans were masters. This catastrophe did not affect him immediately, though his missionary labours were abundant, and often attended with great danger. Even on Roman ground he and his fellow-Christians were not secure from the severity of Athanasius. The rise of a division among the West Goths, some time after 370, was the first check to that severe ruler. Several of the tribes were anxious to assert their independence, which seemed to be endangered by Athanasius's supremacy; and the Christians were naturally disaffected to their persecutor. Fritigern,

who thought himself bound to protect the Christians, sought the help of the emperor Valens and obtained it. Under his friendly shelter Ulfila prosecuted his labours, till the Huns pressing on from the East in great numbers, expelled the East Goths, with a part of whom they invaded the West Goths, and drove them before them. Forced to yield, the majority of the latter fled into Thrace, and sent an embassy to Valens, at the head of which was Ulfila, requesting that they might be admitted into Thrace as settlers. This petition succeeded, and thousands gladly availed themselves of the boon. Here a new field was opened up to the activity of Ulfila.

Some time after, the Goths in Thrace met with such harsh treatment from the Roman governors, that the nation rebelled and defeated their oppressors. Valens hastened from Asia to punish the insurgents. But Fritigern, the commander of the united forces, was anxious to avoid a battle, and sent a Christian *presbyter* to the emperor's camp near Adrianople to offer terms of peace. This *presbyter*, as Ammian calls him, could have been none other than Ulfila, who must have been desirous to prevent the impending engagement, and who of all men was best fitted to reconcile the disputants. But though he met with a courteous reception, the proposals of Fritigern were rejected. A battle ensued, and Valens was left dead on the field. Theodosius, his valiant successor, hastened to check the devastations of the conquerors who had penetrated to the walls of Constantinople, plundering without opposition; in which he succeeded from a combination of circumstances, the death of Fritigern being one of the chief. Athanarich, indeed, who had embraced Christianity, appeared at the head of the Gothic tribes in an attitude threatening to the Romans; but Theodosius entered into peaceful relations with him, and ratified a compact most valuable to his countrymen, since by it the West Goths entered into the service of the Romans, and contributed largely to the strength of their army. Theodosius continued to befriend the Goths, and to make his covenant with them a lasting one. He was unfortunate in attempting to bring about ecclesiastical unity on the basis of the Nicene Creed, and to reinstate the adherents of it in the churches of Constantinople; for that led to the expulsion of the Arian bishop Demophilus and his

adherents from buildings they had occupied forty years. In these circumstances the emperor summoned a general council at Constantinople, A.D. 381, which confirmed the Nicene Creed. This occasioned stringent measures against the Arians who were usually deprived of their churches, and gave rise to disturbances. Another council was summoned at Constantinople by the emperor in the year 383, which was to settle all parties by drawing up a confession in which they could unite. To this council the aged Ulfla was summoned. The result was, that when the emperor pronounced in favour of the Nicene Creed, the cause of the Arians was lost. The confession which the apostle of the Goths drew up for himself on this occasion, led to his condemnation as a heretic. Grieved at the turn which events took, he sickened and died. Such was the end of the good and noble Ulfla. The last work of his life was the composition of that testament which he left to his people, and the confession of faith delivered to the emperor. He was succeeded by Auxentius, bishop of Silistria, to whom we owe a trustworthy account of his life and doctrines. It is pleasant to read the loving words in which the disciple speaks of his departed teacher.

The notices of his life in ancient authors do not agree, and it is difficult to trace the truth among them. If that of Auxentius were full, it would clear up doubtful dates and facts. The latest biographer* tries to shew that he was born in 311 and died in 381; a conclusion arrived at through a number of improbable conjectures that confuse the subject needlessly. Krafft has wisely abandoned the old dates of birth and death, 318 and 388, perceiving the impossibility of a council being held at Constantinople in 388, to which the Arians were summoned. Before that time their cause was lost.

The most enduring and precious monument of Ulfla is his version of the Bible into the Gothic language, a work for which he was well qualified. According to Philostorgius, he translated the entire Bible except the Book of Kings, omitting the latter lest they might add fuel to the military propensities of his people, already excessive. There is no good reason for doubting this statement, though Knit-

* Bessel, *Ueber das Leben des Ulflas*, 1860.

tel has vainly endeavoured to confute it; and Mr. Horne, anxious to find an accusation against Gibbon, calls it an idle tale repeated by the historian, asserting that Mai discovered fragments of the books of *Kings*, *Ezra* and *Nehe-miah*, in the rescript MS. of Milan, marked G. 82. This, however, is an error; as no trace of the Kings has been discovered. The version was made from the Greek throughout, i.e. the LXX. in the Old Testament, and the original in the New. He also invented a Gothic alphabet, the letters of which were borrowed from the Greek and Latin, five of them from the latter. By this means he put his countrymen into a position for understanding the Scriptures, the source of divine truth, and deriving their knowledge of divine things from the fountain. The benefit conferred upon them by these works is incalculable. The man who prepared the way for the reception of Christianity by a numerous race, bridging over the gulf between the new religion and a rude heathen spirit, was a benefactor whose memory they might well cherish with pride. The crown of his missionary life was the translation of the sacred books.

The time when he was engaged in making this version cannot be precisely determined. It seems to have been after 370, when Fritigern's conversion led to that of large numbers among the Goths. Ulfila was then about sixty years old, mature in knowledge and piety, with large experience of human nature, intimately acquainted both with the wants and capabilities of his nation.

The version is of no use in the *interpretation* of the Bible; but it is a valuable document in the criticism of the text, i.e. the text of the New Testament only, because the Old Testament part was made from the LXX., and is now lost, with the exception of some insignificant fragments. The greater portion of the New Testament is extant. No part of the Acts, Epistle to the Hebrews, Apocalypse or general Epistles, has yet been discovered. For the Gospels we are indebted to the celebrated Silver MS. of Upsala, whose history is a curious one. It was discovered in the abbey of Werden in Westphalia at the commencement of the 13th century, whence it was brought to Prague, and fell as booty into the hands of the Swedes when they got possession of Little Prague, A.D. 1648. After being for some time in the library of Queen Christina, it suddenly disap-

peared, and was found in the Netherlands in the possession of Isaac Vossius. How this scholar got it, is matter of conjecture; the more charitable opinion is, that the queen presented it to him, not that he appropriated it by stealth. Sweden, however, soon regained the treasure; for Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie purchased it from Vossius for 400 Swedish dollars, and gave it as a present to the University of Upsala in 1669, where it has remained since that time.

This remarkable MS. bears internal evidence of the country where it was written. It was made in Italy, as Hug and others have shewn, not later than the beginning of the sixth century, probably at the end of the fifth. The name Silver MS. (*Codex Argenteus*) refers to the letters, which are large, uncial characters of silver, on purple-coloured vellum. The initial lines of the Gospels and the first line of every section are in gold letters. Below are the canons of Eusebius. The order of the Gospels is peculiar: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. As to the way in which the letters were made, opinions differ. Michaelis supposes that the deep impression of the strokes shews the letters to have been either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver and afterwards coloured. This is improbable. John ab Ihre thinks that they were impressed by carved or cast stamps, as bookbinders put titles on the backs of books in gold or silver; and refers to the perfect uniformity of the letters, their indentations on each page, and the traces of paste sometimes observable between the silver and parchment.* It is unlikely that the letters were written with a pen or reed. The MS. is defective, having but 187 folios, whereas it had at first 330. It is a mistake to say that it consists of 188 folios.

1. No proof is required to shew that this version was made from the Greek text. If it were, we should point to mistakes arising from a manifest misreading of the original, such as, τῶν κεμένων of the Gothic (*Matt. xxvii. 52*) for τῶν πεκοιμημένων; τροφῇ (*Luke vii. 25*) for τροφῇ; πεώρωκεν (*John xvi. 6*) for πεπλήρωκεν; προσδεχόμενον (*Luke i. 10*) for προσευχόμενον; συνήντησαν (*Luke ix. 18*) for συνῆσαν; μερίδας (*Luke xix. 25*) for μῆρας, as if the latter were an abbreviation;

* See the Prefatio to his *Ulfilas illustratus*, p. 3, &c., ed. Büsching.

in Mark vii. 3, *πικνά* instead of *πυγμή*; in Philipp. iv. 8, *ἀγία* instead of *ἀγνά*; in Mark ix. 18, *ρίπτει* for *ρήσσει*; in Luke iii. 14, *ἀρχεσθε* for *ἀρκείσθε*. Again, the article *sa*, *so*, *thata*, is commonly put where it is in the Greek, though the Gothic does not need it, as in John vii. 16, *ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ* is rendered *so meina laiseins*. Still further, the translator strives to exhibit the etymological sense of words by rendering *ὀλοκαυτωμάτων*, *alabrunstim*, Mark xii. 33; *ἐγκαίνια*, *inniujiſtha*, John x. 22; *σκηνοπηγία*, *hlethrastakeins*, John vii. 2; *ἀχειροποιήτων*, *unhandūwaurhta*, Mark xiv. 58. *Ἐλαχιστότερον*, in Ephes. iii. 8, is well imitated by the comparative *undarleijin*, "less than the least"*

2. Eichhorn and Hug assert that the Constantinopolitan or Lucian recension is the basis of the version; the former critic adding that it is strongly mixed with the Hesychian recension also. These recensions are imaginary. The proof that Hesychius and Lucian in their respective spheres undertook revisions of the New Testament MSS. is wanting. Lucian revised the LXX; and it does not appear that his critical labour extended to the New Testament. Hence the lists of examples which Hug and Eichhorn give in proof of their opinion are liable to mislead. Assuming the existence of a Constantinopolitan recension, we affirm that the version as a whole does not present its characteristic readings. The Asiatic-Byzantine text is not the basis. The text of the version agrees more nearly with D of the Gospels and Acts than any other document; and D belongs, according to Griesbach, to the Western recension, not the Constantinopolitan. We admit, however, that the Greek copies in Asia and Thrace began to pass out of their ancient form in the course of the fourth century, settling into what is called the Constantinopolitan in the fifth and sixth centuries.

It is best to look at the point apart from recension-schemes. Are the readings which the Gothic represents those of the oldest and best authorities, or those of later and inferior ones? Or does the version shew that the Greek text from which it was made was in a transition state, passing from its oldest known form into a more corrupt one; in other words, does it represent a mixed Greek text, one agreeing with

* See Uppström's *Codices Gotici Ambrosiani*, p. 106.

the oldest critical authorities, but at the same time interspersed with later or so-called Constantinopolitan readings? These are the questions with which the critic has to do—questions of a difficult nature, and demanding towards their right solution an extensive collation of MSS. with the Gothic text.

3. A difference of diction has been observed in the various fragments of the version which have been preserved. To what is this owing? Two causes are assigned. Some suppose that Ulfila consulted Latin as well as Greek copies while he made his translation; others, that the work was altered and partially adapted to the Latin by later hands. The latter view is adopted by Gabelentz, Loebe, and Krafft, who think that the version was subjected to a revision in which Gothic words were exchanged for others more usual, or for others that seemed to give the sense better, after the original had been diligently examined and Latin copies in Italy compared. This explains, it is said, the traces of two recensions noticed by critics in such parts of the version as exist in more MSS. than one. In the Gospel of Matthew is found the evidence of two such recensions, an older and a younger; the former adhering more closely to the Greek text, the latter altered in many places, but so that the original reading is still in the margin. The Gospel of Luke presents the greatest diversity. It agrees more frequently with the Latin, besides employing forms and words that occur very seldom or never in the other Gospels. It has many readings and marginal glosses proceeding from revisers, or from copyists who had compared other MSS. Some of these readings have got into the text from the margin. The Pauline Epistles shew more traces of a later hand. New forms of words and sentences indicate that they were the object of continued study among the Goths in Italy and Spain.*

It is impossible not to admire the ingenuity with which Loebe pursues this topic, and collects numerous particulars to support it. But he has not proved his opinion. It is pushed too far. The problem still remains, why did Ulfila ignore the Latin version? Is it probable that he would? We cannot think so, and would therefore unite the two

* Ulfilas, ed. Gabelentz and Loebe, *Prolegomena*, p. xviii. et seq.

views.* Ulfla consulted the old Latin version ; and that work furnished subsequent individuals with marginal readings, several of which found their way into the text, and with various corrections more consonant with the original. But such revision and alteration must have been comparatively slight. The traces of recensions in the four Gospels as well as the Pauline Epistles are not strongly marked. Ulfla should not be confined to the same phrases or constructions. If he has translated the same Greek word variously, what supposition more natural than that his orthography varied when he was reducing a new language to form? But while admitting the fact that the Gothic received additions from the Latin, and that collation gave rise to marginal notes which were afterwards inserted in the text, the separation of the additions from the genuine text cannot be effected as easily as Hug thinks, because he seems to have neglected, after the example of Gabelentz and Loebe, an important point, the probability that Ulfla consulted the old Latin.

Nor has this critic good ground for believing that Ulfla had nothing but a MS. or MSS. presenting the genuine Constantinopolitan form of the text. On the contrary, that recension or family is scarcely so early as the middle of the fourth century, the age of B and M, even though these two MSS. were written in Africa. The form of the Greek text commonly called Constantinopolitan, did not appear before the fifth century at the earliest. We are inclined to believe that the copies current in Asia Minor, Greece and Constantinople, when Ulfla flourished, were not much inferior to those of Alexandria ; for an earlier and later Constantinopolitan family may be distinguished, the latter representing a more corrupt form of the text.

These observations tend to shew that most of the readings which the Gothic has in common with the old Latin were not the addition of scribes, but should be assigned to the MS. or MSS. which Ulfla used as the basis of his version, together with the Latin itself. They are original. Some readings are certainly posterior to Ulfla. No valid proof of the statement that the Gothic was *extensively* altered

* R Græco autem in Gothicum sermonem, consultis interdum interpretationibus Latinis, vertisse Ulphilam, comparatis inter se versionibus et archetypo optime colliges. Uppström, preface to the Codex Argenteus, p. iv.

from the old Latin has been produced. Such as undervalue the Greek MSS. current at Constantinople and in Greece during the fourth century, may think so; others will refuse assent. The heterogeneous character attributed to the Gothic does not arise so much from its reception of Latin readings by subsequent copyists, as from the nature of the MSS. employed by Ulfila.

Long additions from the Latin are easily detected where they are confined almost entirely to it and the Gothic, besides their internal improbability. Thus it is easy to see that the addition after *πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν* in Luke ix. 43, viz., "Peter said to him, Lord, why could not we cast him out? but Jesus said, Because this kind does not go out except by prayers and fastings," comes from the old Latin. But *such* additions are not common.

We have now answered the question, Does the version abound in readings found in the mass of the later copies? which is almost as pertinent as another, Does it abound in readings found in the oldest copies? since both admit of a similar reply. The version is not *characterized* by an overwhelming abundance of late readings, any more than are D of the Gospels, or f of the Gospels, i.e. the Brescian MS. of the old Latin. It does not present the purest readings throughout, but a mixed text, or a transition state of the Greek text passing out of the *κ*, B, C, a, b, c, form into another and less genuine one. Yet it is far from what is called the Constantinopolitan recension of Griesbach, having greater affinity to the oldest than the youngest text of the New Testament. It often agrees with D, E, F, G, and the old Latin, especially the Italian or revised form of the latter. Next to them, it coincides with *κ*, B, C, A; more with A than C, and with C than *κ*, B or Z in Matthew. This is tantamount to the assertion that its text is a little younger than that of *κ*, B, C, A, and somewhat inferior. The difference, however, is not great.

(a) It has most resemblance to D (the Gospels and the Epistles), as well as the old Latin, especially d, e, f, g (the Gospels and the Epistles). Thus in Matthew xi. 16, it has *ἐν ἀγορᾷ* which is not original, but *ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς*. In 2 Cor. ii. 3, it has *ὑμῖν* after *ἐγγράφῃ*; Ephes. ii. 12, *ἐν* is prefixed to *τῷ καιρῷ*; 2 Cor. xi. 3, *ἔθαν ἐξηπατησέν*; Galat. iii. 1, *ἐν ὑμῖν*; Galat. vi. 15, *ἐστὶν* for *ἰσχυεῖ*; Ephes. iv. 16, *μῆρους*,

not μελους; Ephes. iv. 19, ἀπηλπικοτες; Ephes. iv. 28, ταις ιδιαις χερσιν; Philipp. iii. 3, θεω; ἀπλοτη, 2 Cor. i. 12, for ἀγιοτη the older and better reading; in Matt. v. 22, εικη is added to τω ἀδελφω αὐτου; ἐνοτηος, Col. iii. 14, instead of τελειοτηος.

(b) It often agrees with the oldest and best MSS., supported by the ancient Latin and other versions. Thus in Mark i. 2, for ἐν τοις προφηταις, it has ἐν τῷ Ἡσαϊα τῷ προφητῇ, with M, B, D, L, Δ, the old Latin, the Vulgate, Coptic, Syriac and other versions; in Matt. xi. 2, διὰ for δυο, with M, B, C*, D, P, Z, Δ, the Peshito, Philoxenian, &c.; in Gal. iv. 26, it omits παντων before ἡμων, with M, B, C*, D, E, F, G, the old Latin, Vulgate, Coptic, two Syriac versions, &c.; in Romans vii. 6, it has ἀποθανοντες, with M, A, B, C, K, L, and various versions, not the Latin ones; in Romans x. 1, it omits ἐστιν before εις, with M, A, B, D, E, F, G, the old Latin, Syriac and Coptic versions; in Romans xiii. 1, it has αἱ δε οὐσαι, without ἐξουσαι, with M, A, B, D*, F, G, the old Latin (gue), Vulgate and other versions; in 1 Thess. v. 3, it has δταν without γαρ, with M, A, F, G, d, e, f, g, the Syriac version; in Matt. v. 47, it has το αὐτο, with M, B, D, M, U, Z, and several versions; 2 Cor. viii. 8, της ἐτερων σκονδης with M, B, C, G, f, the Vulgate, &c.; in Matt. xi. 16, τοις ἐτεροις, with M, B, C, D, E, F, Z, and others, also most copies of the old Latin.

(c) Its readings are often junior ones, as in Mark i. 5, παντες after ἐβαπτιζοντο; Mark xi. 2, λυσαντες αυτον ἀγαγετε; Mark xi. 10, the insertion of ἐν ὀνοματι; the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, except amen, in Matt. vi. 13; Matt. viii. 13, the addition of αὐτου τοις; the addition in Mark vi. 11, "Verily, I say unto you," &c. &c.; ἔλεγεν δε, in Mark vi. 4, instead of και ἔλεγεν. It has την κληρονομίαν, in Romans xi. 1, instead of τον λαον; the former is evidently a later and Latin reading, being found only in F, G, g, Ambros. Hilar. Ambrosiast. and Sedulius.

(d) It has readings differing from D (Gospels) and the old Latin, inferior to theirs and incorrect. In Luke vi. 20, τῷ πνευματι is added to πτωχοι, contrary to most copies of the old Latin as well as D. In the same verse it has των οὐρανων for τον θεον, manifestly derived from Matthew. In Luke vi. 23, it has τοις οὐρανοις, the plural instead of the singular. In Luke viii. 47, αὐτῷ is inserted after ἀπηγγειλεν.

(e) Latin additions are *et spiritui sancto*, Luke i. 3, which is in b and g¹; in Luke ix. 50, *nemo est enim qui non faciat virtutem in nomine meo*, which is in a, b, c, e, l; in Mark xiv. 65, *gabaurjaba*, i.e. *cum voluntate* or *libenter*, "they smote him with the palms of their hands with good-will," which is in f and ff²; in Luke ix. 20, *thou art Christ the Son of God*, as in f, l.

The marginal remarks or glosses found in MSS. consist of additions, as

To *haithivisk* is added *vilthi*, Mark i. 6, both meaning *wild*. Of synonymous words, as *bokos* for *mela*, Mark xii. 24.

Of a different rendering of the Greek text, as *nimith*, Gal. ii. 6, which is better than the textual *andsitith*, for *λαμβάνει*.

Sometimes they refer to two Latin readings. Thus in Ephes. ii. 3, *viljans* is in the text and *lustuns* in the margin, alluding to the two Latin readings, *voluntates* and *voluptates*.

These glosses are sometimes taken into the text, as in Luke xix. 7, *in gard*.

A comparison of two MSS. containing the same parts of the New Testament as A and B, shews more variations in orthography than in other particulars. Thus in 2 Corinth. ii. 2, *niba* in A, *nibai* in B; ii. 6, *andabet* in A, which is wrong, *andabeit* in B; ii. 14, *aviliuth* A, *aviliud* B; xiii. 1, *gastandith* A, *gastandai* B; Galat. vi. 1, *andsaiwands* A, *atsaiwands* B; Coloss. iii. 5, *vinna* A, *vinnon* B; 1 Tim. i. 3, *galeithands* A, *galeithans* B; 2 Tim. iii. 2, *frijondans* A, *friondans* B.

(f) It has been supposed that Ulfila himself added certain marks of punctuation, because they are found to be the same both in the Silver MS. and the Ambrosian copies. This would facilitate the reading and understanding of his version by his countrymen. But there is good reason for doubting the correctness of this opinion. The marks consist of a dot and two dots (. :). The former is commonly at the end of a sentence; the latter is said to denote the end of a series of sentences, or a paragraph. The Silver MS. of the Gospels seems at first sight to favour this explanation, but it will not stand the test of inspection. In the majority of instances it may be said to hold good; in not a few it is at fault. Thus in John viii. 52, a dot occurs after *prausfeteis*, the prophets, where no sentence ends; and also after *githis*, sayest. Two dots are not found

between John viii. 21 and x. 15. A paragraph begins at x. 15, with a single dot preceding. The Ambrosian MSS. shew more clearly that the single and the double dot occur arbitrarily. No dot appears between 1 Tim. iv. 8, 9. In 1 Tim. iv. 12, a dot occurs after *καταφρονειτο*, which does not finish a sentence; two dots after *εν λογω*; and two after each of the nouns that follow. In the next verse, no dot is put after *διδασκαλια*, the end of the sentence. Whole chapters are without either the single or double dot, as Romans ix. in the Ambrosian MS. A. The seventh chapter of the same epistle has not the double; nor does the single one occur in that chapter after its being appended to the word *nis-sijai* in the 13th verse. Hence it is hardly credible that the translator himself placed dots so arbitrarily. They belong to the copyists; and as they are of two kinds only, no argument for Ulfla authorship can be based on their similarity in the copies.

(g) Though the version is usually literal and exact, the author sometimes renders a generic word more specific. So in John vii. 12, where *αγαθος* is translated *sunjeins*, equivalent to *αληθης*. The same is in f, which has *verax*. Perhaps, however, Ulfla followed the Latin here. Hug incorrectly supposes that one or other of the translators made the mistake of substituting one Greek word for another.

(h) Sometimes Ulfla uses additional words and clauses to make the narrative more striking as well as emphatic. Thus in Matthew ix. 8, *sildaleikjandans* is inserted after *ohtedun*: "when the people saw it they were afraid *and wondered*." This is especially the case in narratives of miracles.

It is universally admitted that the version is faithful to the original and admirably executed. The author had complete mastery over the Gothic tongue; and though he was not equally conversant with Greek, he seldom failed to give the sense of the original. His ability and judiciousness are indisputable. The task he had to perform was very difficult; to transfuse the ideas and terms of a new religion into a new language so as to make them intelligible to his Gothic countrymen. Whether his peculiar creed be perceptible in the mode of rendering is doubtful. It is certainly less observable than the Calvinism of the Authorized

English Version. Castiglione refers to one passage in which Ulfla's Arianism is said to peep out, i.e. Philippians ii. 6, where *ἴσα θεῷ* is rendered *galeiko gutha*, like or similar to God, not equal; an opinion endorsed by Gabelentz, Loebe and De Wette. But Massmann denies the fact, asserting that his creed has never influenced his version, and that the passage in the Epistle to the Philippians is corrupt.* If the term *galeiko* be genuine, the probability is that it was not selected on purpose, because Ulfla denied the Son's likeness as well as equality to the Father. Rejecting *homoiousianism* as well as *homoeousianism*, he asserted that the Son was not *similis* to the Father. The point is of no importance. Even if Castiglione be correct, the general fidelity of the translation is unaffected by a single word; while Ulfla's integrity and honesty cannot be questioned. No version of the New Testament can be theologically colourless.

We learn from Auxentius that Ulfla not only preached in Greek, Latin and Gothic, during his forty years' episcopate, but that he also left "several treatises and many interpretations"† for the edification of his people and to his own immortal renown. Unhappily, most of these are lost. Massmann published a fragment consisting of eight leaves under the name *Skeireins*, i.e. an interpretation of the Gospel of John. This seems to have been a sort of *catena* on that Gospel, or rather a polemical work against Marcellus, Sabellius and others, based on it. Massmann supposes that the entire work consisted of about a hundred leaves, and that it was written by Ulfla about 351. Small as the fragment is, it has supplied some missing verses in the Gospels, such as Matt. iii. 11; v. 8; John i. 29, iii. 3—5, 29—32, v. 21—23, 35—38.

In the palimpsest from which the *Skeireins* was taken there are also fragments of a commentary on Luke, which expresses sentiments similar to those of Ulfla. It is not improbable that the Gothic bishop was the author of it, since there is no good reason for separating the authorship of the *Skeireins* from the fragments published by Mai. The same Bobbian MS. furnished them all.

* Ulfla, Die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in Gothische Sprache, Einleitung, p. xxiii.

† Plures tractatus et multas interpretationes.....post se dereliquit.

Was Ulfla an Arian in the modern sense of that word? One may refuse to subscribe the Nicene Creed and be a Trinitarian. There are different shades of Arianism. Early church history speaks of Semi-Arians. Happily the means of answering this question are within reach, for a document exists which throws light on the belief of the Gothic apostle, viz., the confession of faith he drew up not long before his death at Constantinople and left to his followers.

From a palimpsest in the Imperial Library of Paris, Waitz published interesting fragments containing this testament, with a condensed exposition of the doctrines he professed, by Auxentius, his disciple. In addition to this, Mai published from two MSS., one in Milan, the other in Rome (both one originally), doctrinal fragments which he rightly attributed to some bishop at the end of the fourth century. Internal evidence, aided by a comparison of the documents edited by Waitz and Mai, renders it highly probable that the authorship of the latter belongs to Ulfla.* But first let us hear Ulfla himself:

"I Ulfla, bishop and confessor, have always believed thus, and in this the only and true faith I make a testamentary confession to my Lord. I believe that there is one God the Father, the only unbegotten and invisible, and in his only-begotten Son our Lord and God, the creator and maker of all creatures, who has none like him, therefore he is the one God of all, who is also God [of ours]; and in one Holy Spirit, the enlightening and sanctifying energy—as Christ says by way of correction to his apostles, 'Behold I send the promise of my Father upon you, but do ye tarry in the city Jerusalem till ye be endued with energy from on high;' also, 'And ye shall receive power coming upon you from the Holy Spirit'—neither God nor Lord, but minister of Christ nor [but] subordinate and obedient in all things to the Son, and the Son subject and obedient in all things to God the Father by Christ the Holy Spirit."

With this agrees Auxentius's account of Ulfla's opinions:—"He never hesitated to preach the one sole true God, the Father of Christ according to the official arrangement of Christ himself he never concealed, according

* Compare Kraft, *De fontibus Ulflae Arianismi*, p. 12, &c.

to tradition and the authority of the divine Scriptures, that he the second God and author of all things was from the Father and after the Father and on account of the Father and to the glory of the Father, but always set him forth according to the holy gospel, both a great God and a great Lord, and a great King, and a great mystery, a great light. . . . Lord, foreseer, redeemer, Saviour . . . author of all creation, righteous judge of living and dead, having a greater God for his Father. . . . He shewed both by his discourses and treatises that there is a difference between the divinity of the Father and Son, the unbegotten God and the only-begotten God, that the Father is the Creator of a creator, but that the Son is creator of all creation, and that God is the Father of the Lord, but that the Son is God of every creature."

Compare with the preceding the subjoined statements from Mai's fragments:—"The Father who is God entire, not begotten, made the Son whole and born, by whom he created all things as it is written: All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made: the Creator made a creator, God made the god of all creation, subject and obedient [to God the Creator] in all his commands. Again, it is the Father who before all things created, founded, begot, made the Son for Himself."

"We do not call the Holy Spirit *God*, but Scripture does not say so, but subject to God the Son, and obedient to the commands of that Son in all things, as the Son is to the Father. And as the Father has consigned all virtue, wisdom and goodness to the Son as his substitute, so also the Son has manifested all virtue and wisdom in the Holy Spirit, the Father ordering it so."*

* Ego Ulfila episcopus et confessor semper sic credidi et in hac fide sola et vera testamentum facio ad Dominum meum. Credo unum esse Deum patrem, solum ingenitum, et invisibilem, et in unigenitum filium ejus dominum et Deum nostrum opificem et factorem universae creature non habentem similem suum—ideo unus est omnium Deus, qui et de nostris est Deus—et unum spiritum sanctum, virtutem inluminantem et sanctificantem—ut ait Christus propter correctionem ad apostolos [suos], "Ecce ego mitto promissum patris mei in vobis, vos autem sedete in civitatem Hierusalem quoadunque induamini virtutem ab alto;" item, "Et accipietis virtutem supervenientem in vos sancto spiritu"—nec Deum nec Dominum, sed ministrum Christi. . . . nec . . . [sed] subditum et obedientem in omnibus filio, ut filium subditum et obedientem . . . in omnibus Deo patri . . . per Christum . . . spiritu sancto. . . . (Waite, Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila, p. 21.)

Auxentius's account of Ulfila's opinions is:—Unum solum verum Deum

A careful investigation of the preceding passages and all the fragments published by Waitz and Mai of which they are part, shews that Ulfla did not agree exactly with the tenets of Arius. He rejected the creed of the Homoiousians or orthodox, who held that the Son is equal to and of the same substance with the Father; as also the tenet of the Homoiousians that the Son is *like* the Father in all respects. Though differing slightly from Eunomius's sentiments, he came nearer to them than to those of any other person. God the Father, the only true God, created the Son before all things, who is the only-begotten, and styled God, but is obedient and subject to the Father both by will and nature. The Son was created perfect at first, so that divine qualities were innate in him. Hence the same attributes are predicated of him and the Father; he is indivisible, immutable, incorruptible, dwelling with the Father for ever. As the substance of God cannot be divided, changed or shared with another, Ulfla rejected both Homoousianism and Homoiousianism, because he believed it wrong to tarnish the

patrem Christi secundum ipsius Christi magisterium predicare nunquam esitavit Secundum traditionem et auctoritatem divinarum scripturarum hunc secundum deum et auctorem omnium a patre et post patrem et propter patrem et ad gloriam patris esse nunquam celavit, sed et magnum Deum et magnum dominum et magnum regem et magnum mysterium, magnum lumen. Dominum, provisorem et legislatorem, redemptorem, salva[torem] pe [totius creatio[nis] auctorem, vivorum et mortuorum justum judicem, majorem habentem Deum et patrem suum, secundum sanctum evangelium semper manifestavit et per sermones et tractatus suos ostendit, differentiam esse divinitatis patris et filii, Dei ingeni et Dei unigeniti, et patrem quidem creatorem esse creatoris, filium vero creatorem esse totius creationis, et patrem esse Deum Domini, filium autem Deum esse universae creature. (Waitz, *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfla*, p. 18.)

. . . . Pater qui est totus non natus deus totum natum filium fecit, per quem omnia creavit, sicut scriptum est: omnia per illum facta sunt et sine illo factum est nihil: creator creatorem, deus deum totius creature subjacentem et optemperantem in omnibus mandatis suis. Again, pater est qui ante omnia omnino filium sibi creavit, fundavit, genuit, fecit.

Spiritum sanctum deum non dicimus quia nec scriptura dicit, sed subditum deo filio, et mandatis illius filii in omnibus obtemperantem, sicuti filius patri. Et quemadmodum pater totam virtutem et totam sapientiam et bonitatem in substitutione filii consignavit, ita et filius totam virtutem et totam sapientiam in spiritu sancto patri jubente monstravit. (Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, Vol. III. pp. 210, 235.)

It is likely that the "Primus capitulus fidei catholice" of the Mai fragments is Ulfla's confession of faith presented to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople. It was written in Latin. The testament or legacy left to the Christian Goths, preserved by Auxentius in the Waitz fragment, was probably composed in Gothic.

incomparableness of the Father. While Ulſila's Arianism does not precisely agree with the view of any ancient writer, it does not harmonize with the belief of any modern. In some respects it resembles Dr. Samuel Clarke's; in others, it is unlike. Ulſila, like Dr. Clarke, held that the Son's existence was derived from the Father; the English theologian, unlike the Gothic bishop, abstained from saying that the Son was created, merely asserting that he derived his being from the Father by an act of incomprehensible power and will. The attributes which both assign to the Son include divine powers excepting supremacy and independence.

It is matter of regret that the indefatigable missionary should have wasted time in drawing out metaphysical distinctions in the Godhead. But it was a fashion to which the Nicene Council had given its high sanction; and it is difficult to rise above the age a man lives in. Hence the restless apostle of the Goths entered into the contests of the day, opposing keenly the theological sectaries from whom he differed in his ideas of the Son and Spirit. Yet he might have arrived at the opinion that deeds of self-denying piety are more acceptable to God than attachment to dogmas defining the internal relations of the Godhead with presumptuous boldness. He might have preferred mutual concession to rigorous doctrinal propositions; peace to metaphysical orthodoxy. It is to be hoped, however, that his noble spirit would have shrunk from the odious sentiment propounded by a bishop of the Established Church, "Doctrinal error is well-nigh the most deadly weapon in the armoury of hell." Intellectual error is harmless; it is the moral nature, the affections and desires, that determines the religiousness of man, making him a subject of grace or not. Following the uniform direction of will regulated by divine law, his conduct is right in the sight of God, who rewards accordingly.

The Gothic version has not yet been thoroughly collated for the criticism of the New Testament. In the days of Griesbach its value was inadequately known; nor could he himself collate it amid the multiplicity of other labours. Schulz made more use of it in the first volume of Griesbach's third edition. At that time the most complete edition was Zahn's, which contains no more than the Gospels and

Knittel's fragments of the Epistle to the Romans. The fuller and superior work of Gabelentz and Loebe, including all the portions of the Epistles discovered by Mai and Castiglione, was not available. Lachmann did not take it into the range of his authorities, though he cites later MSS. and versions. Tischendorf's quotations from it, in the eighth edition of his Greek Testament, are the best yet given. Those in the seventh edition were not so full or accurate. He fell into mistakes from depending on sources not uniformly trustworthy. But these were not so numerous as Massmann, who does not himself present the most accurate Gothic text, would lead one to suppose. Indeed, no critical editor would rely upon him in preference to Uppström and Heyne's Stamm. If Tischendorf uses the two latter—not, as before, Gabelentz and Loebe almost exclusively—his eighth edition now in progress will leave little to be desired in its citations from the Gothic. And that he *does* employ them, there is good reason to believe, from the evidence of the four Gospels which have already appeared in the new work. One of his great merits is that he does not neglect the ever-increasing literature of a subject, and is far from stereotyping opinions. He learns and improves; as is apparent to all who compare the seventh and eighth editions. Thus the authorities for *τέκνον* in Matt. xi, 19, appear in a very imperfect state in the seventh edition compared with the eighth. In favour of this reading are many MSS. with the Gothic and old Latin versions, which are unnoticed in the seventh edition. In Matt. ix. 18, we also observe, that the Gothic is cited for the addition of *ετι* after *λέγων*, while it is unmentioned in the seventh edition.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

IV.—JOHN KEBLE.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late Vicar of Hursley. By the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, D.C.L. London: Parker and Co. 1869.

"It is not without sincere misgivings that I commence this Memoir." These, which are the first words in the book, followed by others which explain them, go so far to disarm

criticism, that "sincere misgivings" must be felt also by one who attempts to review it. None of Mr. Keble's friends had known him for so long a time as had Sir John Coleridge; no cloud ever shadowed their friendship; their correspondence was unbroken for fifty years; and, more than all, the writer was "requested by one to whom at the time it was almost impossible to refuse any such thing," that he would draw up a memoir of his deceased friend. It is not for us to say how far the weight of advancing years, a serious illness since the commencement of the task, the consciousness that he "was not in any way competent to write the history of our Church during the past forty years,"* might have absolved him from his promise, even if we understand rightly that it was made to the widow of his friend—not for us to say, since each man must be the judge how far any such promise is binding on his conscience, if and when the circumstances under which it was made are altered, or fresh conditions arise unforeseen by the person who demanded it. And we have much for which to thank Sir John Coleridge. It is no small thing to find a biography, however slight, in which none could wish to blot a single line because it stains a reputation or revives a forgotten quarrel, in which there is nothing out of taste or disloyal; it is pleasant to feel as we read it an ever-increasing conviction that the sketch is faithful, while it is of one whose every memory is precious to so many. Yet when all this is thought and said, there remains a sense of dissatisfaction and incompleteness. We cannot but fear that this book may be accepted as sufficient so long, that the need of a fuller delineation may gradually fade from men's minds; we feel that while in these pages we are learning to know the friend of the writer and the vicar of a Hampshire parish, we are not made thoroughly acquainted with him, who was, according to Dr. Newman, "the true and primary author" of the "movement afterwards called Tractarian," who was for so many years all that those words imply to the life and thought of a large section of the Church of England. It is true that Sir John Coleridge admits and explains this; from motives of the most scrupulous delicacy, he has not applied to Drs. Newman and

* Memoir, p. 2.

Pusey for help in his work, save to the former on one only point,—a visit paid by him to Mr. Keble many years after their separation. He considers that Dr. Pusey would have volunteered help if he could properly have done so. To us this seems extremely doubtful: both friends are men who, prominent as they have been, have never put themselves before the world, save when religion and its gravest interests are concerned, and it is most unlikely they would have done so in this case. If it be true that the correspondence they and others hold of Mr. Keble is indeed on such delicate subjects that it could not now see the light, it was for them to say this, not for the biographer to assume it. As it is, the subject of the Memoir is not presented to us on his most important side. And the writer, thus thrown so largely on his own resources, tells us more about himself, less about other friends, than we care to know,—shews us less the man himself than his view of the man. Like the members of other remarkable families from time to time, those who bear the name of Coleridge do not always seem wholly free from the baseless superstition that the world and its interests revolve round them, and this naturally tends to shake what others less gifted than they take to be the balance of things. A tinge of egotism, more than a tinge of garrulity, are intermixed with the pathos of the story told, and to some degree mar its effect.

Were there no other reason for interest in Mr. Keble's life, the precise space of time it fills would give an importance to that of any prominent English clergyman. For the years during which he was known to us are almost precisely coincident with the rise of the Tractarian movement and its passage into another phase, known by another nickname. The son of a Gloucestershire vicar, he grew up in a school of High-church theology, into which not many of the most earnest men were born, and his views to the end were unchanged, save in the way of a gradual development. When the Evangelical or Puritan vigour had wakened into action the High-churchmanship which had been slumbering, Keble, in the prime of life, was ready to take an eager part in the strife; he died when Tractarianism had become Ritualism, when the controversies were passing into a stage he had not foreseen, and in which he was not entirely one in heart with the leaders of the new

movement. There is, indeed, no reason to doubt that, like his friend Dr. Pusey, he would, on the whole, have accepted the legitimate issue of the principles for which he had contended; but we may be thankful that the sweet singer whose poems were specially designed to "exhibit the soothing tendency of the Prayer Book,"* was not mixed up with questions about its interpretation so infinitely more trivial than those for which he had had to stir angry controversies.

The events of Mr. Keble's life were so few and take up so small space in the telling, that even those who read them in Sir John Coleridge's words will forgive our repeating them, since the narrative will form a string on which to hang the remarks we have to make on his character and works. He was born in the spring of 1792, at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, his father being the incumbent of Coln St. Aldwin's, a village three miles distant. From that father he learnt all that he knew before he went to Oxford, for he never was at school, and was so well taught that he gained a Corpus scholarship, even in those days a considerable distinction, before he was fifteen years old; from his father he learnt also to be, what he continued to be, a Churchman of a strongly-marked type, of the school represented by Hooker, whose Works he edited, and Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man, whose Life he wrote. Sir John Coleridge mentions the name of his godfather, the Rev. Stafford Smith, rector of Fladbury, but does not seem aware of a curious link thus formed with another distinguished writer. Mr. Stafford Smith's first wife was the widow of Bishop Warburton, the author of "The Divine Legation of Moses," a lady herself of considerable culture, and full of traditions of the society in which her husband had lived.

Of the undergraduate days at Corpus there is little to say; it is interesting to think that Copleston, Coleridge, Arnold, grew together from boyhood into manhood, but the record of the hours of one studious set is much the same as that of another. To those who know the inexpressible charm of an University life of the better kind, there is no need to say a word; for those who do not, it would be presumptuous to attempt to draw what has so often been described, and always without success. The sum of the youthful career

* Preface to the *Christian Year*.

and its immediate result can best be given in Dr. Newman's words: "Having carried off as a mere boy the highest honours of the University, he had turned from the admiration which haunted his steps, and sought for a better and holier satisfaction in pastoral work in the country."* This work was the serving one and sometimes more curacies near his father's home, where the parishes were somewhat neglected and the remuneration was slender. Hence he was able to re-visit Oxford without difficulty; and when his College or the University required his services, whether as Tutor or as Examining Master, he did not sever his connection wholly with these parishes, the labours of which his brother shared with him. And he was in this way also enabled to live much with his aged father, for whom he had ever the tenderest care, the deepest veneration. Immediately after taking his degree, he was elected Fellow of Oriel, home of so many brilliant minds, invested to Oxford men of a past generation with a sanctity attaching to perhaps no other spot in these later days. He did then what most clever young Fellows have always done, took pupils during the vacations as well as from time to time in Oxford itself. At Sidmouth, in his first reading party, he was thrown into very intimate relations with the family of his friend George Cornish, whose father resided there, and from whom Mr. Keble rented the house which was his temporary home.

The stay at Sidmouth is one of the passages in the life which Sir John Coleridge treats inadequately. He does not hint to us of how much of the poetry and tender human feeling of his friend's life this sojourn proved the origin. Yet, now that fifty years have passed away, it can violate no sanctities to reveal that the depths of his nature were stirred by one whose acquaintance he then first made; and though she was at that time very young, his interest in Cornelia Sarah Cornish, the sister of his friend, ripened in after days into a deep and tender, though rejected, love. One who knows well whereof he speaks, and who now more than any has a right to speak of those dim, distant days, writes to us: "I believe much of the pathos of the whole book"—the *Christian Year*—"had its source in his love for

* *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 1st ed., p. 75.

her." And though the exquisite lines, "*Nunquam audituræ*," were addressed not to her, nor indeed to one whom in the same sense he loved, they are interesting as shewing how the young man's fancy turned to thoughts of love, and as evidence how real, intense and religious would be such a feeling when really awakened in his own breast. We quote a couple of stanzas :

"How can I leave thee all unsung,
 While my heart owns thy dear control,
 And heaven and love have o'er thee flung
 The softest moonlight of the soul.
 Oh, I have longed for thee to call
 Soft Echo from the West winds' hall,
 Some notes as blithely wild to seek
 As the wild music of thy voice,
 As the wild roses that rejoice
 In thine eyes' sunshine, on thy glowing cheek.
 * * * * *

"It is my pride that I can deem
 Though faintly of that being's worth,
 Who to the All-gracious mind shall seem
 Meet help for thee in heaven and earth.
 Long as before life's gale I drive
 Shall holiest hope within me live,
 Thee fair, thee blessed, while I view ;
 And when the port of endless rest
 Receives me, may my soul be blest
 With everlasting upward gaze on you."*

It is, indeed, impossible to read the *Christian Year* without being sure that the varied stops of human feeling had all been tuned and exercised before such true harmony of its kind flowed from his soul. It was this early love which called out such tenderness towards a younger Cornelia—or "*Kenie*"—Cornish, who became the wife of his nephew ; and we find the chord once struck still sounding in these words, under date of 1840 :

"On St. Mark's day following"—his own birthday—"he had to write again to Cornish upon the death of his youngest sister, an event which for particular reasons moved him very tenderly : in the course of his note he says : 'One surely feels more and

* *Memoir*, pp. 52, 53.

more the privilege of being allowed to remember one's departed friends in private prayer and secretly at the altar."*

It is during this period of Mr. Keble's life that we first notice his remarkable resignation, so often and so severely tried. His was a most affectionate nature; yet so completely did he realize to himself his belief in the re-union of friends in another life, that it might almost have seemed to superficial observers that he did not grieve at their departure hence. He was able to return from his father's home immediately after his mother's death, to his duties as Examiner in the schools, only returning home to her funeral—a week during which many far less loving sons would have *needed*, and not only taken, rest. How keen, however, his affection was, will appear from the following incident, with which we close the account of his early home and Oxford life. During that week, a candidate for examination in the schools was translating the touching passage in the *Alcestis* where the child Eumelos kisses his dead mother, and passionately calls on her who is gone:

"Keble, as was then usual, was standing; he heard the passage out with fixed attention and unchanged countenance; then dropped in his chair, and burying his face in his hands on the table, remained for some time silent, overcome with emotion."†

In 1827, when Mr. Keble was residing with his father at Fairford, the *Christian Year* was published. Though a man who habitually shrank from notice, a large number of his intimate friends were taken into his counsel, in spite also of the fact that his after estimate of the work he had given to the world was extremely low. Dr. Pusey, in a letter published soon after Mr. Keble's death, tells us how he ever spoke in a disparaging tone of "that book," how he was careless about the correction of what was, in his eyes, a manifest blemish, and the testimony of this Memoir more than confirms all that was then asserted. But before publication, the Poems were submitted to critics of most varied tastes and character, and it is curious to find that a man so eminently prosaic as the late Archbishop Whately was among those consulted, and one of the earliest of the many friends who urged their wider circulation.‡ The work would seem only gradually to have taken the shape

* Memoir, p. 254. † Ibid., p. 223. ‡ Whately's Life, Vol. I. p. 51.

it assumed in the end, a complete series of verses on the Prayer Book; yet it is now difficult to conceive of it as a series of detached devotional pieces, so entirely has it a character of unity and completeness. It stands alone in literature; for though George Herbert's Poems and Bishop Heber's Hymns each present some points of resemblance, we should be inclined to rate Herbert far higher as poet, and Heber far lower. Herbert's verse can only be read with pleasure when the mind is attuned to feelings of personal devotion in which none others can share; Heber's Hymns can be sung by mixed congregations; while the Christian Year fits itself to the closet or the drawing-room, not to singing in church; can be read aloud, when to read Herbert were profanation; can be enjoyed for its poetry by those who object to its theology; while its theology has gained an admission for poetic thoughts into the minds of many wooden-headed people.

Of a book of which in "less than twenty-six years 108,000 copies were issued in forty-three editions," the sale of which never has flagged since,—of which in the nine months following the writer's death seven editions were issued of 11,000 copies,*—it may seem absurd to say it is less known than it deserves. Yet we are inclined to think that this very large sale has mainly been restricted to members of the Church of England, and of one only school in that Church; that, comparatively speaking, only a few of the more cultivated among Nonconformists are well acquainted with its beauties; nor do they, as it seems to us, at all realize the power that it has had in attaching its readers to the form of words and form of faith which it was written to accompany and explain. It has not been hitherto, even within the limits of English speech, a book for all creeds in spite of its adherence to one; it has not been, as in its degree it deserves to be, to English religious thought, what the "*De Imitatione Christi*" has been to the religious thought of Europe. If we are wrong in this opinion, since all study of a favourite author teaches ourselves to know him better, our readers will yet forgive us for a somewhat detailed examination of the book.

In one of those double-edged sayings of which he is

* Memoir, p. 149.

perhaps the greatest living master, Dr. Rowland Williams has well expressed one of the charms and one of the weaknesses of Mr. Keble's poetry. He says :

"In a book whose tender and chastened pathos renders it the worthy companion of our Prayer Book in many lands, hardly any reader has not been touched by the hymn for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity :

'Where is Thy favoured haunt, Eternal Voice,
The region of Thy choice,
Where, undisturbed by sin and earth, the soul
Owns Thy entire control ?
'Tis on the mountain's summit dark and high,
When storms are hurrying by,
'Tis mid the strong foundations of the earth,
Where torrents have their birth.'

"The sentiment here implied has the great advantage over some others in the same volume, that the more we reflect upon it, the truer it seems, while there are others which will not bear reflection. When we read, for instance, in one of the autumnal hymns, that the winds and storms suspend their wintry rage, that flowers and leaves have time to die gently, the utter contrast of such a fancy with the unrelenting course of nature destroying recklessly what she has brought lavishly to life, makes the idea seem a dream for a moment, or turns it into a sense of disappointed sadness. All things untrue are idle when we make them food for the mind."*

Dr. Newman, however, says, with special reference to the Christian Year, that the first of two "main intellectual truths which it brought home" to him "was, what may be called, in a large sense of the word, the Sacramental system, that is, the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen ;" and he notices also "the connection of this philosophy of religion with what is sometimes called Berkleyism."†

Bearing this connection in mind, we imagine Mr. Keble's answer to Dr. Williams, had he cared to give one, would have been in effect, that what seem "laws of nature" are mere phenomena to be altered or set aside at any moment by the Divine will, and that even when they appear to one most unrelenting, they may, and probably are, intended to

* Broad-Chalke Sermon-Essays, pp. 1, 2.

† *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 1st ed., pp. 77, 78.

convey that very lesson of doctrine which another who looks for it may find in spite of those points which seem to conflict with that teaching. There are many who would deem it flagrant impiety to disbelieve that the material of our bodies which we lay aside in the grave will re-live, because St. Paul seems to see in the sprouting of the seed a proof of the resurrection; and if to insist on "laws of nature" upsets a Sacramental system altogether, "tant pis pour les faits," will be the cry of those who "Berkleyize." But, in fact, the very moment any man leaves the strict philosophical investigation of nature,—and this, we imagine, will either teach him nothing about "things unseen," or else quite other facts than those for which they look who believe in a Sacramental system,—he will see in phenomena just what "his eye brings with it the power of seeing," and no more. An instance of what we mean occurs as we write. A Greek poet who does not believe in the resurrection, looks on the fading mallows, and contrasts their revival after seeming decay with the sleep of man that knows no waking. Mr. Keble, who does believe in the resurrection, wishing also to contrast man with natural objects, chooses to cast out of sight what would, no doubt, have been his reading of St. Paul's great analogy, and look at the *leaves* of the trees, which are only *portions* of the material frame of the tree,—as though one were to consider the hair cut from a man, or the nails he sheds, as separate entities. The two passages are so beautiful, that we give them side by side.

"Ah me! the mallows, dead in the garden drear,
Ah! the green parsley, the thriving tufts of dill,
These again shall rise, shall live in the coming year.

"But we men in our pride, we in wisdom and strength,
We, if once we die, dead in the womb of earth
Sleep the sleep that wakes not, sleep of infinite length."*

Now let us take Keble on the fall of the leaf:

"How like decaying life they seem to glide!
And yet no second spring have they in store;
But where they fall, forgotten to abide
Is all their portion, and they ask no more.

* Moschos, B.C. 270.

"Soon o'er their heads blithe April airs shall sing,
 A thousand wild flowers round them shall unfold,
 The green buds glisten in the dews of Spring,
 And all be vernal rapture as of old.

* * * * *

"Man's portion is to die and rise again—
 Yet he complains, while these un murmuring part
 With their sweet lives, as pure from sin and stain,
 As his when Eden held his virgin heart."*

While, then, to many these poems are full of lessons, nursing fancies which displease on reflection those of another school of thought, it cannot be denied that a great charm is thrown over all descriptions of nature by the religious sentiments which pervade them, even if it be not "*Der Dichtungs Schleier aus der Hand der Wahrheit*." To read our own theology in an imperfect observation of the processes of nature, brings into the verses in which those processes are described a weakness from which the highest poet is free. We would not, however, be supposed as among the number of those, of one of whom it has been said,

"A primrose on the river's brim,
 A yellow primrose was to him,
 And it was nothing more."

And, making the deduction we have striven to explain, we hold one great merit of the Christian Year to be, the power of seeing the subtle beauty which lies in the simpler aspects of nature, invisible to, or at least inexpressible by, those who have not a considerable gift of song. And we claim on this ground a place, and no mean one, for its author in the company of those who sung of

"daffodils
 That come before the swallow dares, and take
 The winds of March with beauty ;"

and saw when

"the high lawns appeared
 Under the opening eyelids of the morn ;"

or noticed the colour of

"ash-buds in the front of March ;"

or heard in the garden,

* Christian Year, Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity.

"The wise thrush, he sings his song twice over,
Lest you should think he never could re-capture
That first fine careless rapture."

Such a delicate eye and ear did Mr. Keble also bring to his work.

For instance,

"Not surer does each tender gem,
Set in the fig-tree's polished stem,
Foresheew the summer."*

Or,

"See the soft green willow springing
Where the waters gently pass,
Every way her free arms flinging
O'er the moist and reedy grass.
Long ere winter blasts are fled,
See her tipped with vernal red,
And her kindly flower displayed
Ere her leaf can cast a shade."†

Or when he speaks of sounds, in a poem already quoted :

"the fitful sweep
Of winds across the steep
Through withered bents—romantic note and clear,
Meet for a hermit's ear."

"The wheeling kite's wild solitary cry."‡

And, once more, when he notices

"The evening blackbird's full-toned lay,
When the relenting sun has smiled
Bright through a whole December day."§

Our readers can now possibly understand how it chanced that three friends of poetic taste and High-church views once started on a tour, undertaking each to bring one favourite volume for reading aloud in the pauses of travel, and how at their first resting-place three copies of the Christian Year were found to compose the whole of the joint library.

The book appeared at a time when the Oxford revival had not fairly begun,—Dr. Newman dates the commence-

* Christian Year, Second Sunday in Advent.

† Ibid., First Sunday after Epiphany.

‡ Ibid., Twentieth Sunday after Trinity.

§ Ibid., St. Simon and St. Jude.

ment of it six years later,—and the poems had taken a hold on many people who would have turned from them if read for the first time in later years. And hence, no doubt, it prepared the way for much which was afterwards to come. Writing to Sir John Coleridge in 1845, Mr. Keble specifies three points as not having been understood by him at the time he wrote his former poems: “the doctrine of Repentance, or that of the Holy Eucharist as held, e.g., by Bishop Ken, nor that of Justification;”^{*} and he says there are other points which he does not mention. There are certainly no such strong expressions on Confession and Absolution as find place in Dr. Newman’s well-known lines in the *Lyra Apostolica*; and the alteration of a phrase in reference to the Communion since Mr. Keble’s death (of which more presently), shews that definitions were regarded as of less moment forty years ago; but on the whole the teaching is Catholic, and if Anglican in feeling, it is so by its omissions rather than its statements; additions might be required by Catholics of these days within the English Church, but nothing beyond the one expression noticed would need to be altered or pruned away. To all that is called Liberalism or Free Thought, to all that is non-dogmatic, to views on the Atonement and nature of Christ like those gaining ground daily among even the orthodox churches, Mr. Keble would have offered, did offer when they came in his way, the sincerest opposition, and the nature of his feelings comes out clearly in this volume. When Mr. Tennyson writes,

“I that rather held it better men should perish one by one,
Than that earth should stand at gaze like Joshua’s moon in
Ajalon,”

we understand that he uses the tale as a poetic illustration, and we do not suppose that he considered for a moment its agreement or non-agreement with fact and possibility. But when Mr. Keble writes,

“’Tis true, of old the unchanging sun
His daily course refused to run,
The pale moon hurrying to the west
Paused at a mortal’s call, to aid
The avenging storm of war, that laid
Seven guilty realms at once on earth’s defiled breast.

^{*} *Memoir*, p. 281.

"But can it be, one suppliant tear
Should stay the ever-moving sphere?
A sick man's lowly breathed sigh,
When from the world he turns away,
And hides his weary eyes to pray,
Should change your mystic dance, ye wanderers of the sky?"*

we feel at once that he gives his entire adhesion in faith and intellect to two of the most unlikely miracles of the Old Testament. Again, he turns with a something like terror from the creed of those who would reject the doctrine of eternal damnation, considering that if it fails, so fails also the trust of the godly. If there be "hope for such as die unblest,"—

"But where is then the stay of contrite hearts?
Of old they leaned on Thy eternal word;
But with the sinner's fear their hope departs,
Fast linked as Thy great Name to Thee, O Lord:

"That name by which Thy faithful oath is past,
That we should endless be, for joy or woe:—
And if the treasures of Thy wrath could waste,
Thy lovers must their promised Heaven forego."†

Nor would it be possible to put in stronger words that view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, held by devout Catholics both within and without the Roman obedience, depending on the extremest view of the Atonement as a substitution of Christ for the sinner, than in the following lines:

"Fresh from th' atoning sacrifice
The world's Creator bleeding lies,
That man, His foe, by whom He bled,
May take Him for his daily bread."‡

It might have been sufficient to point to these lines as a proof of what Mr. Keble's belief had been, when, after his death, an unfortunate controversy was raised about a verse in the poem on the Service for "Gunpowder Treason," which so long disgraced the English Prayer Book. The verse stood,

* Christian Year, First Sunday after Christmas.

† Ibid., Second Sunday in Lent.

‡ Ibid., Holy Communion.

"O come to our Communion Feast ;
 There present in the heart,
 Not in the hands, th' eternal Priest
 Will His true self impart."

Mr. Keble, when pressed about these words, so unlike the whole tone of his teaching, replied that they would bear the sense of "not *only* in the hands," and he was not careful to alter what ought to be interpreted by his known opinions. Towards the end of his life, however, finding the words quoted by a Bishop as *against* his view, he made up his mind to alter the verse, but his sudden illness and death prevented his carrying the intention into act. Sir John Coleridge is clearly right when he says that neither Mrs. Keble nor her nephew could properly exercise any discretion in the matter, when they made an alteration which at the time caused much discussion.* The result has been that the whole poem has now been withdrawn ; and this is well : the lines were never among the happiest portions of the book, and they helped to perpetuate the memory of a scandalous Form of Prayer. The vagueness of expression, however, of which the lines quoted were so signal an instance, is one of the main defects of the book ; the thought, no doubt, is always definite, but the words in which it is couched are often obscure in sense and harsh in metre. And so it chances from time to time that close by passages of almost perfect melody and singular felicity of expression, are others hard to unravel, unusual, or even ungrammatical expressions, words distorted for the sake of rhyme, as "spright" for "spirit," "the rod they take so *calm*" for "calmly," "roseate cups" for "rose blossoms," "mystic *unison*" for "mystic harmony."

Yet read the book as critically as we may, or at however great a distance from its teaching, we are sure none will learn to know it without being better for the knowledge, without kindly and tender thoughts for the movement it heralded and the theology it advanced, without growing to love him who loved and strove to interpret God and Nature to himself and his brother-men. And if we are sometimes apt to be angry with a school which has done so much to revive mediæval and useless asceticism, and has been at

* Memoir, p. 164.

least as mischievous as the Evangelical party in setting a great gulf between the Church and the world, to the confusion of morality and a low estimate of the simple and homelier virtues, let it not be forgotten that the true reviver and minstrel of this school was he who wrote—

“ We need not bid, for cloistered cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky :

“ The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask ;
Room to deny ourselves ; a road
To bring us, daily, nearer God.”*

And,

“ There are in this loud stunning tide
Of human care and crime,
With whom the melodies abide
Of th’ everlasting chime ;
Who carry music in their heart
Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.”†

We have paused long on the subject of this book, because it is that by which Mr. Keble will be known and remembered, when otherwise, like men greater than he, he would be forgotten, and also because we do not again intend to speak of his poetry. His contributions to the *Lyra Apostolica* are as nothing by the side of Dr. Newman’s ; his own second volume, the “*Lyra Innocentium*,” is inferior to the *Christian Year* from every point of view, except that of those who prize above all things a distinct utterance of dogmatic theology. In this point there is certainly an advance, at least in expression ; and that, we think, is all to be said which has not been said or implied on the poems already examined.‡

The thirteen years which followed the publication of the *Christian Year* were full of interest to Mr. Keble, who loved his parish work and his literary labours, but they afford few

* *Christian Year*, Morning.

† *Ibid.*, St. Matthew.

‡ The *Dublin Review*, No. XL, June, 1846, contains an extremely powerful and interesting criticism on the *Lyra Innocentium*, from, as is said, the pen of Dr. Newman.

standing-points for any who review his life. He set aside with scarce a thought the offer of a colonial Archdeaconry ; he declined to contend for the Provostship of his College, for which it would seem some of his friends considered him a likely candidate. He accepted the curacy of Hursley, and refused the incumbency when vacant ; returned to Fairford on the death of a sister, and remained in the same quiet work as before till the death of his father in 1835. An edition of Hooker for the Oxford Press, as well as his Lectures as Professor of Poetry, for which the growing popularity of the Christian Year had caused his selection, kept up his relations with Oxford, his friendship with Dr. Newman and the band of earnest men who were, with more and more eager determination, bent on a new reformation of the English Church. This took shape and date from an assize sermon of Mr. Keble's in 1833, on National Apostasy. It is a curious proof of how little the authors of the Oxford movement knew the line even their own thought would inevitably take, that the most alarming sign of that which he so designates was the suppression or amalgamation of Irish Bishoprics. Dr. Newman, who has now so many years ceased to feel as an English Churchman, supposes, not unnaturally, that he would, were he in the English Church, think as he formerly thought. When therefore, in 1865, Dr. Newman once more met his old friend at Hursley, he expected to find that the present measure for total disestablishment was regarded as evil. Dr. Newman writes :

"Mr Gladstone's rejection at Oxford was talked of, and I said that I really thought that, had I been still a member of the University, I must have voted against him, because he was giving up the Irish Establishment. On this, Keble gave me one of his remarkable looks, so earnest and so sweet, came close to me, and whispered in my ear (I cannot recollect the exact words, but I took them to be), 'And is not that just?' It left the impression on my mind that he had no great sympathy with the Establishment in Ireland as an Establishment, and was favourable to the Church of the Irish."*

Immediately after the publication of the sermon were begun the Tracts for the Times, and in these also is apparent how little the authors knew what would be their own

* Memoir, p. 518.

minds. To revive primitive doctrine and practice, or what was supposed to be such, but to keep both carefully within the precise framework then existing, seems to have been the object of the Tracts. Now that the High-church party are dividing services, with good effect, shortening them so far as may be, and keeping them distinct, admitting that a new Lectionary is needed, supplementing the deficiencies, or supposed deficiencies, in the Prayer Book by expressive ritual and by a lavish use of Hymns, it is not uninteresting to turn over those almost forgotten volumes, and find careful defences of the long services, pleas for keeping them just as they are. There is one paper of Mr. Keble's on the Sunday Lessons, containing an elaborate theory of their selection, and an earnest justification of the reading of those chapters from which even those of his own party now shrink, for which few now would claim any other than a haphazard selection by men whose sense of delicacy was somewhat coarse, as would naturally be that of the clergy of a coarse age. Mr. Keble's own contributions were few, only four in all, the most remarkable being No. 89, on the "Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church." This is well worth reading even by those who, like ourselves, would utterly repudiate the whole state of mind which would make such interpretation even possible, who consider that so to read the Bible is simply to turn it into a sort of ingenious puzzle in which words may mean almost anything but what they seem to mean, is to strike at the root of all morality by the mode by which the atrocious crime of Jael and the slaughter of the Canaanites are justified and explained. It is interesting as shewing the best that can be said for the Fathers and their study of Scripture by a very able man, saturated with a knowledge of them, with love and veneration towards them; and having read it, we may turn with a clear conscience, once for all, without misgiving or retrogression, to modern interpreters who know at least the meaning of such terms as history, criticism and the science of language. And if we are sorry so utterly to disagree with Mr. Keble, we have at least the satisfaction that we wholly agree with Dr. Arnold.

The story of the cessation of the Tracts is now so well known as to need no comment, except that Mr. Keble at

once with great chivalry made himself responsible, almost equally with Dr. Newman, for Tract 90, and thoroughly identified himself with the line of thought therein exemplified. We are far from being among the number of those who consider the argument in any degree dishonest, or even as going beyond the liberty of interpretation allowed to members of the English Church. Mr. Wilson, one of the four Tutors who protested against the Tract, has since that time found himself in direct collision with popular opinion and the sense ordinarily put on formularies to which he has been able conscientiously to adhere; and although there are those who make a distinction between stretching documents in the direction of Rome and their extension towards Free Thought, to us the cases seem precisely parallel. The question of conformity to a liturgy, creeds and articles, requiring always a certain "economy," has been so recently discussed in these pages, that we do not attempt again to open it, further than to say that herein the Tractarians did only what all must do who accept inconsistent formularies, the result of an accidental compromise, who hold the dogmatic statements of one age under the pressure of the opinions of another. It is for each man to settle in his particular case how far he can conform to that which all men do not hold in precisely the same sense; it is not for those to blame who themselves require a like allowance in kind, if not in degree. Mr. Keble and Dr. Newman, with their friends, were surely honest in that they made no scruple of the sense in which they held dogmatic statements having neither the venerable antiquity of creeds, nor a large catholic inclusiveness, nor a grave precision of language. Few who submit to them can love the Thirty-nine Articles; it is a kindly attempt, from whomsoever it come, if one strive to make the bonds less galling.

While the Tracts were in their full swing, and immediately after the death of his father, a second offer came to Mr. Keble of the vicarage of Hursley, again vacant, and was accepted by him. It came opportunely; for he was just then engaged to be married, and he had also to provide a home, or partial home, for his sister. The special work of his life was done; the book was given to the world; the movement was fairly started by which he will be remembered; and the rest of his life was much like many another

spent in the country parishes of England, rather dawdling and trivial, making much of little pleasures, and more of little grievances, of the naughtinesses of school-boys and girls, of the excitements of a speech in the school-room from a colonial Bishop. In such a life there is seldom much to record, though it is not without a quiet grace and beauty, and Sir John Coleridge has perhaps been overlengthy in his descriptions of the Hursley years. There are, however, some points which will repay special attention in the life of a man so typical among English clergy. Mr. Keble accepted a living at the time when Dr. Newman's faith in the Church of England was receiving constant shocks, and the work of a parish of which he was the incumbent caused himself to feel more and more, that if the Church of England was really in doctrine what he considered it ought to be, it was at any rate a "practical failure."* He was powerless to revive in its fulness the habit of confession among those of whom he had the spiritual charge, and without this he felt the Church could not work as he conceived a Church should. The Roman controversy was before him; and though he says in his letters over and over again that he could not join that Church, so had his friend before him, who there after his troubles found rest. That in all essential points the High-Anglican and the Roman doctrines are one, we have no sort of doubt, nor that in Rome alone can they be satisfactorily and consistently held. But as poetry, or in other words feeling, had guided Mr. Keble hitherto, so was it in this great crisis of his life. His fancy and affections were on the side of his staying where he was, and this matter once decided, he wavered no more. While he hesitated, and when Dr. Newman left the Church of England, Mrs. Keble seemed dying, as also another dear relation, and here is Mr. Keble's comment:

"I have written to him (Dr. Newman) to express as well as I could two feelings—one, continued love and affection towards him; the other, that every day things are happening, especially in our two sick rooms, which make it impossible for me to do as he has done; it would seem like impiety to reject such warnings as have been sent to me in that manner; I mean things which dear C. said at a moment when she thought herself dying."†

* *Memoir*, p. 290.† *Ibid.*, p. 297.

Sir John Coleridge admits the possibility of a smile, and deprecates a sneer, at the attaching weight to such an incident; and surely there are none who would sneer at any even fanciful thought affecting the religion of a devout poetic soul. But smiles are equally far from our lips when we see how unreal a thing this makes religion, if it is to be not a matter of reason, conviction and duty, but of sentiment; a dependence on the thoughts of those we love, when those thoughts are least under control; a resting the truth of a creed on the holiness of life of those who hold it. And when once this had swayed his mind, the infallibility of his relatives was propounded as a relief to other anxieties than his own. A communication lies before us from one who, after sore struggles, complicated by graver difficulties than assail many, joined the Church of Rome. These were laid before Mr. Keble not only as a friend, but as the appointed definite guide and pastor. Our correspondent writes:

"He listened patiently to all I had to say, looking inexpressibly shocked, and then said, 'Suppose we talk to Charlotte about it; she will help you much better than I.' When he found that I would not hear of this, he was simply angry."

And again:

"This I believe was the attitude of his mind against everything that seemed to lead beyond the religion of his father and sisters and wife; for it really came simply to this. He answered a friend of mine who went to him in anxieties and difficulties like my own, by saying, 'Look at my sister; how can the Church of England be wrong, which has nurtured and satisfied a soul like hers?' And he said the same sort of thing to me. Could it be right for me to have difficulties when she had none? Must not the fault be my own?"

And, once more:

(His) "always seemed to me an unreal life—full of beauty and poetry, but always, to my mind, untrue, for it was a continual contradiction."*

We quote these, as our readers who have followed us thus far will know, not in any spirit of detraction, but because, utterly convinced as we are there is no true standing-point between Rome and Free Thought, it is important to shew

* MS. letter.

the futility of the fancy taking the place of reason, on which one of the best of Anglicans deemed himself to rest.

To one so loving as Mr. Keble, it must have been doubly painful that his friends should sever themselves from his side and cease to think his thoughts; for mixed up in curious stratification with his tenderness, was a severity of judgment on those with whom he could not agree. Thus, when quite a young man, he could not admire Milton's writings because he disliked his views; in later days he writes to Sir John Coleridge, that "the opinion there are good men of all parties is a bad doctrine for these days;,"* that he would not advise asking a clergyman who had joined the Church of Rome to dine: "I should consider it scandalous in respect of the servants, to say no other; they know that he is a clergyman who has renounced his Orders, and it cannot be but certain thoughts must enter into their minds, if they think of such things at all"† Thus, strangest of all, he declines to enter into the religious difficulties connected with the question of the inspiration of the Scripture, because most of the men who entertained them were "too wicked to be reasoned with."‡ And since he was under the influence of these mixed feelings, we can the more easily understand a touching anecdote which belongs to the period of his life in which his doubts were raised and then stifled. A visitor, in the course of a walk, many years afterwards, directed his attention to a broken piece of ground, a chalk-pit as it turned out:

"Ah," said he, "that is a sad place, that is connected with the most painful event of my life. It was there that I first knew for certain that J. H. N. had left us. We had just made up our minds that such an event was all but inevitable, and one day I received a letter in his handwriting. I felt sure of what it contained, and I carried it about with me all through the day, afraid to open it. At last I got away to that chalk-pit, and then, forcing myself to read the letter, I found that my forebodings had been too true; it was the announcement that he was gone."§

Sir John Coleridge discusses the question, "Should Keble have been preferred to dignity in the Church?" but gives it as his deliberate opinion that had preferment been offered, it would have been declined. He relates that Mr. Keble

* *Memoir*, p. 241.

† *Ibid.*, p. 568.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

considered—and he agrees with Mr. Keble—that the loss of Dr. Newman to the Anglican communion was the consequence of the conduct systematically pursued towards him. This we do not for one moment believe. Dr. Newman's singularly pure and lofty mind is one which must ever be free from all thoughts of self; and surely if to be valued at less than his great worth would raise feelings of discontent with his position, he could hardly be satisfied within the Church which makes Dr. Manning an Archbishop and leaves him in the Birmingham Oratory. Those whom preferment keeps attached to a Church are not its noblest sons; and as it was not advance to dignity which retained Mr. Keble, so was it not neglect, but his own clear logic and earnest desire to follow what seemed God's leading, which took Dr. Newman from his friend. In those days, indeed, no leader in the Oxford movement could have expected dignity. They put themselves boldly in the face of authority; they opposed the reform of the Irish Church, the Jerusalem Bishopric, and even matters in which the great ones of the land were more concerned than these. It will be remembered by all readers of the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, that Dr. Newman, for himself, solemnly protested against the consecration of Bishop Alexander; but perhaps few persons recollect a characteristic proceeding of Mr. Keble with regard to a matter of far greater and more national interest. The doctrine which was brought into prominence even more than any other in the early Tracts, was that of Apostolical Succession, by which persons episcopally ordained received a sort of sacred virus transmissible through the ages, and conferring on them, and on them alone, the power of administering the Sacraments. And it was to the holders of such a doctrine a matter of grave doubt whether any beyond the limits of episcopal communions belonged to the Church—whether, in fact, they were Christians at all. Hence, when the Lutheran King of Prussia was chosen to stand godfather to the Prince of Wales, High-churchmen were sorely exercised in mind. Mr. Keble's feelings on the subject were delivered in a Protest made by himself and several others among his more immediate friends; and from the position he then took up he probably never would have varied. We have not been able to recover the text of this singular document, to which Sir John Coleridge makes no

illusion, though it has its importance with reference to the non-preferment of his friend. And believing as we do that men who, as the ordinary course of advancement goes, had more reason to expect dignity than Mr. Keble, were kept from it on account of their participation in the Protest,—believing also that those now living would not again sign such a document under like circumstances,—it might seem well also to pass it by. But it is important as shewing the consistency and honesty of Mr. Keble, whoever was concerned, and also the singular and miserable isolation of the Anglican party in existing Christendom. A man who had joined the Church of Rome was not to be asked to dinner; a Lutheran could not be a witness that a child should be brought up in the faith; of a Presbyterian church it is said, “I would not be in one of them at service-time on any consideration;” yet all the while the Church in which he ministered was a “practical failure.” Such was the catholicity of a loving and gentle man.

To few men would Goethe's words, “*Du bist am Ende was du bist*,” apply more than to Mr. Keble, and therefore we need not pause on the last twenty years of his life. How he would have restored ecclesiastical discipline, had it been in his power, he shewed in his *Life of Bishop Wilson*, who ruled his little diocese with ultra-papal severity; what he said on the attempt to legalize marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, on Eucharistical Adoration, on the Colenso case, our readers can now imagine for themselves. On the Ritual question, in quite the last months of his life, his deep reverence for the truths symbolized in the Sacraments led him somewhat away from the line his party was taking, in that he wrote a letter to protest against the necessity of fasting Communion, and the growing custom of merely “assisting at Mass.” His later years were shaded by Mrs. Keble's constant ill health; we can scarce say saddened, because there was between the pair the most complete sympathy, and neither accounted death as an evil or as a real separation. Her delicacy of constitution, and at the last a corresponding failure of his own vigour, necessitated long residences away from Hursley, and called out from affectionate friends childlike offices towards the childless pair. It was at Hursley, however, and at a time when Mr. Keble was especially anxious about his wife, that a

meeting took place which in some measure undid the chill separation of so many years, when once more Dr. Newman and Dr. Pusey met under the roof of their friend, so long lost to the greatest of them. Dr. Newman's letter describing this meeting is most touching and beautiful; would that we had space to quote it entire! He arrived unexpectedly; and the twenty years had so changed those who had parted in the prime of life, that they did not recognize each other.

"Keble was at his door speaking to a friend. He did not know me, and asked my name. What was more wonderful, since I had purposely come to his house, I did not know him, and I feared to ask who it was. I gave him my card without speaking. When at length we found out each other, he said, with that tender flurry of manner which I recollect so well, that * * * he could not receive me as he should have wished to do, nor indeed had he expected me, for 'Pusey,' he whispered, 'is in the house, as you are aware.' Then he brought me into his study, and embraced me most affectionately, and said he would go and prepare Pusey, and send him to me. * * *

"Just before my time for going, Pusey went to read the Evening Service in Church, and I was left in the open air with Keble by himself. * * * We walked a little way, and stood looking in silence on the Church and Churchyard, so beautiful and calm. Then he began to converse with me in more than his old tone of intimacy, as if we had never been parted, and soon I was obliged to go. * * *

"He wrote me many notes about this time; in one of them he made a reference to the lines in *Macbeth*—

'When shall we three meet again?
When the hurley-burley's done,
When the battle's lost and won.'

"This is all I can recollect of a visit of which almost the sole vivid memory which remains with me is the image of Keble himself."*

And this visit was to him also nearly the last of Hursley, which he had loved, and for the poor of which he had lived, making himself and his wife truly the servants of his people. Sir John Coleridge has an interesting chapter on his life as a parish priest, one extract from which must be our last quotation from the *Memoir*:

"He was not what is commonly called an eloquent reader or

* *Memoir*, pp. 517, 518, 519.

preacher; his voice was not powerful, nor his ear perfect for harmony of sound, nor had he in the popular sense great gifts of delivery; but in spite of all this, you could not but be impressed deeply both by his reading and his preaching. * * * When he preached, it was with an affectionate, almost plaintive, earnestness, which was very moving. His sermons were at all times full of that scriptural knowledge which was a remarkable quality in him as a divine."*

We, who never heard him preach, imagine we should agree with those who took a less favourable estimate. One writes:

"His sermons were to me (if I may say so without disrespect) very tiresome, except every now and then when a pretty little poetical thought would come out. But he preached entirely for the poor, and yet not the least the sort of sermon to arrest or interest them, and I think they used chiefly to sleep."†

We will not dwell on his last illness and death, which came while he was awaiting at Bournemouth that of his wife, who, contrary to all expectation, survived him some weeks. The death-beds of all pious people have a remarkable similarity, in whatever religious communion they may happen to die. Various as has been the labour of the day, the tired toilers say Good-night, and fall asleep with the same actions and almost the same words.

We, and those for whom we have written, are of a far other school of thought than Mr. Keble. His peculiar party will probably soon be absorbed in the great Roman Church, only true home of all dogmatic sects. And we shall probably wander further even than now into that dim land, of which none can see the horizon; to us, a land of hope; to Catholics, the valley of the shadow of eternal death. But at least we need not let the spiritual separation come from us; we may carry with us loving and tender memories of men from whom we learn much, even while we differ and criticize, whose creed, though not ours, has made ours possible. We venture to hope that our readers will not think their time has been spent in vain, if through any word of ours they have learnt to know better than before the strength and the weakness, the bitter and the sweet, of the character and life of the writer of the Christian Year.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

* Memoir, pp. 549, 550.

† MS. letter.

V.—THE CURÉ OF ARS.

1. *Le Curé d'Ars : Vie de Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney.* Publié sous les yeux, et avec l'approbation de Mgr. L'Evêque de Belley, par L'Abbé Alfred Monnin, Missionnaire. 2 tom. Onzième édition. Paris : Douniol. 1867.
2. *Le Vénérable Curé d'Ars, sa Vie, ses Vertus, et sa Mort.* Par M. L. F. Guérin. Quatrième édition. Paris. 1861.
3. *Le Curé d'Ars : Notice Biographique sur J. B. M. Vianney, mort en odeur de sainteté le 4 Août, 1859.* Par J. Chantrel. Septième édition. Paris. No date.

UNIFORMITY, rising to an almost sublime pitch of changelessness, is a "note" to which the Roman Catholic Church is most commonly wont to point, as a proof of its own universality and authority. • "The faith once delivered to the saints," handed down from the apostolic age, in the secure keeping of a mystic corporation infallibly directed by the Spirit; one creed, one ritual, one hierarchy, one discipline, independent of national variation and political change,—this is the picture which is held up, in a pride touching upon scorn, against "the variations of Protestantism." Yet we have often thought that the true proof of the vitality of the Latin Church is to be found far less in an apparent uniformity, than in a very real and essential changefulness. Adaptability is the unerring test of life. The zoophyte dies as soon as torn from the rock to which it clings; man, the most highly organized of the highest class of creatures, is independent of place and climate. So also with institutions, and especially with institutions for the expression and development of the religious emotions. There are sects which are little raised above the zoophyte level of life, which cannot propagate themselves beyond the country in which they first arose, or ramify above or below a certain stratum of society, or even acquire another habitat than that provided by the accident of birth. There are churches which are singularly powerful and comprehensive within national limits, but which cannot overpass the boundary which separates a Teutonic from a Keltic race, or even the less difficult frontier between the English and the German mind. Perhaps only one church

has ever in any degree shewn itself *human*, as opposed to national or European ; has adapted itself, with more or less effort, to the despotism of Naples, the constitutionalism of Belgium, the democracy of America ; sustains with equal astuteness, though on very varying principles, the position, here of a suspected sect, there of a dominant establishment ; and while not losing its hold upon the sensuous faith of the Italian peasant, succeeds in drawing within the sphere of its fascinations some of the richest and subtlest of English minds. That it is possible to explain the whole of these phenomena without admitting the catholicity and authority which they are said to prove, we do not doubt ; but the facts are nevertheless not without grave significance. A form of religious life which sends down into human society roots so numerous and so varied, will not be lightly eradicated. We have here a phenomenon which is the result of ages of development, and whose final disappearance, if ever it take place, will be preceded and prepared by ages of decay.

Some religious organizations have but one aspect, and, when that is fully comprehended, offer nothing more to the scrutiny of a scientific observer. Not so with the Roman Catholic Church. It is the commonest experience that an English traveller, passing for the first time through a Catholic country, sees what he thought to be an old and familiar fact in quite a fresh light. Catholicism in England still retains many of the outward characteristics of a form of Dissent. Except in one or two cities where there is a large Irish population, it does not present itself to the eye in any imposing mass. Its priests in outward garb are hardly to be distinguished from other ministers of religion. A niche, that is *not* empty of Saint or Virgin, is almost all that differentiates its churches from the last new Methodist or Independent chapel. Within the walls, gorgeous processions may pass, solemn sacrifices may be performed ; but the passer-by does not see them, and in this case is more than usually careful not to put himself in the way of strange rites. Of late years, Catholicism in England has grown somewhat bolder ; here and there may be seen a mass of ecclesiastical buildings, where walls of unusual height and gates that are never opened arouse a suspicion of conventual seclusion ; the dress of the Sister of Mercy, in its

various forms, is no longer a novelty in our streets, and there is a visible increase in the number of foreign ecclesiastics. But the moment the English traveller sets foot at Dieppe or Ostend, all this is changed; still more, when he penetrates the more secluded tracts of Southern Germany, or threads the valleys of Catholic Switzerland. Not merely is Catholicism a public and all-pervading fact, which he is not suffered to forget for many hours or many miles, but he is amazed at the directness of its appeals to the most childish instincts, the rudest faith of an uneducated people. He has heard in England, perhaps with something of sentimental regret, of the cross by the wayside, and the chapel at the top of the pass, inviting the wearied traveller to rest and devotion; but he is disappointed to find the one a hideous and shapeless crucifix, and in the other a wax-work of the Agony, which carries his mind by irresistible association, not to the Groves of Olivet, but to the village fair at home. He descends into Italy, full of æsthetic speculation as to the connection of art with religion, and sorrowfully wondering at the shortcomings of Protestantism in this regard; and he learns that the Catholicism of to-day thinks a mass of spangles, and tapers, and coloured calico, the *ne plus ultra* of decorative skill, and that the pictures which are supposed to radiate religion upon the people, are, if worth looking at, covered with a curtain which only a fee will withdraw. And when he sees the shrines hung round with the waxen legs and arms which commemorate miraculous cures, and watches the direct worship paid, not merely to the Saint, but to the image, and hears how this Virgin or that Bambino is more propitious than that displayed in a neighbouring church or even in an opposite aisle, and notes how the "*populus vult decipi—decipiatur!*" seems to be in large degree the measure of the relation between priesthood and people,—he asks himself in wonderment whether this is part and parcel of the same system which produced the Oxford movement, and perpetually lies in wait for enthusiastic curates, and does its noiseless work from day to day in some back street of his county town.

From our insular position, our peculiar form of Protestant thought, and, it must also be confessed, our inbred British Philistinism, we are often led to confound time and space in religious matters, and to imagine that facts and processes

which are separated from us only by a narrow strip of sea, are really no nearer to us than the middle ages. The Roman Catholic Saint, for instance, strikes us as essentially a mediæval product: he was dying out, we think, with St. Bernard, and the Reformation gave him his *coup de grace*. There is a flavour of anachronism, which we fancy even a Catholic must notice, in St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul. Saints and steam-engines, saints and electric telegraphs, saints and Sir Charles Lyell, saints and Bishop Colenso, cannot be made to go together: to conceive of them in conjunction is to turn the oxyhydrogen light upon a ghost, which out of the twilight cannot for a moment preserve its faint and bodiless existence. But all this is only our English ignorance of currents of religious emotion which actually move the Catholic Church, but which, we must admit, are not often designedly presented to English Protestant observation. There is, indeed, a fashion in Saint-worship, as in most other things. The devotion to the Mother of God has within the last half century assumed such proportions, as almost to warrant the expectation expressed by M. Réville, that before long the Church may, in the plenitude of its power, associate her with the Trinity itself. Not long ago we were told that Italian Catholics, following out the idea of the family, which has raised Mary to such prominence, were beginning to make Joseph a favourite object of petition. St. Philomena (of whose curious history we shall have to say something presently) was only discovered in 1802, and is already one of the most popular female saints of the South of Europe. Who, of Protestants at least, knows anything of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, St. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi, St. Rose of Lima, St. Louis de Gonzaga? The fact is, that the process of Saint-making has never been interrupted: both the theory of the Church and the religious wants of its votaries agree in protesting against the idea that it can be interrupted. And our object in the present article is to shew this process in some of its stages.

First, some good man, like the Curé of Ars,—of whose life we propose to give a sketch,—attains during his lifetime a merited reputation for more than a common sanctity. The marks of Catholic holiness are for most part external: the people detect by well-known “notes” the nascent saint, and

the fame of his vigils, his austerities, his charities, his labours, his conflicts with the devil, his influence with heaven, spreads far and wide. Presently there is a rumour of miracle: the lame have walked at his intercession, or the epileptic have been restored to health: the pious tell their tale, the sceptical shrug their shoulders, the ecclesiastical authorities maintain a judicious silence, explanation and refutation are no man's business,—and the tale spreads, hardens, acquires circumstance. Then, after a time, and especially as the good man himself and those who have known him in the intimacy of private life pass away, legend takes a somewhat bolder flight; other and more wonderful miracles than those of healing begin to be reported; biographies are written, some for the more educated class of believers, others for popular sale and impression; and the Bishop of the diocese, always with reservation of the ultimate rights of the Holy See, begins to encourage the idea of canonization. The leaven spreads and works: by and by the dead man performs more miracles than the living one: popular enthusiasm finds vent in pilgrimages, prayers as yet unauthorized, various forms of devotion, till at last a solemn process of judgment is instituted in Rome, and after full debate the Pope yields to the pious demand of the Church, and adds a new Saint to the Calendar. And all this is now going on in France, almost in the environs of Lyons, years after the date at which Auguste Comte promised the advent of the Positivist millennium!

We have placed at the head of this article the title of an elaborate biography of the Curé of Ars, by M. L'Abbé Monnin, which is issued with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Belley. We have also there noted two *brochures*, published at the price of a franc each, which are evidently designed for popular circulation. They contain much the same matter, and make little pretence to originality. There are, we believe, several other such pamphlets, which we have not been able to procure. To one point, however, we wish to draw attention, namely, that we have had access to no critical treatment of the materials. All the documents which we have cited are pleadings for the plaintiff; and we should have been glad to have compared with them the counter pleadings of some Protestant or sceptical "*avvocato del diavolo*." As it is, we can only report the evidence as we find it,

Happily, this is quite enough for the purpose which we have in view ; and our readers will not be displeased if they are spared a critical investigation, the result of which they are probably willing to take for granted.

Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney was born in 1786 at Dardilly, a village not far from Lyons, the child of peasant parents, Matthieu Vianney and Marie Beluse. They were sincerely religious people, devoted to the Church, and accustomed to extend a patriarchal hospitality towards all beggars and wanderers who asked for food and shelter beneath their humble roof. Of course stories of the precocious sanctity of the future saint are not wanting. "The man," says the Abbé Monnin, "is formed at five years old, upon his mother's knee. At five years old St. Rose of Lima made a vow of virginity : at five years old St. Francis de Sales and St. Chantal assailed Calvinists and confuted their errors in the words of the Catechism : at five years old St. Magdalena de Pazzi taught children of her own age, and the days that her mother had communicated, sat upon her knees and leaned upon her breast, 'in order,' she said, 'to be nearer our Lord,' whom she thus adored in silence in the sanctuary of the maternal heart."* We wonder that M. Monnin has not adduced the example of St. Nicholas, a more ancient and illustrious saint than any of these, who while still at the breast kept rigid fast every Wednesday and Friday till evening, and then could be persuaded to take but a frugal meal. For we are assured that M. Vianney in his earliest infancy refused to take his food unless the sign of the cross had been duly made over it ; his favourite doll was a wooden figure of the Virgin ; and any fit of crying was instantaneously stilled by putting into his hands a rosary or an image. He was an example of piety to the whole household : he was eager to go to mass and rapt in his devotion : he preached to his playmates, from whose company, however, he often withdrew himself for private prayer and meditation : at seven years of age he had already resolved upon a celibate life. We do not enumerate these things as examples of the purely inventive power of reverence ; for they find their parallel in every household where a childhood, undisturbed by passion and untried by sickness, has passed through a quiet growth

* I. 12.

in holiness to a maturity of shining sanctity. The splendour of the last irradiates the former days; and through the mists of forgetfulness, thus tinged and glorified, childish events assume a new shape and significance. But it is one thing to lay all these matters up in a mother's heart, and quite another to make them, with every possible distinctness of detail, the groundwork of sober biography.

Vianney grew up in the fields. Except his precocious gravity, there was nothing to mark him out among his fellows, and he naturally went through the round of agricultural work proper to his age. But while he seemed to be preparing himself for the life of monotonous and ill-rewarded industry, which is the common lot of the French peasant proprietor, he was in reality maturing the germs of that simple, strong character, which shines clearly out from the mythological trappings which his admiring biographers have heaped upon it,—a character which, if it be not too fanciful to say so, has about it the smell of the new-turned furrow and the freshness of the springing corn. Some of his own recollections of this period are a pleasant contrast, in their directness and naturalness of phrase and feeling, with his biographer's hazy rhetoric. "If now that I cultivate souls," he said, "I had time to think of my own, to pray and to meditate as I did when I cultivated my father's land, how content I should be. Then there was at least some relaxation; after dinner, we lay down before going back to work. I stretched myself on the ground, like the rest; I pretended to sleep, and I prayed to God with all my heart. *Ah, c'était le beau temps!*" "How happy I was," he repeated less than a month before his death, "when my three sheep and my ass were all my care! Poor little grey ass! he was full thirty years old when we lost him. At that time I could pray to God just as I would; I was not harassed as I am now; my life was the water of the brook, which has only to follow its own bent." He never forgot or was unwilling to allude to the humbleness of his origin. "While I was young, I worked on the land; I am not ashamed of it; I am only an ignorant peasant. Often when I raised my hoe to strike, I said to myself, 'Thou must also cultivate thy soul; thou must tear up its weeds, in order to prepare it to receive the good seed of the good God.'"

The time of Vianney's youth was that of the Concordat,

and the restoration of the Catholic religion to something like its old pre-eminence in France. The churches were re-opened; the ceremonies of the faith no longer furtively performed; and zealous priests, scattered up and down the country, laboured to repair the old breaches, and, by training up a new race of Churchmen, to fill the broken ranks. Such an one was M. Balley, who in 1803 became curé of Ecully, a village about a league from Dardilly. Upon the sacraments of the Church, administered by him, Vianney was a constant attendant; and the connection thus begun ended in the establishment of one still closer. Vianney removed to Ecully, and, boarding with some relations, put himself entirely under the care of M. Balley, with a view of being educated for the priesthood. The matter was not without its discouragements and difficulties. The father of the young candidate seems to have given a less hearty adhesion to the plan than his mother. His education had not been carried far; his intellectual powers were below mediocrity; and when he came to exchange hoe and spade for the Latin grammar, his progress was distressingly slow. This his biographer is very unwillingly obliged to confess, although he tries to pare off and palliate the force of his admission by every possible device; but, as we shall see presently, it was only after long preparation, and with the connivance (if we may so speak) of his ecclesiastical superiors, that Vianney arrived at the goal of ordination at all. The way in which he attempted to get over his difficulties is characteristic. St. François Régis, called the Apostle of the Vivarais, was a local saint; a Jesuit, whose activity lay in the first half of the seventeenth century, he had chiefly laboured in a district which lies not far to the south-west of Lyons. To his intercession, therefore, Vianney had recourse, making a pilgrimage on foot, and begging his way from door to door, to the saint's tomb at La Louvesc. "From that day," says the biographer, "difficulties vanished as if by magic." And yet he goes on to shew how, at every stage of Vianney's education, the same discouragements recurred, and how the authorities of the diocese were compelled to fall back upon the strength of his piety, to compensate the weakness of his understanding. Whatever influence St. François Régis may have exercised, was plainly not upon the dulness of the student, but upon the severity of the examiners.

Another lion in the path was, that he was ordered on military service. As a student for the priesthood, he was not legally liable to the chances of the conscription, but through some informality his name did not appear upon the list of the exempt; at the height of the Peninsular war, the Emperor and his agents could not afford to be particular; and the poor young candidate received the route for Bayonne. The prospect of a possible *bâton* in his knapsack did not encourage him; he first fell ill, and then—must we confess it?—deserted. His biographer does not like either the word or the thing, and thinks it necessary to keep both as much as possible out of sight. We are told a long story about a special prayer for help to the Virgin, which was answered by the sudden appearance of a stranger, who acted as angels in disguise are wont to do. He heard Vianney's story, bade the recruit follow him, conducted him to a place of safety, and departed without saying who he was or whence he came. Indeed, M. Monnin hints, not obscurely, that this was no wilful and deliberate desertion of the colours by his hero, but much more an act of obedience to a supernatural impulse and guidance. At all events, Vianney threw himself with complete success upon the hatred of the conscription entertained by the rural population, and for above a year was the guest of a remote village, called Noës, where he taught the children, and was in return carefully hidden at every recurring visit of the *gens-d'armes*. Here he succeeded, as everywhere else, in attracting in a marvellous way the affections of all about him; and when at last the difficulties with the authorities were arranged, and he returned to his studies at Ecully, he had to promise that when he was ordained, Noës should be his first cure. We suspect that if M. Vianney could have survived to read his own biography, he would have told this part of the story in a briefer and less periphrastic fashion. At all events, when some one spoke to him of the Cross of the Legion of Honour, which Napoleon III. had sent him, he said, "I do not know why the Emperor should have given it me, if it is not for having been a deserter."

After some years' further study at Ecully, M. Vianney was sent to go through his "*cours de philosophie*" at the lesser Seminary of Vervières; then, in 1813, returned to M. Balley to commence his theological studies. Everywhere he pro-

duced the same impression of great simplicity and worth of character, but of inferior capacity, at least for literary acquisition. When the time came that he should enter the greater Seminary at Lyons, he was refused admittance; and it was only by great personal efforts on the part of his tutor that this decision was reversed. The same thing occurred at the end of his course. The heads of the Seminary did not know whether they should recommend him for ordination, or give him another chance, or send him back to spade and barrow. The grounds upon which the Grand Vicar, to whom the matter was referred, at last decided, are sufficiently significant. "Is he pious? Can he say his rosary? Has he a devotion to the Blessed Virgin?" "He is a model of piety," answered the directors with one voice. "Very good," answered the Grand Vicar; "I accept him; the grace of God will do the rest." Vianney received the sub-diaconate in 1814, and was ordained priest on the 9th August, 1815, at the age of twenty-nine.

He was first sent to Ecully as vicaire (or, as we should say, curate) to his old friend and teacher, M. Balley. In December, 1817, however, the latter died, and Vianney was transferred as curé, or incumbent, to Ars, a parish a few miles to the north-west of Lyons, not far from the banks of the Saone. Here he laboured, almost without a day's cessation, till his death in 1859. He never seems to have desired, and only once have been offered, promotion. The astuteness of the Roman Catholic Church, and the devotion of her servants, are alike shewn in the way in which men who prove themselves super-eminently fit for any special work are left to do it, and are content to be so left, without looking for higher station or less arduous labour. Before many years, Ars became the centre to which pilgrims flocked from all parts of France, attracted far less by any wonder-working shrine, than by a confessor whose power of reading the secrets of the heart seemed to touch upon the supernatural, and who sent all his penitents comforted and strengthened away. There was doubtless, as we shall see presently, apt food for the credulous and the superstitious; but the old appeal of piety and charity and austerity was made, with the old success, to even the sceptical and the worldly-minded. Men who believe deeply, and sacrifice their life to their belief, compel faith in a way that is impossible to

any system of reasoning ; and the world, which was beginning to be incredulous about dead saints, crowded to gaze upon a living one.

M. Vianney commenced his reformation of Ars much as an Evangelical or Methodist parson of the last century would have set to work in an English parish, for his earliest efforts were directed to putting down dancing and the desecration of the Sunday. The first object he attained by drawing the girls into sisterhoods for various religious observance ; and the young men, thus deprived of their partners, could hold no fête by themselves. Sunday work, not Sunday recreation, is the enemy against which French Sabbatarians have to contend : M. Vianney boldly promised that no rain should hurt crops left out on doubtful Sundays, and, if his biographer may be trusted, kept his promise. There were two cabarets, or drinking shops, in Ars, and he succeeded in closing them both, establishing in their place, when the tide of pilgrims began to flow, decent lodging-houses, which, as they were dependent upon religious excitement for their support, were willing to submit to religious restrictions. He set on foot what is called "The perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament," an arrangement, that is, by which one or more worshipers should always be engaged in prayer before the consecrated Host upon the Altar. He greatly improved and adorned his church, and introduced a more splendid and various ritual, turning every recurring festival to fresh advantage, and making the appeal of religion to a rude population through the medium of the senses. He founded an asylum for neglected and deserted girls, which, having first spent upon it all his own property, he cast on the care of Providence, with never-failing, even if sometimes miraculous result. This was his favourite institution : here he spent a large part of his time not devoted to pastoral work : he took his meals with the children, and every evening instructed them in the mysteries of the faith. Whatever we may think of the homeliness of his methods or the robustness of his faith, it is impossible not to admire the zeal, the tact, the kindness, the resource, the self-devotion, which he perpetually shewed. It is easy to believe that he changed the face of the parish.

The character of his influence is to be read, not so much in his biographer's words, as between the lines of his nar-

rative. M. Vianney's faith was of the simplest and deepest : not liable to assault, for he neither thought nor read ; but at the same time as crude and sensuous as it well could be. He accepted Roman Catholicism as she presents herself, not to Bossuet, to Arnould, to Newman, but to the French peasantry, from whom he sprang, and taught it with the gross distinctness characteristic of an unlettered belief. We find here little proof that he used in teaching the narratives of the Bible : much that he constantly expatiated on the lives of the Saints which he found in his Breviary. He recites the most apocryphal legends as if they were the surest historical facts : St. Louis Gonzaga, St. Stanislaus Kostka, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, are much more real personages to him than David or Paul. Few forms even of Protestant belief are wholly free from a mythological element ; but we must go to the teachings of such men as the Curé of Ars to know how completely possible it is for Christianity to exchange the basis of history for that of mythology. He had more than one pet Saint : St. John Baptist was his namesake, and therefore, according to Catholic etiquette, his patron ; St. François Régis had helped him, as we have seen, at an emergency ; but St. Philomena was his chief delight, his "*chère petite sainte*," with whom he had "*la familiarité la plus douce et la plus intime*." He erected a shrine in her honour, at which the miracles were endless : it was in consequence of a mass performed at her altar, that he was himself restored when at the point of death ; and he was on such terms of friendly intimacy with her, that he was wont to chide her for not performing her marvels more quietly, and so attracting to him an inconvenient share of attention. "St. Philomena," he said on one occasion, "would have done much better to heal this little one at its own home : " on another, "I have asked St. Philomena not to busy herself so much with men's bodies, and to think of their souls, which stand in much greater need of being cured." And a so-called miraculous cure of a directress of the Orphanage was held to be explained when M. le Curé said, "I have almost scolded St. Philomena : I have been tempted to reproach her with the chapel that I have built in her honour." But who was St. Philomena ? it may be asked. The story is so curious in this connection, and so clearly displays the mythological

side of Roman Catholic faith, as to justify us in a moment's digression.

St. Philomena, says Mrs. Jameson,* is "perhaps the most apocryphal Saint in the whole Calendar,—which is saying much. In the year 1802, while some excavations were going on in the catacomb of Priscilla at Rome, a sepulchre was discovered containing the skeleton of a young female: on the exterior were rudely printed some of the symbols constantly recurring in these chambers of the dead: an anchor, an olive-branch (emblems of Hope and Peace), a scourge, two arrows and a javelin: above them the following inscription, of which the beginning and end were destroyed:

—LUMENA PAX TE CUM FI—

The remains, reasonably supposed to be those of one of the early martyrs for the faith, were sealed up and deposited in the treasury of relics in the Lateran; here they remained for some years unthought of." Presently, however, a Neapolitan priest, who had come to congratulate Pius VII. on his return to Rome, thought that he should like to take some relics back with him, and received the anonymous bones as a gift. But it was first necessary to provide the new saint with a name; so the inscription was conjecturally enlarged into SANCTA PHILUMENA, PAX TECUM, FIAT. Then a biography was needful, and one was accordingly developed out of the inner consciousness of a certain priest, whose humility was such that his name is withheld. But as this contained certain historical obscurities, a second vision was vouchsafed to a young artist, who also "did good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame." Even this was not without its difficulties: but at last it was settled that Philomena, or Philumena, whichever it might be, suffered martyrdom in consequence of her unwillingness to become the bride of some heathen emperor—whether Diocletian or Maximian it is now hard to say. With this explanation the priest carried off the bones in triumph to Mugnano, a little town not far from Naples. Here, of course, they began to work miracles (what good would a saint that did *not* work miracles do to Mugnano?): great excitement was aroused: the *debutante* was taken up by the Society of

* Sacred and Legendary Art, p. 396.

Jesus, under whose powerful patronage her cultus has been extended throughout Southern Europe. How she penetrated to Ars, and there became the most cherished of the Curé's heavenly friends, it is impossible to say. But into what a curious difference of logical attitude are Catholic and Protestant thrown by the story of the wonders worked at her shrine! Narrate the miracles, with sufficient accumulation of testimony, to a Catholic, and he accepts as incontrovertibly proved the baseless story of her life: tell the tale of the Roman imposture to the Protestant, and no adducible evidence will make him think twice of the miracles.

It would be quite natural to one who, like M. Vianney, lived in the legendary atmosphere of the Breviary, to expect miraculous manifestations in his own life; and they were not long in appearing. We pass over the accounts of the thousand and one marvellous cures of which the details, with "*pièces justificatives*," are duly given: to examine each, and to suggest a possible explanation, would be to invest the subject with a worth which does not belong to it. The materials, indeed, for such investigations are not before us: we do not know who were the witnesses, or whether they were competent to give testimony, or under what circumstances they gave it; and the only thing that the printed certificates can really certify, is the state of mind of the biographer who prints them. This is indeed sufficiently strange: throughout the whole of the book we are in an atmosphere of marvel: miracle is perpetually insinuated where it is not expressly stated, and there is a constant desire to enlarge the supernatural, at the expense of the natural side of the Curé's life. Nor, indeed, does he seem to have disclaimed miracle, in a way not unknown to robust saints, upon whom indiscriminating admirers have thrust this honour. On one occasion the Orphanage was without bread, no baker in the village, and the flour-bin almost empty. What was to be done? "*Ask M. le Curé*," suggested one of the directresses. His advice was simple and easily followed: "*Mix your yeast with what flour you have; shut up your kneading-trough; and to-morrow do as usual.*" Need it be said that the handful of flour made as much bread as a sack? So, on another occasion, the granary was empty, and so was the purse of the Orphanage: it was

a question whether the children would not have to be sent away, when M. Vianney bethought him once more of visiting the barn *where he had hidden the relics of St François Régis*. And lo! the wheat lay upon the floor as if it had been poured out of many sacks. Nay, the corn had a certain celestial quality, and the miller who took it away to grind confessed that he had never handled such magnificent grain.

But intercourse with saints is not enough to make a saint: it is necessary for his education that he should also be familiar with the devil. M. Vianney amply fulfilled this condition of sanctity too. A whole chapter of his biography is devoted to an account of his struggles with Satan. For more than thirty years the devil kept up a nocturnal persecution of him, knocking violently against the doors, rattling the furniture, throwing dirt upon a favourite picture of the Virgin, addressing him in words of mockery and scorn. These things were not confined to the parsonage of Ars; they accompanied M. Vianney wherever he went on any errand of preaching or confession, and were always most violent before any remarkable opportunity of doing good, any signal triumph of grace. The noises were heard by other ears than the Curé's: at the time of their first occurrence, indeed, sentinels were set to detect their origin, though, needless to say, in vain; and when at last it was regarded as proved that they were produced by no earthly cause, M. Vianney dismissed the watchers and struggled with the enemy alone. At the same time, we must confess, that if this story be true, the devil is a much less astute personage than we had supposed. There is a monotony in his devices which betrays a terrible poverty of invention. The holy man soon got used to nocturnal clamours, and, even if annoyed, was only roused to more persistent opposition. What if Satan had tried to contrive a temptation that would really tempt? As it was, the Curé nicknamed his devil "*le grappin*," as the Wesleys called their mysterious tormentor, Jeffery, and at last got to live with him on terms of hostile familiarity. "*Le diable et moi, nous sommes presque camarades*," he said one day. What a discouraging result of five-and-thirty years' Satanic activity!

After what has now been said, the reader will not be

surprised to hear that the Curé's teaching, so far as we are able to judge from the specimens presented to us, was very simple, very sensuous, and not much influenced by considerations of absolute theological accuracy. God, Christ, the Virgin, the Saints, the Devil,—all these were very real personages to him, revealed for the most part not only to the eyes of the spirit, but also to those of the flesh. To the Protestant imagination, it is very difficult to conceive of the way in which he thought of God as actually present upon the altar in the visible form of the consecrated elements, and that, as it appears, almost to the exclusion of the idea of His omnipresence. And from this naturally followed a very exalted conception of the dignity of the priest, as the objective channel of all spiritual benefits, the one divinely-appointed means of the world's religious life. "What is a priest?" he asks in one of his catechetical lessons. "A man who holds the place of God, a man who is clothed with all the powers of God. . . . When the priest remits sins, he does not say, 'God pardons you,' he says, 'I absolve you.' At the consecration he does not say, 'This is the body of our Lord,' he says, 'This is my body.' . . . Go and confess to the Blessed Virgin or to an angel, will they give you absolution? No. Will they give you the body and blood of our Lord? No. The Blessed Virgin cannot cause her Son to descend into the Host. You might have two hundred angels there, and they could not absolve you. A priest, however simple he may be, can do it; he can say to you, 'Go in peace, I pardon you.' . . . Without the priest, the death and passion of our Lord would be of no use. . . . Behold the power of the priest! The tongue of the priest out of a morsel of bread makes a God! It is more than to create the world. Some one said, 'Does St. Philomena, then, obey the Curé of Ars? To be sure, she may well obey him, since God obeys him. If I were to meet a priest and an angel, I should salute the priest before I saluted the angel. The latter is God's friend, but the priest is His representative (*tient sa place*).'"* If the idea of God is thus practically narrowed to that of the wafer, blessed by human hands and exposed to worship upon the altar, it is only what we should expect, that a large part of M. Vianney's teaching should lie in the lower mythological

* I. 277—279.

regions of Roman Catholic faith. Accordingly we are told* that "the austere catechist, in his system of dogma, devoted much attention to the devils, to whom, with all the doctors of the Church, he attributed an immense share in the evils which afflict the world. He did not hesitate to extract from ancient legends the most terrible stories, with which he sometimes quite upset his young audience." So, of course, he had a special devotion to the Virgin, and preached the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception before it was formally decreed. He had indeed hard work to believe in the appearance of La Salette; and his supposed want of faith, which he overcame at last (if at all), not by weighing of evidence, but by an act of will, was a stumbling-block to many good Catholics. But it is very curious to trace in his teachings, which may be taken to indicate the popular tendencies of dogma, precisely the same desire to put Mary in the place of Christ, which, according to one view of ordinary Protestantism, has already put Christ in the place of God. "The heart," he says,† "of this good Mother is only love and pity. She desires only to see us happy. It needs but to turn to her to have our petitions granted. . . . God has so loved us as to have died for us. But in the heart of our Lord there is justice, which is an attribute of God; in that of the thrice-holy Virgin there is only pity. Her Son was ready to punish a sinner: Mary darts between, arrests the sword, demands pardon for the poor culprit. 'My Mother,' says our Lord, 'I can refuse you nothing. If hell could repent, you would obtain its pardon.' The very holy Virgin keeps her place between her Son and us." *Mutatis nominibus*, might not this pass for a coarse and popular representation of some forms of Protestant doctrine?

The simplicity and directness of this teaching, the unrelenting austerity of his life, the complete devotion of his time and strength to pastoral duty, and, above all, a growing reputation as a confessor, soon attracted attention to M. Vianney, and made Ars a centre to which all who were in need of special guidance and consolation turned eagerly. At first, the fame thus acquired had its reverse of detraction and misrepresentation. Neighbouring priests could not see with satisfaction their parishioners resorting for direction to

* I. 257.

† II. 433.

one whom they regarded as theologically unfit for the conduct of souls. They disbelieved his diabolical trials; they shrugged their shoulders at the rumours of miracle; they derided his preaching; they found grievous fault with his Orphanage. By his admiring biographer all this is of course put down to the lowest motives, and we are invited to wonder at the celestial meekness and humility with which the good man bore his trial. Is it not, however, possible that some of the better-instructed clergy, feeling a genuine repugnance to M. Vianney's reflection of the popular faith in its rudest forms, may have suffered this aversion to blind them in some degree to the real depth and purity of his character? Be this as it may, the Curé was in the main sustained by his diocesan. He was indeed invited to report his treatment of difficult cases of conscience to the authorities at Belley, and came out of the trial with honour. His Orphanage was taken from under his personal superintendence, and in a somewhat different shape committed to the care of a regular religious order. But all the while his reputation was spreading: first from the vicinity of Lyons, then from more distant parts of France, people began to come to Ars to confess their sins to a living saint; the pilgrimage became the fashion in religious circles; and the Bishop of Belley, true to the astute traditions of the Church, made the best of it. It is difficult to think that M. Vianney was quite the material out of which any Church would wish to make a saint in the nineteenth century after Christ; but the people were resolved that it should be so; and this is a plebiscitum which the Church never opposes, unless the saint be also an heresiarch. From this time forward we hear of no opposition to M. Vianney, not even of any criticism upon him. He has shewn that he can serve the Church; let him serve it in his own way.

The pilgrimage of Ars may be said to have begun between the years 1825 and 1830, and lasted with undiminished enthusiasm till the death of M. Vianney in 1859. It is difficult to say, even approximately, how great was the concourse: M. Monnin in one passage speaks of 20,000, in another of 80,000 pilgrims a-year. They were of all ages and all conditions: some attracted by the fame of the miracles wrought at the shrine of St. Philomena; others, by M. Vianney's extraordinary reputation as a confessor; many,

no doubt, drawn simply by the craving for religious novelty and excitement. As we might expect, the appearance of the village was changed ; a regular service of omnibuses was set on foot, from Villefranche on the one side and Lyons on the other ; the country roads were improved ; in Ars itself, hospices were erected for the accommodation of pilgrims, and the place was full of shops, where medals, images and scapulars, which had received the benediction of the Saint, might be bought. M. Vianney began his labours in the confessional at midnight or soon after, continuing them, with short interruption for morning mass and midday meal, till the evening's lecture closed a working day of sixteen or eighteen hours. During the whole of this time the church was crowded ; the penitents took their places *en queue*, waiting their turn of admission to the sacristy ; the utmost impartiality was enforced ; and if sometimes old age or sickness obtained a courteous precedence, wealth and rank were obliged to abide the order of arrival. One impression seems to have been produced upon all. The emaciated figure, the bent gait, the feeble voice, the kindly eye, wet with frequent tears, the fatherly address of the confessor, conciliated the confidence even of those who had come to him almost against their own will ; and when he spoke of the love of God and the ingratitude of sin, themes out of which he struck an infinity of simple variations, few could withstand him. He had a gift of reading hearts ; and many, no doubt, attributed to a supernatural insight a knowledge of facts which they had themselves unconsciously revealed. So far as we have the materials of judging, indulgence was his one method, love his single weapon ; he imposed none but easy penances, and never wielded "the terrors of the Lord." But the great secret of his power was that he so evidently lived the highest life known to the Roman Catholic conscience—the life of the saint. Every "note" of it was to be recognized in him. The saints hovered about him in miracles, and the devil pursued him with annoyance. His whole time and strength were exhausted in his sacred functions. His form and his dress bore convincing witness to his self-abnegation. It was impossible to hear him speak without being convinced of his faith in the things unseen. To make the pilgrimage of Ars was to go back from the nineteenth century to a believing age ; it was once more to

catch the inspiration of Christianity from the breath of a living soul.

To use the phraseology of Protestant England or Protestant America, Ars during these years was the scene of a great religious "revival." And if only our knowledge of the facts were corrected and increased by the testimony of calm and critical eye-witnesses, nothing could be more interesting than to try to compare a Methodist "revival" with the phenomena which so long manifested themselves in this obscure village, and to shew that, with a most singular and instructive difference of outward manifestation, the same religious events and processes are characteristic of both. As peculiar to the Catholic movement, we must of course reckon the expectation of miracle and the belief in its occurrence; the seal set upon the inward change by participation in visible sacraments; the invocation of the Saints as necessary and desirable mediators with heaven; the value set upon medals and rosaries and scapulars. But there is in both the same desire to break the chain of habitual carelessness or besetting sin by some great thro' of the spirit; the same origination of the process by the influence of a stronger and more vehement soul; the same communication of experience, the same demand for counsel—perhaps, if we could follow the penitent from Ars, or the man who has "got religion" from the camp-meeting in the back-woods, the same practical confusion between conversion as a possible turning-point of life, and the long patience, the steady watchfulness, which will alone ensure progress in the new direction. Even in this last particular, we believe, notwithstanding Protestant notions of absolution as a wiping off of the old score and an implied licence to begin a fresh one, that the Catholic would compare not unfavourably with the Evangelical revival. The difference is not in systems but in persons, and personal characteristics are reducible to an average. There are some upon whom such religious influences will make a life-long impression; there are others with whom they are little more than the excitement of a day. The fire which makes the iron malleable, burns up the stubble with briefest blaze.

M. Vianney's correspondence was the complement of his activity in the confessional. Every day his table was loaded with letters from every country of Europe—for the most

part entreating his intercession with St. Philomena, to gain this or that boon for the writer. Now a near relative is at the point of death, and the co-operation of M. Vianney's powerful prayers will surely effect his restoration ; now the conversion of a heretic is sought, and again that a careless life may be turned to God. One of the most curious letters given in this book bears the well-known signature of Ambrose Lisle Philipps, who signs (or is made to sign) himself, "Seigneur de la Grâce Dieu, *député-lieutenant de Sa Majesté dans le comté de Leicester*." Mr. Philipps is comprehensive in his demands, and asks M. Vianney's prayers—"1. For my very dear wife, that God may preserve her in her approaching confinement, for the good of her very numerous family, and for my consolation. 2. For the conversion of a man of the highest rank, unfortunately an apostate from the Catholic Church, the Duke of Norfolk, father of one of my dearest friends, Lord Edward Howard, who has begged me to recommend his father to your prayers. 3. For my own father, who is a Protestant. 4. For my temporal and spiritual wants."* Nothing can be stranger, nor, in one point of view, sadder, than this medley of petitions poured in upon the Curé of Ars day after day. So much restless anxiety, so much deep disquiet of heart, so much wild despair of sorrow, eagerly longing, when human help is vain, for some divine aid, and having no nearer access to the Source of all help than to beseech this distant stranger to join in some nine-days' energy of prayer to St. Philomena, that she might intercede for them before the Throne ! It is as if the wings of faith were clogged and broken in the net of superstition, and the soul, that longs to fly and cannot, crawled helplessly upon the ground.

There was no waning in M. Vianney's popularity till he died in 1859. The Bishop of Belley preached his funeral sermon : the inhabitants of Dardilly unsuccessfully contended with the people of Ars for the honour of possessing his grave.

"The apostleship of Saints," says M. Monnin, "does not finish with their earthly life: their relics also have a mission. It is hoped that M. Vianney, the object of so great a veneration, will pursue his mission from his grave. The

* II. 75.

glance of the world continues to turn towards this little church of Ars, where so many mysteries of love and pity have been accomplished. We cannot believe that their source is dried up. Everywhere men are expecting marvels, which must render the tomb of the holy priest glorious. During his life he so fled from glory, that after his death it must be the recompence of his humility. Already, we may note that extraordinary graces have been obtained by his intercession. Many cures which partake of the nature of miracles are narrated. Greater prodigies are hoped for, are demanded. Perhaps we do not deserve them? God has His own time,—we must wait for it in humble peace. Our Lord has often said, 'My hour is not yet come.' One would willingly make it come; but to try to hasten, is to retard it. When it shall please Him to call this new star to shine in the firmament of his Church—"Behold me!" it will say. That will be the hour of the divine might, and the miracles will come."*

In a note he adds: "Since this Life was written, the miracles have come: they increase in number every day. The tomb of Ars is the centre of a movement which goes on from more to more. A diocesan commission, nominated by the Bishop and inaugurated by an Apostolical Protanotary, has been sitting for a year, and the canonical informations in the matter of M. Vianney's beatification are far advanced."

The process, then, is all but complete: another name will soon be added to the catalogue of saints, and the human goodness of a good man's life will again be hidden from the natural insight of the conscience by a veil of stupid legend. Let not our readers take it amiss that we have dwelt as much upon the system as upon the man, or made more of the peculiarities which were due to his church than of the virtues which were undeniably his own. Just now, in days of large toleration and general moral appreciation, it is not necessary to shew that there are good men in all churches, or to prove to Protestant incredulity that the curé of a country parish in France may, like the incumbent of an Irish see, possess "every virtue under heaven." But it is of the greatest importance to point out that ecclesiastical

systems and phases of religious thought have the most powerful effect in determining the form, and often the character, of human holiness; and that though, in any communion, goodness grows and ripens, it is not in every one that it can reach the same development and expand into the same symmetry. We take our willing place among the admirers of the Curé of Ars: we discern in him the lineaments of an almost perfect parish priest: his humility, his self-devotion, his love of goodness, his tenderness to sin, would only be soiled by any words of our praise: we recognize through the veil thrown over him by the perpetual flatteries of his biographer, the characteristics of a life wholly devoted to God. But all the more we resent that a noble man should have been warped and cramped into what the Church chooses to call a Saint, and that the goodness, which would else have been so powerful to move men's better instincts, should be perverted into a weapon against advancing science and civilization. If the Church of Rome is ever to work marvels more, it must, like other churches, be by living saints, not dead ones; and the miracles which are being performed at M. Vianney's tomb will tell heavily against the wonders of love and faith which he accomplished in his lifetime.

CHARLES BEARD.

VI.—MISCELLANEA THEOLOGICA.

1. ON THE ENIGMATICAL PASSAGES IN THE BIBLE.

THE method of interpreting the Scriptures by looking for a secondary meaning in the simple historic passages, has at all times had many admirers. For examples of criticism of this class, we might point to the writings of Origen and Swedenborg; but for our purpose it will not be necessary to look further than to the headings to the chapters in the Authorized English Version. Partial mistaken violence in interpretation can hardly go farther than to tell us that chapters xxxiv., xxxvi. and xxxvii. of Ezekiel

relate to Christ; that Christ is the speaker in Isaiah xlix. and l.; that Solomon's Song shews forth the Church's love for Christ; and that Zechariah xiii. points to Christ's death.

With these instances before us, we cannot wonder that reasonable critics have been slow to admit that any historical passage in the Bible was intended to convey any other meaning than that which appears on the face of it. And certainly it must be admitted that the burden of proof rests heavily on those interpreters who wish to give to such a passage a far-fetched and less obvious meaning. It will be naturally asked, what motive could lead a writer to say one thing when he means another? But to this there is in some cases an easy answer, which will, however, by no means justify the Messianic interpretations spoken of above; namely, that men living under a cruel political oppression have often found it necessary to write enigmatically about their tyrants or under a feigned name; and it should cause no wonder if we find a Hebrew writer living in Judea in daily fear of the tax-gatherers and taskmasters of a conqueror, whether Assyrian, Babylonian or Roman, speaking of his oppressors in a disguised manner, not easily understood except by his fellow-sufferers. In our own day we have seen a French Emperor sarcastically attacked in a tale relating to Augustus Cæsar, and then indirectly reproached by remarks made upon the conduct of Pontius Pilate.

To begin with an acknowledged case of so-called mysterious writing; it will be readily granted that the writer of the Book of Revelation when speaking of Babylon meant the city of Rome, and by the two Beasts probably meant the emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. Following up this train of reasoning, I proceed to shew that there are many passages in the Old Testament in which the writers, through fear or through political prudence, chose to speak of their oppressors enigmatically or under a feigned name. But this will afford no justification to the opinion that the apostle Peter when dating his Epistle from Babylon meant Rome, or that any of the Psalms relate to Jesus Christ.

In the Book of Judith in the Apocrypha we read that Holophernes, the general of Nebuchadnezzar, when besieging the city of Bethulia was assassinated by Judith, a young woman whose beauty had gained for her admission into his

tent. An examination of the tale will shew that it is wholly unhistorical. Judith is any young *Jewess*; Bethulia, the *virgin city*, is Jerusalem; by the hateful name of Nebuchadnezzar is meant the Roman emperor Vespasian; Holofernes is his son and general, Titus, who carried on for him the siege of Jerusalem; and the tale was probably written in hopes of encouraging some Jewish maiden to follow the example of Judith, and by her dagger deprive the invading army of its general. Tacitus must have heard of one of these books, perhaps the Revelation or perhaps Judith, as in lib. v. 13 of his History he says that the overthrow of Vespasian and Titus was darkly hinted at in the Jewish books.

From this disguised mode of writing about Vespasian and Titus under the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, we may turn to Ezekiel's prophecy of the destruction of Nebuchadnezzar himself, under the name of Gog, of the land of Magog. In chapters xxxviii. and xxxix., Ezekiel foretels the invasion and the desolation to be brought upon Judea by Gog, the well-known name for the Scythians on the banks of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. These barbarians are to plunder the country from one end to the other, and when they have reached the south they are to turn northward, and all to perish miserably on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, on their march homewards. This was written by Ezekiel about the year B.C. 580; and if we turn to Herodotus, lib. i. 103, we shall see that it accurately describes an actual inroad of the Scythians, and their destruction on the coast of the Mediterranean, as it took place about seventy years earlier, about the year B.C. 650. The reader naturally inquires why a prophecy was written relating to a past subject. But upon consideration we shall see that it does not relate to anything past. Had the writer falsified his date and said that this was written a century earlier, we might have supposed that he wished to gain the credit of a true prophecy. But he has not done so; he is clearly foretelling a future event. There was to be a second destruction of a formidable invader; and though he calls him Gog, of the land of Magog, he does not mean that his army consisted of Scythian barbarians. They were a far better appointed and more civilized people, all of them clothed most gorgeously, having bucklers and shields and

helmets and swords, men of Persia, Ethiopia and Phut or Africa, with some from Gomer or Cimmeria, and some from Togarmah or Armenia. A reader living at the time under the cruel tyranny of the Babylonians can have had no doubt as to whose destruction is here so hopefully foretold; but lest by any chance the prophecy should be understood literally, and the writer's meaning lost, Ezekiel interrupts his narrative to ask this formidable Gog, "Art thou he of whom I have spoken in old time, by the hand of my servants the prophets of Israel?" He thus raises our curiosity; but he does not answer his own question; he leaves us to find out the answer for ourselves. And though the commentators seem not to have discovered it, I have no hesitation in saying that the person meant was Nebuchadnezzar. And in support of this we may remark, that while the writings of Ezekiel are full of denunciations against the other enemies of the Israelites, such as the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites and the Tyrians, yet he never ventures to speak openly against the Babylonians, under whose tyranny he was living.

The next case is not so easy. It cannot be so certainly shewn of whom the prophet Amos was speaking when he says that king Jeroboam shall die by the sword. The introductory verse to the prophecy tells us that Amos was writing in the reign of Jeroboam II., king of Israel; but the introductory verses to the prophecies are known to be modern and of no authority, and this date may naturally have been founded upon the name of Jeroboam which we find in the body of the writing. This I venture to think was not meant for that king, but was used as an offensive nickname for the then reigning sovereign. Who that king of Israel was must be determined by the historical facts mentioned in connection with him; and one of these is certainly thirty years more modern than the death of Jeroboam II. This is the carrying away the people of Damascus by the Assyrians, and placing them as colonists on the river Kir. Compare Amos i. 5 with 2 Kings xvi. 9. This took place shortly before the final overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, and the king spoken of must be either Pekah or Hoshea. Hence we can hardly be wrong in considering Amos as writing covertly against king Pekah, while he uses the reproachful name of Jeroboam. Some readers may

perhaps here think that in this I am led by the wish to relieve Amos from the charge often brought against him of having made an unfulfilled prophecy, in saying that Jeroboam would die by the sword ; but to prove my impartiality, I can point to the remarks above on Ezekiel's prophecy about Gog, where my interpretation brings that prophet under the very charge from which I am relieving Amos.

Another enigmatical form of writing, of which we only know of one instance in the Bible, is that of reversing the alphabet, and using a wrong letter, by taking one that is as near to the end as the right letter is to the beginning. Thus in chapter xxv. 26, Jeremiah says that when the other nations have drunk the cup of God's wrath, then the king of Sheshak shall drink after them ; and it is agreed by all Jewish commentators that by Sheshak is meant the city of Babylon. This is explained by writing the Hebrew alphabet first from left to right, and then from right to left, thus :

a, b, g, d, e, v, z, h, t, i, k, l, m, n, s, o, p, ts, q, r, sh, th.
th, sh, r, q, ts, p, o, s, n, m, l, k, i, t, h, z, v, e, d, g, b, a.

If we now write the word Babylon by means of its three letters, B, B, L, taking not the letters themselves from the top line, but the letters under them in the second line, we shall have the word, Sh, Sh, K, or Sheshak. Jeremiah, no doubt, so wrote the word to conceal his meaning ; for we may remark that verses 11—14 in the same chapter, where Babylon is openly denounced, are probably a more modern addition, as also is that portion of the book which contains chap. li. 41, where Sheshak is openly shewn to be Babylon. Though this is the only known instance of this kind of enigma in the Bible, yet in later centuries it is not infrequent in the Jewish writings.

Besides this, we have a variety of cases in the Bible in which nations are spoken of under the names of animals, each being called by the name of that which was most peculiar to it. But for these the reader must turn to the original Hebrew or to some improved translation, as the Authorized Version will not shew the names correctly. This mode of writing is sometimes only a figure of poetry. Thus the prophet Nahum, after describing the destruction of the city of Nineveh, says : " Where is the dwelling of the Lions and that feeding-place of the young Lions, where the Lion

and the Lioness walked and the Lion's whelp, and none made them afraid? The Lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his Lionesses, and filled his holes with prey and his dens with what he had torn." Here we can have no difficulty in seeing that by these animals the prophet means the king of Assyria with his numerous wives and children. So when Amos, in chap. iv., speaks of the Cows of Bashan as oppressing the poor and crushing the needy in Samaria, we readily understand that he means the Syrian conquerors of the country, whom he jeeringly speaks of in the feminine gender. But there are other cases in which this mode of describing a nation may have been used as much for the purpose of concealment as to ornament the poetry. In this way the Assyrians are sometimes spoken of as Lions and sometimes as Locusts; the Egyptians sometimes as Crocodiles and sometimes as Buffaloes, or in the Authorized Version, Leviathans and Unicorns; the Syrians as Bulls; and the Babylonians as Wild Beasts of the Reeds, so named from the swampy reed-beds with which the city of Babylon was surrounded. Thus in Psalm xxii. we read,

"Thou savedst me from the mouth of the Lion,
And didst answer me from the horns of the Buffaloes."

And the writer complains that at the present time

"Many Bullocks have encompassed me,
Bulls of Bashan have beset me round."

In these lines the Psalmist is clearly speaking of the nation's enemies, the Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Syrians, whom, whether from prudential reasons or poetical reasons, he thinks proper to speak of in this indirect manner.

So Isaiah says of the Edomites in ch. xxxiv. 7: "And the Buffaloes shall come down upon them, and the young bullocks with the Bulls; and their land shall be bathed in blood, and their dust made ~~fat~~ with fatness;" thus describing the Egyptians and the Syrians, who were pressing upon Edom, one from the south and the other from the north, on the east side of the Jordan. And again, in chap. xxvii. 1, he calls Egypt the Crocodile, or, according to the Authorized Version, the Leviathan.

So in Psalm lxviii., while the writer speaks openly against

the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he avoids naming the other enemies from whom the nation was at that time more particularly in danger, and says,

“Rebuke the Wild Beasts of the Reeds,
The assembly of Bulls with nations of Calves,
Till every one submit himself with pieces of silver.”

Here I understand the Psalmist to mean the Babylonians and the Syrians. In justification of the first interpretation we may quote Jeremiah li. 32, where we are told of the burning of the reed-beds at the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians; and also the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum, which shew us the soldiers fighting among the Babylonian reed-beds on the occasion of Sennacherib's attack of that city. With respect to the Syrians, they are naturally called not only Bulls, but nations of Calves, as Isaiah calls them Bulls with young bullocks, because they were a confederation of three or four small nations, such as the Syrians of Damascus, the Syrians of Hamath, the Syrians of Zobah, and the Syrians beyond the river Euphrates.

I do not venture to determine with equal certainty who the Dogs are in Psalm xxii. verses 16—20. They are mentioned with the Lions, Buffaloes and Bulls explained above. In Philippians iii. 2, and Revelation xxii. 15, the Dogs are understood to mean persons guilty of some kind of immoral practices. But in our Psalm they are certainly political enemies. They may possibly be the Edomites, who were gaining possession of that part of the south country of Judea, whose inhabitants, the Calebites, gave their name to the supposed first settler in the land, namely, Caleb, whose name may be translated, *a dog*. See Joshua xiv. 13. See also 1 Sam. xxv. 3, where a native of Edom is called a Calebite, which is wrongly explained in the Authorized Version to be a man of the house of Caleb.

The natural unwillingness to allow a commentator to indulge himself in fanciful interpretations has latterly led the critics to reject the old opinion that the locusts, of whom the prophet Joel writes, were the nation's enemies who were at that time overrunning the country. But to that old opinion I unhesitatingly adhere; and I would ask the reader, before studying Joel, to read the life of King

Ahaz in 2 Kings xvi. and 2 Chron. xxviii., and to compare the writing itself with the occasion upon which it was written. He will there see, first, that the Israelites and Syrians had jointly attacked Judah; then that the Edomites had come in for their share of the plunder in the nation's distress; then that the Philistines overran the low country and made a settlement there; and, lastly, to complete the misfortune, that the king of Judah was unwise enough to invite Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, to come and help him, who, as might have been foreseen, "distressed him, but strengthened him not." Here then are the four flights of Locusts which Joel described as one after the other eating up the produce of the land, to the shame of the husbandman, who by his own invitation brought the misfortune on himself. The last and worst swarm of Locusts are the Assyrians. Moreover, the Assyrians enter Judea through Damascus from the north, while real locusts come up upon the wind from the south; hence, when Joel calls his army of Locusts the northern army, he evidently means a body very different from the flight of insects; and I have no doubt whatever that it is of Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, that he is speaking, when he says, in chap. ii. 14, "Who knoweth but he will turn back and repent and leave a blessing behind him, even a meal-offering and a drink-offering unto Jehovah your God."

The short book of Joel was the store-house from which many of the Hebrew prophets borrowed a poetic thought, and the locusts in the book of Amos seem also to be meant for the Assyrians, but at this time under the later king Pekah. Amos says, in chap. vii. 1, "Thus hath the Lord Jehovah shewed me," as though he were going to describe an impossible phenomenon; "and behold he formed Locusts in the beginning of the shooting-up of the latter growth, and lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings." Thus these figurative locusts laid waste the country in the month of March, immediately after the spring rains, the time when the armies usually began to move, instead of waiting for the hot weather when the harvest was ripening, which was the time when the real locusts made their devastating inroads. In support of this, we remark that Nahum, in iii. 17, compares the warriors to Locusts, saying, "Thy crowned ones are as the Grasshoppers and thy captains

as the swarms of Locusts." And Jereniah, in xlvi. 23, says of the Babylonians, "They are more than the Grasshoppers." And Isaiah, in xxxiii. 4, calls the Assyrians Locusts. These passages go far to support the opinion that the Locusts spoken of by Joel and Amos are the Assyrian invaders.

But these cases, in which the Hebrew writers from political reasons felt it necessary to conceal their meaning when speaking against their tyrants, give no justification to the modern attempts to find a far-fetched allusion to an expected Messiah in passages which clearly relate to events that were passing in the writers' own days.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

2. THE EXPEDIENCY OF AN EXTENDED LECTIONARY IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE most devoted reverence and unqualified affection for the Bible are compatible with a frank acknowledgment that its position, in the estimation of thoughtful readers, is considerably changed since the commencement of the present century. The fuller and more searching criticism of recent times has undermined many, if not most, of the popular ideas of its contents, their date and their authorship. The claim made on its behalf, by ignorant or injudicious friends, of unrivalled antiquity, of verbal inspiration and consequent infallibility, is virtually surrendered. Hence it is impossible to maintain an equal reverence for every individual portion of its various books. They have now to abide the test of intrinsic merit, and must rest their acceptability on the spiritual vitality, truth and force, they severally display. The Psalms retain their marvellous superiority as inspired revelations of the human heart—its strength, its weakness, its hopes and its fears. The Song of Solomon takes a different and altogether inferior place. No one will now contend that the Book of Leviticus is equally conducive to edification with the Gospel of St. John, or that the Minor Prophets are as full of religious life and as precious to the devout Christian as the rapt utterances of Isaiah and the spiritual energy of Paul.

The Bible in fact is now rather *one* of many books of

wisdom, than the sole depository in literature of the aspirations of the devoutest and the prophetic insight of the most gifted of human souls. It is admitted that God has spoken at sundry times to nations other than the one which sprang from Abraham's loins, and that the voice of His informing love and wisdom did not cease with one single beneficent exercise of its power, but has continued through the ages, and is even now speaking in tones of wonted potency to ears that are open to its gracious sound. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.

The time is therefore come when these great truths should be publicly recognized in the forms of social worship. The reading of the Scriptures alone cannot be defended on the old ground of belief in their literal inspiration, and in their being the sole depositories of divine illumination. The attempt is unwise, and if persevered in will eventually ensure a disastrous recoil.

"For who would keep an ancient form,
Through which the Spirit breathes no more."

What is needed is that, in addition to a selection in the course of each public service from the Bible, there should be read some well-chosen portion from other and generally more modern writings of the great spiritual chiefs of sacred literature. There can be no practical objection so long as these only are laid under contribution, and inferior productions discarded. For, happily, the most unquestionably excellent will always be the most popular. What but its transcendent value has hitherto made the Bible the religious text-book of Christendom? It is only the very highest forms of religious poetry which appeal to those thoughts and desires that form the permanent and indestructible bases of human character, and hence are the most generally appreciated even by the untaught and the unreflecting.

There is no language of ancient or of modern days richer than our own in devotional poetry and sacred prose. To steep one's mind in its golden treasures of thought, feeling and expression, is not alone to refine ear and taste, but to strengthen and refresh the aspirations of the soul,—to lift it on soaring wing, and to brace it for anything that duty may impose.

The change now suggested has been made in recent years

with great acceptability in various ways, and no sensible person will contend that the Bible has suffered in general estimation from the coupling with it of other means of spiritual and moral influence. In our Sunday-schools it was for a lengthened period the sole book admitted for the instruction of the young, and was alone deemed at once adequate and fitting for the teaching of the rudiments of spelling and reading,—was consulted as the greatest authority in physical knowledge, and the oldest and most authentic of histories. But even in orthodox schools this is no longer the case. Liberated from a blind, unreasoning, almost superstitious reverence for the sacred Scriptures, the teacher now calls in the aid of manuals specially prepared for preliminary instruction; and even in the higher departments of religion and morals, aids and supplements the Bible with some of the admirable lesson-books of recent days.

Who does not remember the strictness with which, in his childhood and youth, the home reading of the Sunday was limited to the Bible alone? And who fails to look back upon the practice as specially, and it might be almost cunningly, devised to associate with the book a feeling of dislike, if not of repugnance, that many subsequent years hardly sufficed to remove? But a happy change has come in this respect into the homes of all but the narrow and the bigoted. Certainly, as a reading book for children, very few intelligent parents now prescribe it as alone suitable. On the contrary, the publication of a revised edition of the Scriptures by a firm of unquestioned orthodoxy, is a significant proof that a promiscuous perusal of them by the young is no longer considered absolutely safe and edifying.

Individual illustrations of this widening taste and increasing demand for religious reading additional to that contained under the covers of the Bible, might doubly be adduced from the experience and practice of thousands of thoughtful and pious men. During their early years, the sacred books of the ancient historians, prophets and psalmists of the Jews, and the less remote gospels and letters of the founders and apostles of Christianity, have been their sole reading during the restful hours of the Sundays, and invariably used as a manual of devotion. But this has

long ceased to be the case, and they have found in the great English religious poets, and in the hymnals of Germany, a freshness of inspiration, and a power of evoking the sympathies and rousing the aspirations of the soul, second only to the very best portions of the gifted and sacred writers of olden days.

If, then, in the Sunday-school, in the home education of the young, and the private meditations of the mature, the Bible be no longer found alone adequate to supply the wants of the time, and to meet the altered tastes of our present culture, why should it be maintained in the public services of religion as the sole depository of sacred truth, and the only efficient guide and director of the soul? Why should it there retain a monopoly which has in other cases been abandoned with results so satisfactory? Why should Christians discard the stores of their own more recent literature, and restrict themselves in the solemn worship of the Church to the writings of the Old Testament, or to the limited productions of their own early preachers and apostles? Why should the altered conditions of country and language and time remain unrecognized, and the modern Englishman be allowed to draw the waters of salvation only at the wells of the ancient Jew? Why should religious men be any longer compelled to use, in whatever part of the wide world they may assemble for praise and prayer, no literature save that which saw the light, ages ago, in a narrow strip of country on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea?

The fact is, that no answer can be given to these questions, save that the existing practice is of long standing, and has gathered around it the hallowing influences of time-honoured usage. To maintain it is practically to say that the stream of revelation ceased some 2000 years ago to flow in the hearts and minds of even the best of men; and that the assurance, that "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living," is to be taken with considerable qualifications, if it is not to be absolutely denied.

It will probably be urged in objection, that the prejudices of our congregations would be offended by the public reading of any but the inspired productions of Holy Writ. This is a perfectly solid reason on the part of those who believe that every portion of the sacred books is equally and ver-

bally infallible. But practically we know that few or none any longer hold this doctrine. Hence the practice of our preachers in taking their readings from the Bible alone, is inconsistent with the opinions as to its precise value which they are known to entertain, is thoroughly unsound, and hardly reconcilable with perfect honesty. Say that the Holy Scriptures are, from Genesis to Revelation, the pure Word of God (as, until a comparatively recent time, was the almost universal belief of Christendom), and no one can doubt that their exceptional character rightly ensures their monopoly of public use. Say, as is now so generally admitted, that, invaluable as they are, God has seen fit to fill yet other great souls in these modern times with the spirit of piety and love, and to make them inspirers and teachers of their fellows in divine things, and it is illogical not to make these gifted utterances available in worship for the strengthening, comforting and enlightening of men.

See what a great and valuable change has been effected in another important department of our church services within a comparatively recent period. There was a time when the versified Psalms of David formed the sole admissible hymnal. But first the original version was deemed meagre and unsatisfactory, and the new one was introduced. Then a separate compilation of hymns was added, and both the versions of the Psalms fell into comparative disuse. Still the process of expansion went on. Watts issued his Hymn-book and the Wesleys theirs. In the Methodist church the latter is yet, and probably will long remain, the sole book of musical praise. But it is by no means so in the denomination for which mainly Watts wrote his numerous hymns. The wider culture and taste of the time are there acknowledged by the publication of various compilations, some of them under the sanction of conferences and synods, which place no undue limit on their selection, but cull the flower of Christian verse from many fields, both English and continental. In the Unitarian body, the catholic spirit of Martineau's Collection is, happily, gradually recommending itself for almost universal adoption.

Now what may be done with the hymnal, and with a success so marked, may surely be accomplished with the lectionary of our public worship. Variety, novelty, and the freshness of impression they bring, are in no part of the

service more imperatively demanded. It is probably the part which is of least interest to the bulk of our congregations, the part in which it is most difficult for the minister to retain attention and produce strong and salutary impressions. The truth of this statement is evidenced by the many vacant or wandering eyes during the reading of the lesson. Except under some specially favourable conditions, the voice of the minister falls on ears that long and close familiarity with oft-repeated passages of Scripture has dulled almost to insensibility.

What practically is required to infuse new life and a fresh interest into the lectionary of public worship is, whilst retaining the Bible as of course indispensable, to supplement and diversify its teachings of piety and love by the introduction, probably in the place of the second lesson, of judiciously selected passages from the great devotional poets and prose writers of more recent times. No difficulty can occur to the educated minister, save that of the very wealth and profusion of the materials that offer themselves for his choice. The whole range of English literature is open to his view. Its most illustrious and gifted sons, in every one of the multifarious forms of literature, offer to him their rich and varied gifts of holy song, and devout utterance, and wise saying. Not a chord is there in the head of man that cannot be touched by their tender tones; not an aspiration of the soul that may not be fed and fostered by the inspiration of their genius; not a vital truth that they fail to illuminate, beautify and enforce.

Their judicious introduction would invest the public services of religion with a new and powerful charm, would marvellously augment at once their interest and impressiveness; and would prove a potent ally of the preacher. He whose courage and taste induce him to pioneer the way to this much-needed reform, will find followers in every liberal church and under many forms of creed.

HARRY RAWSON.

VII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Contemporary German Theology.*

STUDENTS of morals and theology of all schools will be glad to welcome the Theological Ethics of the late distinguished theologian Rothe.* The first edition of this remarkable and important work was exhausted twelve years ago. It is, therefore, a double boon to have, in a new and revised form, the result of the long life of study and inquiry of one of the most vigorous and thoughtful minds of our day. Dr. Rothe combined characteristics rarely seen in one man—mystical piety, daring and clear thinking, great practical sagacity, and knowledge of the times. His book is, therefore, a wonderful combination. The theosophist can revel in its speculations, the scientific philosopher will learn much from its clear and bold thought, the practical moralist and religious man meets fine descriptions of the work that he must do. With the theology most thinkers will not agree, but all ought to be deeply thankful to the author for his exposition of the essentially moral nature of religion. It is the grand excellence of Rothe's system, that it opens up the great moral field as the sphere of all true religion. An inactive, a merely meditative religion, finds no place in it. Religion is to take part with God in His great moral work of perfecting man. The various subjects dealt with in the book cannot be mentioned here. But especially should the attention of students be drawn to Rothe's way of dealing with materialism. It is quite certain that our common philosophy is at its wits' end. Whether Rothe's treatment is sound, we would ask philosophers to consider.—It is to be hoped that the rest of the work will soon be forthcoming.

The distinction between biblical and dogmatic theology, so prevalent now in Germany, but so little observed in England, is a most important one. Dr. Bernard Weiss,† in his Biblical Theology of the New Testament, has clearly grasped it, and defined it with clear and sharp outline.

* *Theologische Ethik.* Von Dr. Richard Rothe. Zweite, völlig neu gearbeitete Auflage. Wittenberg. 1867.

† *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* Von Dr. Bernard Weiss. Berlin. Herts. 1868.

He has further drawn a distinct line between the different periods of the theology of the New Testament. His book falls into five parts: the teaching of Jesus according to the most ancient tradition, the doctrines of the pre-Pauline apostolic period, Paulinism, the apostolic teaching in the post-Pauline period, and, lastly, the theology of John. The teaching of each of these periods is again distinguished according to the authors whose books are supposed to belong to it. For instance, the third part has three sections—the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude, and of the Apocalypse. The faculty of analysis and arrangement is possessed by Dr. Weiss, and this is a great gift for such a work as that before us.

A work of this kind from the pen of such a man as Dr. Weiss may be expected to be of value. He has long studied the New Testament as a collection of books. He has written books and numerous articles on the specific theological ideas of the various New Testament authors. He knows the processes and results of learned inquiry in this direction. He has analytic talent. He has, further, a considerable degree of freedom from theological fetters. And the book is a valuable contribution to New Testament exegesis. It will render great service to the interpreter, to the historian, to the preacher. Especially may it be consulted as a sort of key to some of the most valuable results of German study of the New Testament. It is a miserable drudgery to wade through a commentary; but it is most interesting to have the whole theological system of Peter or Paul brought before one in a few pages. Many other considerations join in commending this work.

As our space is limited, we give no specimens of what is valuable and to be approved in the book, and only one or two examples of what we most decidedly believe to be false and perverse. It must also be said that Dr. Weiss, with all his learning, acuteness, and, to a certain extent, theological fairness, fears to do justice to Tübingen, and has not yet taken a bold enough attitude in reference to the New Testament. The examples of false views to which we referred, and which illustrate our last general criticism, are these: the Epistle of James is considered to belong to the pre-Pauline works, and the Gospel of John promises the

near approach of the *parousia*. Both of these views are wholly erroneous, and we find it hard to believe that a perfectly and wholly unprepossessed mind could adopt them. Yet, notwithstanding our unfavourable criticisms, we are thankful to Dr. Weiss for his valuable and useful book.

Dr. Brandes is one of the theologians of Germany that have eyes to see the signs of the times.* The Bible is a book to be understood by the people. The results of biblical criticism must be shared by all the educated. The Epistle to the Galatians especially deserves to be generally understood. In more senses than one it is a "Freiheitsbrief." As such it is here interpreted, and it seems to us with great success. There is no outward mark of learning—only one or two Greek words in the whole book. Yet the author gives the results of wide learning and independent criticism. The style is remarkably clear and exact. At the same time there are continual outbreaks of fine and strong feeling. We feel persuaded this book will, as it deserves to do, find many thankful readers, and contribute its part to the great work of making known what the Bible really is in its true and lasting worth.

Pastor Stölting claims for the four exegetical articles that form his volume† this common merit, that each of them seeks to set one of the darkest passages of Paul's Epistles in a wholly new light. Again and again he calls his reader to take notice that he is about to enter upon paths never before trodden by the foot of a venturesome exegetical discoverer! His boasting provokes one to shut his book. But duty calls. Take one of the Pastor's greatest discoveries. It is in the dark passage, Gal. iii. 19, and the clause, *ὁ νόμος προσετέθη διαταγὰς δι' ἀγγέλων*. A new meaning of *διαταγὰς* is the new light. The angels were the *editors* of the law, while God was its *author*! One more example: Gal. ii. 1 is interpreted as an attempt to construct anew the chronology of Paul's life. *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων* = "within fourteen years, that is, from now, as long as I have been an apostle;" *πάλιν ἀνέβην* = the *second* journey to Jerusalem. Where can the justification of this *terminus ad quem* = "now," be found? If

* Des Apostels Paulus Sendschreiben an die Galater. Ausgelegt von Dr. Friedrich Brandes. Wiesbaden. 1869.

† Beiträge zur Exegese der Paulinischen Briefe. Von Adolf Stölting, Pastor zu Hudemühlen. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1869.

this had been in Paul's mind, he must at least have said, "*these fourteen years.*" This book is, like so many more of its class, the sad result of wasted ingenuity and toil.

Dr. Gerlach's *Commentary upon the Book of Lamentations** has two main peculiarities; it is traditional and grammatical. The first peculiarity is not very edifying. The transfer of references in the book from the ancient Jews to the Christian Israel and to Jesus of Nazareth, the recognition of the affliction of Jesus under the wrath of God in the affliction of the Jews, is exegetically and religiously offensive. The second peculiarity is much more to our taste. Dr. Gerlach's grammatical and verbal comments are the valuable part of his work. By virtue of this excellence it deserves to take its place amongst our best exegetical works. As an example of independent and successful interpretation, ch. iii. 20, 21, may be quoted. The translation is: "Remember, surely thou wilt remember, that my soul is bowed within me. This (that God will remember his misery) I will take to my heart, therefore will I hope." This interpretation is much better than Ewald's, for instance.

In his excellent *Essay upon the Interpretation of Scripture*, Professor Jowett calls attention to the service which a history of biblical interpretation would render to both the student of the Bible itself and the student of the human mind. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, we have such a history in this work of Dr. Diestel's.† This work is comprehensive in its plan, following the Old Testament into the studies of the critics, the arenas of the theologians, and the life of the people. It comprehends, therefore, more than a mere history of the interpretation of the Old Testament; in addition to this, it shews what theologians have made of the book, and what influence the book has had upon ecclesiastical matters, politics and art. The execution does not fall short of the plan. The author's learning, critical and historical insight, and literary power, are equal to the task he proposed to himself. His work is therefore a thoroughly valuable one. It supplies a great want, and supplies it well.

* *Die Klagelieder Jeremiä erklärt von Dr. Ernst Gerlach.* Berlin. Herts. 1868.

† *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche.* Von Ludwig Diestel. Jena. Mauke. 1869.

The value of such a work must greatly depend upon the views of its author as to the rank of the Old Testament amongst other books. We believe we do not err in saying, that Professor Diestel is a disciple of Ewald. His views of the Bible are in general those of this justly renowned critic. Perhaps such a position in reference to the Bible is as favourable as any for fairly and at the same time adequately writing the history of biblical interpretation. More extreme views in either direction might indispose an author to do justice to all schools. At all events, our author has evinced an exceedingly fair and honest spirit in dealing with the motley array of commentators and critics.

For the advantage of a second edition, one or two minor errors and deficiencies as to English authors and books may be noted. Dr. W. Smith's Bible Dictionary is quoted* as last edition, 1860, whereas there is but one edition of 1863. The historical works of Stanley and Milman are not quite fairly called the best of those which seek to combine, by *künstliche Harmonistik*, scientific principles with the strictest faith in the Bible. Professor Diestel describes the present condition of Old Testament criticism in England as very low, and with truth. Yet he might have referred not only to Colenso, but also to the works of Kalisch, Rowland Williams, Pusey, Drake, Thrupp, Perowne.

Perhaps the author, who best knows the limits of his task, will see it to be impossible, but we will express the wish, that in some of his references to works or essays which are mentioned as opening up new and important questions, he had, for the benefit of people who cannot command every new book and review, indicated more explicitly the *substance* of the important addition to our knowledge. For instance, it is tantalizing to read, "The important question as to the closing of the canon was essentially advanced by the suggestive hints of Willmann," and find only a reference to the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1858, III. 419—491. But all these little criticisms do not affect the essential worth of this exceedingly valuable work. It must have cost its author prodigious labour, and he may rest assured of the gratitude of all real students.

* P. 579.

Professor Harms sends us a very interesting and instructive volume of essays upon almost every chapter of philosophy.* Ethics, politics, metaphysics, the philosophy of history, history of philosophy, metaphysics, and other branches of philosophy, are here examined and luminously presented. The barbarous terminology of the absolute philosophers is thrown aside, and the lay reader is led into the secrets of the great esoteric world. The ability of the author to deal with his great subjects is very evident. His book, therefore, is well worth studying, and especially by those who have no desire to wade through many dead systems. At the same time the author fails to establish many of his positions. For instance, his argument for the freedom of the will against determinism. He says,

"The question is, whence does the understanding know that a thing is good, right, morally worthy. This knowledge the understanding does not obtain from itself, nor from any sensations or feelings whatsoever, but from the will itself. For we do not will a thing because we have recognized it as something good, but we see it to be good because we will it. It is by an act of will that an object of thought becomes morally good."

In the next essay upon the same subject, in which the statement that we are what we are made is dealt with, Dr. Harms says that all men are born with the same potentialities, and the realization of these potentialities depends upon their actions. Surely facts are against such a statement. The character of Dr. Harms' philosophy may be gathered from this sentence:

"Man possesses not only an external and a sense experience, upon which he rightly bases his knowledge, but also an internal and religious experience, which is equally immediate and certain, and as safe a basis of knowledge as external experience. Upon the one is based natural science, upon the other the ethical sciences and theology."

We quote the following statement as characteristic of the state of German philosophy:

"Incontestably the absolute philosophy has had its day. It has been obliged to give up its excessive claims. Its one-sidedness is universally acknowledged."

A thorough knowledge of the system of the greatest of

* *Abhandlungen zur systematischen Philosophie*, von Dr. Friedrich Harms. Berlin. Hertz. 1868.

German mystics,* Meister Eckhart, was not possible before the lamented Franz Pfeiffer published selections from his works in 1857. Since that time several examinations of his system have appeared. The work before us, by the *sachkundige* Adolf Lasson, leaves nothing to be desired. The examination is accompanied by numerous and full extracts from the master, translated into modern German. The student of the German mystics, who is not up in the German of the fourteenth century, will therefore gladly avail himself of Herr Lasson's aid. This he may do with perfect confidence, for Herr Lasson knows the mystics intimately, and the course of mystical philosophy in general.

These apocryphal Epistles,† called of Heracleitus, originating, as Herr Bernays judges, in the first century of our era, written by a heathen and interpolated by a Jew or a Christian, contain references of value to both the student of philosophy and the student of religion. The editor's translation and most interesting notes give additional value to the publication. The church historian and the historian of philosophy will not neglect to glean the scattered hints of the Epistles, and the editor's learning and critical sagacity will be of real assistance. We see that Herr Bernays has previously published similar monographs, and it is heartily to be desired that he will persevere in a work which, thankless as it may appear, is really of value.

Dr. Ueberweg's History of Philosophy,‡ much more complete than Schwegler's and a fourth of the size of the late Heinrich Ritter's, supplies, and supplies well, a real want, as is sufficiently proved by the uncommon fact that it has already reached the third edition. The author belongs to the modern inductive school, a position enabling him to write the history of the dead philosophies of the past. The second part of his work, embracing the period from Christ to the end of scholasticism, which in some senses most interests theologians, is in reality a history of the chief doc-

* Meister Eckhart, der Mystiker. Zur Geschichte der religiösen Speculation in Deutschland. Von Adolf Lasson. Berlin. Hertz. 1868.

† Die Heraklitischen Briefe. Ein Beitrag zur philosophischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Litteratur von Jacob Bernays. Berlin. Hertz. 1869. London: Williams and Norgate.

‡ Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie von Thales bis auf die Gegenwart. Von Dr. F. Ueberweg. Dritte Auflage. Königsberg. 1868.

trines of the church. The origin of Christianity and the gradual growth of doctrine on philosophy are carefully examined. The following paragraph is worth consideration :

“Monotheism as the universal religion could only proceed from the Jewish religion. The victory of Christianity is the victory of the religious ideas of the Jewish people over polytheism, those ideas having been freed from their national limitations, softened and spiritualized ; with which victory that of the Grecian language, art and science, in the kingdoms founded by Alexander the Great and the subsequent inheritance of the Romans, is entirely analogous, save that the religious struggle was severe and protracted in proportion as the polytheistic religions possessed lastingly valuable elements. When once the national separation had given way to the intercourse of the various nations and the unity of the universal monarchy, the predominance of those elements of culture which were the most powerful and the most advanced, must put an end to the simultaneous existence of various systems of culture, that is, the predominance of the Greek language, art and science, of Roman law (and for the West the Roman language also), and of either the Græco-Roman or the (universalized, denationalized) Jewish religion.”

The successive editions of Dr. Hase's Church History* always bring something new and worth knowing. The ninth edition brings the history down to the year 1866, while the eighth edition appeared in 1858. The last ten years have seen as wonderful things in the ecclesiastical world as in the natural world. Hase has watched them with his keen eye, and now he has described them with his artistic pen. To readers who have a general idea of the events Hase sketches, his delightfully realistic manner, his history in representative pictures, is highly interesting. As a specimen of his style, his description of late events in the English Church may be quoted.

“Suddenly England was thrown into a state of alarm by seven Essays from Oxford, written by *savants* of repute, amongst them bearers of ecclesiastical dignities. They discussed the creation, the progress of mankind, the origin of the Bible, the evidences of miracles, original sin and the incarnation, the history and the legal basis of the national church, and this with religious propriety, but overthrowing the old orthodox presuppositions. . . . Thousands of the clergy protested against the profanation, the

* Kirchengeschichte. Lehrbuch zunächst für akademische Vorlesungen von Dr. Carl August Hase. Neunte, verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig. 1867.

seven against Christ were legally prosecuted as far as the civil position of each allowed, but the highest legal court of England has proclaimed the freedom of theology by their acquittal. An invitation of the men of science to subscribe to the agreement of all true science with Scripture, found but few signatures amongst the highest scientific authorities."

An elaborate and exhaustive work on the life of Jesus,* by a scholar who has studied in both the schools of Baur and of Ewald, and in earlier works proved his independence of both, who has the learning of a German and the brilliancy of a Frenchman, and who has evinced a most decided historical talent, is an important and welcome production. Of course a critique of such a work as that of Dr. Keim cannot be given in a brief notice, and the reviewer does not assume the ability to make it. He will have done his duty if he calls attention to the weighty and important appearance of the work, pointing out some of its results, and here and there indicating his satisfaction or dissatisfaction therewith.

This first volume brings us to the commencement of the ministry of Jesus. Dr. Keim gives us first a careful examination of his sources, and then a full picture of the political and religious back-ground of the history, these two points taking up half the volume. The second half treats of the youth and commencement of the ministry of Jesus.

The sources extraneous to the New Testament are despatched in a few pages, proportioned to their meagreness. The New Testament sources are elaborately examined. First Paul's testimony is considered, and then the Gospels in historical order. Matthew, the addition thereto being abstracted, is placed in the years 60—70. Luke stands next, about the year 90. Mark comes third, about the year 100. The Gospel of John, which Keim submits to a keen criticism, falls within the years 100—117. It is worthy of special attention that this result mainly rests, so far as it is positive and not negative, upon the similarity of the theology of the Gospel and of the Epistle of Barnabas and the *Pastor* of Hermas. These results indicate Dr. Keim's independence both of the school of Ewald and the school of

* *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben seines Volkes frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt von Dr. Theodor Keim. In zwei Bänden. I. Der Rüsttag. Zürich, Orell, Füssli und Comp. 1867.*

Baur. And throughout his work he exhibits the same important characteristic.

The picture given us of the political and religious *soil* of this sacred history is in every sense remarkably valuable. It is full of concrete and vivid facts. Everything that speaks in a description, that really describes, is collected. And the result is no mere mosaic-work, but a picture. Dr. Keim sees what he describes, and makes his readers see it too. He equals Renan, only he is less governed by fancies. He makes the old religious life of the Pharisees and Essenes stand out with objective reality. In the section on the Messianic hope, it is worthy of special consideration that Dr. Keim vindicates the orthodoxy of both Philo and Josephus on this head. The account of Hillel does not strike us as so satisfactory as the biographical sketches of the book generally are. It is inferior to Ewald's chapter on this interesting man.

We can note but one or two points in the second part of Dr. Keim's book. He defends remarkably enough the Davidic race of Jesus. Of course he claims for him a full and ordinary human origin. The section on the human birth in general is a fine specimen of critical acuteness. Towards the end of this section, Dr. Keim, with an honesty which we often miss in Lives of Jesus, tells his readers what the person of Jesus is to him. Jesus is a human being like other human beings, *only* divine life resides in him in a fuller, steadier scale. History is full of original grafts, superiorities, new attainments, divine great ones. Jesus is the perfect divine man. We simply try to represent Dr. Keim's idea. The reader must try to think it. For a Carlylean it cannot be difficult. The chapter on the personal character (*persönlichkeit*) of Jesus is remarkable. Beautiful and deep glances into the subject are frequent. Still the haunting doubt, whether the view given has historical basis, and still more a profound dread of sinning against the order of a world, which is sufficiently revealed for worship if not for philosophy, constrain us to say, we dare not accept Dr. Keim's view until it is sanctioned far more unmistakeably than at present by history and facts.

This book deserves to be studied in England, not only for what it is, but for what it says as to the tendency of the most gifted school of theologians *within* the German church.

J. F. SMITH.

2. Miscellaneous.

Mr. Westcott's work on the History of the English Bible* is divided into two parts; in the first of which he traces the external, in the second the internal, history of the Authorized Version. Such a subject, in the hands of so well-informed a writer, cannot be without interest; but we think that Mr. Westcott has hardly been fortunate in laying out the scale of his work. His comparison of the texts of the translations which preceded that which was finally adopted, with a view to determine their relation to each other, is out of place in a popular sketch, while not sufficiently complete for a scientific treatise; and even in his first section we miss much biographical and bibliographical detail, which are necessary to the full comprehension of the matter in hand. And it would have added to the value of his work had he traced the history of the English Bible from its publication in 1611 down to the present day.

In one very important point Mr. Westcott follows the example of most Anglican scholars who wish to stand well with public opinion, in pertinaciously turning away from disputed matters of real pith and weight. He says in his Preface: "One question, however, in connection with the Authorized Version I have purposely neglected. It seemed useless to discuss its revision. The revision of the original texts must precede the revision of the translation, and the time for this, even in the New Testament, has not yet fully come." And again, in a note:† "I have given an account of the Greek text followed by the revisers in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, II. 524. But the question is of no real importance, as they do not appear to have been influenced by any consistent critical views, and the variations are too superficial to admit a general classification or discussion." Apart from the last clause of this statement, which we do not profess to be able to understand, what a strange misconception of the conditions of his task does Mr. Westcott here betray! In giving an elaborate history of a translation of the Scriptures, it is not worth while to discuss the text from which it is made! The Version is over and over again

* A General View of the History of the English Bible. By B. F. Westcott, B.D. London: Macmillan. 1868.

† P. 364.

lauded in the highest terms ; a sort of quasi-inspiration is claimed for the English Church during the period in which it was slowly growing into shape ; and the reader is more than once reminded of the happiness and privilege which are the lot of England in possessing such a vernacular Bible. But no hint is ever dropped that the translation was made from a text which had hardly begun to undergo the process of critical revision ; we hear very little of the possible obligations of successive translators to the Septuagint and the Vulgate ; and, except in the passage which we have quoted from the Preface, not a word is said of the necessity of future revision. Mr. Westcott consciously and completely ignores the existence of critical scholarship as applied to the text of the Bible. Strange that it should be precisely those theologians who profess the greatest reverence for the exact text of Scripture, who are least willing that any measures should be adopted for placing it in the hands of the people !

In a very different spirit from Mr. Westcott's book is conceived the beautiful little edition of the English New Testament,* which Baron Tauchnitz, of Leipzig, has just issued as the thousandth volume of his "Collection of British Authors." It is edited by Professor Tischendorf, who has prefixed a brief Introduction, in which he gives an account of the Vatican, the Alexandrine and the Sinaitic MSS., and their general relation to the imperfect text from which our Authorized Version was made. The text of this edition is of course that which we find in our Bibles ; but at the bottom of each page are noted, in English, the various readings found in the MSS. above mentioned, and here referred to as A., V., S. The type used is, though not very large, exceedingly clear ; and the edition, when rescued from the insecurity of paper covers by a decent binding, will be neat and almost elegant. But its great merit is, that it brings visibly before the English reader, not only the fact that there are various readings of the text of the New Testament, but that the best authorities differ materially from that form of the text which the English Church seems contentedly to accept as final. If, as we have heard, this little edition has

* The New Testament : the Authorized English Version : with Introduction, and various Readings from the three most celebrated MSS. of the Original Greek Text. By Constantine Tischendorf. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1869.

already obtained a large circulation, and will probably obtain one still larger, it will exercise a strong, even if silent, influence in the direction of that revision of the English Bible which is so imperatively needed.

It is not necessary to say much in recommendation of so approved a work as the late Professor Bleek's "*Introduction to the Old Testament*,"* now for the first time introduced to the English reader. The translation is well executed, so far as we can judge without the opportunity of comparing it with the original: the sentences flow easily, and the ear is not tortured with uncouth idioms which have too manifestly a Teutonic birth. The plan of the work is very comprehensive: it begins with a chapter on the previous literature of the subject, which is followed by another on the languages of the Old Testament. Then each book is carefully studied in connection with the three great divisions into which the Canon is divided; and the whole is concluded by a section on the history of the Canon itself, and a second on the history of the Text down to the present time. The work is thus a repertory of information upon the literary history of the Old Testament. In a complete survey of the whole subject, the reader will not expect to find the minute statements and discussions which characterize special introductions to the several books; but it appears to us that Dr. Bleek has been very successful in preserving a due proportion among the separate sections of his work, as well as between the parts and the whole. And it will be at once obvious to the student, that in keeping closely to the literary side of his subject, he not only secures a certain unity and completeness of plan, but succeeds in avoiding many questions which, though considered matters for unprejudiced discussion in Germany, would almost certainly put a stamp of neologian heresy upon his book in England.

Perhaps this, combined with a certain caution and moderation of tone, explains the fact (not without significance) that this book is issued from the close of Lincoln Cathedral. Canon Venables, in the Preface, in which he recommends it to the English public, dwells a good deal upon

* *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Johannes Bleek: translated by G. H. Venables. Edited by Rev. Edmund Venables, M.A.; Canon Residentiary of Lincoln. 2 vols. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

Professor Bleek's "unquestionable orthodoxy,"—though he admits that orthodoxy is "to a considerable extent a relative term," and that this particular orthodoxy is to be looked at "from a German point of view." And he interposes a faint protest, which will not weigh much against the careful investigations which follow, against some of the conclusions of modern criticism, from which only an English theologian finds himself able to dissent without fear or hesitation. At the same time, the whole tone of the Preface, taken in connection with that of the book which it introduces, is reassuring to those who were beginning to believe that, with a few honourable exceptions, the English clergy were setting their faces like a flint against free theological inquiry. But it is interesting to compare the results at which Dr. Bleek arrives, with those commonly accepted in England and defended by such men as the new Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Bleek thinks that there is a Mosaic element in Leviticus, but cannot for a moment believe either that the Pentateuch is one book, or that Moses was its author. He finds Elohist and Jehovist in Genesis: the reign of David is the earliest period to which he can assign the reduction of the first four books; and he believes that the "book of the law" discovered in the reign of Josiah, and written not many years before, was Deuteronomy. He separates Isaiah into two parts, due to separate authors; he denies the historical character of the book of Daniel, and does not believe that the Daniel there depicted ever lived. He brings down the book of Job to a very low date; and describes Canticles as a love-song, in which there is no mystic meaning. He reduces to the utmost the predictive element in prophecy, and is excessively cautious as to specific Messianic predictions. In all this, and much more of the same kind, there is nothing with which theological students are not perfectly familiar; the curious thing is to see such views introduced into England under the cover of orthodoxy, even though "relative" and from "a German point of view."

While we thank Mr. Venables very heartily for having put so excellent a work within reach of the English reader, we cannot help pointing out that, though the literary side of these questions may be kept separate for discussion, the results arrived at cannot be hindered from having their

effect upon matters of faith. To instance a form of argument very common in England—but which Dr. Bleek is much too sound a scholar to have anything to do with—the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is constantly bound up with the authority of Christ. Christ quoted Moses as the author of the Pentateuch—what can be more decisive? Such an amateur critic as the present Lord Chancellor, for instance, thinks that the case is settled beyond appeal. But if, apart from statements in the New Testament, it be proved to demonstration (as nearly all competent scholars think that it already is proved, and as the majority of men will think before many years are passed) that the Pentateuch contains undeniable evidence of composite authorship and a post-Mosaic origin, what becomes of the authority on which this untenable view has been rashly rested? The authority of Moses has been stayed upon that of Christ: if the weaker portion of the edifice fall, must it not drag down the stronger with it?

Mr. Sharpe has at length woven his various critical researches into a continuous "History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature."* Mr. Sharpe's judgments are always independent and vigorous; but we cannot help regretting that the form of his work is such as to prevent his giving at greater length reasons for statements which at first sight seem somewhat startling. His narrative commences with a description of the condition of the Israelites in the land of Canaan under the Judges. The history of their flight out of Egypt and their conquest of Canaan under the generalship of Joshua, related in the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, is dismissed as "so far modern that it is difficult to determine what portion of historic truth they contain. The name of Moses their leader must, in Isaiah lxiii. 11, be translated the *Raiser-up*, as if so named because he raised up the nation." Mr. Sharpe leaves us further in doubt about the reality of Moses, by placing the ten commandments in the time of David or soon after (though it is suggested that in an older form they may have been arranged by Samuel), explaining that "it was probably the first of the series of laws, which were added from time to time

* History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature. By Samuel Sharpe. London. 1869.

during the next five hundred years." And it is not obscurely hinted that the historic personality of Aaron is, to say the least, uncertain, for "the word Aron, an ark, seems to have given to the priests who carried the ark the name of the Sons of Aaron. Many names in the early genealogies seem to have been formed in this way." Mr. Sharpe concedes that the belief that the forefathers, or rather the founders, of the Israelite nation had been at one time in bondage in Lower Egypt, was so firmly held by their descendants that there can be no reason to doubt it. He is of opinion, however, that

"the several tribes who are described in the book of Judges, which seems to be the oldest book in the Bible, were formed of a population far more numerous than the small body of men who could have been living in the land of Goshen in Lower Egypt, or even than that larger body which afterwards crossed the Jordan to attempt to gain land in Canaan. Those who entered the country with arms in their hands were no doubt welcomed by others whose families had never been in Egypt. It would seem as if some parts of Canaan had been for a long time previous quietly inhabited by men of the Hebrew race. This remark particularly applies to parts of Judah, to the neighbourhood of Hebron, where we hear of no wars between the new comers and the old inhabitants."

Beginning from this sure ground of history, Mr. Sharpe traces with great acuteness the legislation which the wants of the nation, especially under the new circumstances of the monarchy, from time to time required. Assuming that "among the Israelites, as among other nations, laws were not written until the occasion for them had arisen," Mr. Sharpe has attempted to put many of the principal portions of the Pentateuch into chronological order, corresponding to the successive developments of the national history. He seems to us more successful in dealing with the legislation than with the different narratives, where the evidence is of a more doubtful and delicate character, and the curtness of his decisions frequently leaves the impression, doubtless unintentionally, of some arbitrariness of judgment.

The prophetic writings are submitted to as searching an analysis as the Pentateuch; and the process of disintegration is carried so far that only a few of the minor prophets escape whole. The writings under the name of Isaiah are

distributed among at least six authors ; and even the work of the Great Unknown, Isaiah xl.—lxvi., is arranged and subdivided chronologically, the concluding passage, Is. lxiii. 7—lxvi. (as well as Lamentations v.), being assigned to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In like manner, the general promises of restoration in Isaiah (ii. 1—4, iv. 2—6), in Amos (ix. 11—15), Joel (ii. 28—iii. 3), and Micah iv. 1—v. 9), are all eliminated and postponed to the time of the captivity. Mr. Sharpe does not seem to us to have enough sympathy with the strong imaginative *insight* of the prophets, whose anticipations of the future, vague and indeterminate enough, are surely not regularly to be classed as prophecies *post eventum*.

The Song of Solomon, again, is strangely brought down to the age of Alexander the Great, in spite of its plainly local colouring. And the unity of the book of Daniel is disturbed by the assignment of chap. ix. to the year 51 B. C., when the Hebrew canon was closed ; although some literary activity continued to manifest itself in the apocryphal writings, as, for example, in the composition of the book of Judith, which is placed in Vespasian's reign, while the Wisdom of Solomon is treated as a Christian work. Mr. Sharpe displays great ingenuity in the reference of many of the Psalms to particular epochs and events in the national history ; and his comments and illustrations of their obscurities are some of the happiest portions of his book. His independence of accepted critical judgments is nowhere more curiously shewn than in his treatment of the book of Job as a whole ; he places it, chiefly on the evidence of Elihu's discourses, at the time of the captivity. It is singular that he should have failed to appreciate the diversities which have led the majority of critics to detach these as subsequent additions to the main plan of the book, while in other cases he is only too quick to detect marks of a later origin.*

Mr. Sharpe's criticism is much more interesting than his narrative. We are grateful to him for his fearlessness and originality, and if his results should not always stand the test of subsequent investigation—through excess of trust in

* e.g. where Numb. xxiv. 17—19 is referred to the time of Judas Maccabæus.

special methods—they will at least serve to foster a like care and conscientiousness in the formation of pure critical opinion.

“*Le Christianisme Libéral et le Miracle*,”* is the name given by M. Félix Pécaut to four “conferences” which he has just delivered at Nîmes, Neufchâtel and Paris. They will be found reprinted *in extenso* in the number for the 10th March of the *Disciple de Jesus Christ*, the organ of M. Martin Paschoud and his friends.† The “discourses” are extremely remarkable, and we are not surprised to learn from the newspapers, *L’Opinion Nationale* and *Le Protestant Libéral*, that their delivery has caused very considerable commotion. Their general drift and the nature of the impression they have made, may perhaps best be gathered from the following passages, which we translate from *Le Protestant Libéral* in speaking of their delivery at Neufchâtel, and from *L’Opinion Nationale* (a very influential French journal) in describing their effect in Paris.

After speaking of the efforts made by the orthodox party to prevent attendance, and the signal failure of the same, the writer goes on to say :

“The greater part of the audience was composed of men who probably had not entered a church for many a day, till M. Pécaut brought them there. To describe the effect he produced on them would be impossible. They seemed to feel equal surprise and pleasure at hearing expressed, with such force of logic and such eloquence, the ideas vaguely formed in their own minds. It is true, then (they seemed to discover), that it is possible to have a religion, and to keep for us and ours all the treasures of the moral tradition of Christianity, without being obliged to believe in all the miracles, all the dogmas, heaped together in the shape of Christian doctrine! It is true, then, that there may be a Church open to the very freest of free-thinkers! M. Pécaut did not merely affirm it, he made it to be felt; his orthodox hearers themselves involuntarily felt that it is possible to be an excellent Christian without believing in the divinity of Jesus or in his resurrection. . . . Some of the auditory, who did not know M. Pécaut, expected very different things—stormy debates or bitter attacks on miracles and dogmas. They were greatly astonished to find themselves in the presence of a man who, though as

* *Le Christianisme Libéral et le Miracle*. Paris : Cherbuliez et Cie. Brochure in 8vo. 1869.

† Paris : Germer Baillière. 1869.

free-thinking, as rationalistic, as radical, as any one of them, yet knew how to stir in their hearts the most profound fibres of the religious sentiment. They anticipated that the interest of these conferences would consist in negations of the deity of Christ and of the infallibility of Scriptura. But though those negations came stronger, more categorical and bolder, than they had supposed, the interest was not centred upon them; the key-note was altogether different. Never were there delivered discourses more full of denials in matter of theology; but never also were there sermons more edifying. This is the great originality of M. Pécaut, and it has caused a profound sensation at Neufchâtel, where hitherto no medium was known between pietistic orthodoxy and Voltairian incredulity."

The result, as the writer goes on to state, is the rise of a free religious society at Neufchâtel, a society, one of whose most prominent and active members is M. Desor, the friend of Theodore Parker and the distinguished antiquarian and naturalist, to whom the most interesting discoveries concerning the Swiss lacustrine habitations are due. In Berne also, we are informed, the liberal movement has been quickened, and a *Reformverein*, or free religious union, has been established. Thus the excitement caused originally by M. Buisson's attack on Old Testament morality as a bad guide in education, and the outcry thereupon raised by the orthodox papers, has led, through the consequent invitation to M. Pécaut to lecture at Neufchâtel, to a very important stirring of the waters of religious life in Switzerland. At Chaux-le-Fonds and at Nîmes, where the conferences were repeated, similar feelings were excited. But in Paris, M. Pécaut has been appreciated even more than elsewhere. The *Opinion Nationale*, Feb. 18th, says of his conferences:

"The words of M. Pécaut, without being of those which address themselves to our nervous sensibility, are such as penetrate farthest into the heart. In what he says there is not a word to be lost, not a phrase on which it is not well to meditate. The vast and intelligent audience which crowded to hear his conferences proved that such was their judgment by their sustained and respectful attention."

We are glad to see that the translation of Spinoza's theologico-political treatise,* first published almost contempo-

* *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. By Benedict de Spinoza. From the Latin. With an Introduction and a few Notes by the Translator. Second Edition. London: Trübner. 1868.

ranuously with the First Part of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, has reached a second edition. The translator, to judge from a spirited Preface prefixed to the present edition, has met with some hard knocks from the orthodox critics, but we think most right-minded persons will be willing to acknowledge that they owe him a debt of gratitude for his labour of love. As to the work itself, it will always retain its interest, both for its author's sake, and as being a remarkable anticipation of some of the results of modern Biblical criticism. The object of the work, it is well known, was to vindicate freedom of thought and freedom of discussion, and to shew that those rights cannot be denied with safety either to religion or the state; and if the method strikes one as extraordinary and by no means calculated to gain the end, it has the advantage at least of introducing us to the religious views held by so distinguished a philosopher. A modern writer advocating toleration would endeavour to guard against the suspicion of needing it for himself, or would at all events avoid parading opinions contrary to those usually received. Spinoza, however, pursues a bolder course. His method involves a careful examination of the Bible, starting with a repudiation of the common assumption that it is everywhere inspired and literally true. The conclusions arrived at, though not of course based upon the same minute criticism as has been since applied, are in their broad features very similar to those which have recently gained currency through the pen of the Bishop of Natal. Spinoza, indeed, was not acquainted with the composite character of the Pentateuch as indicated by the use of the words *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, but he is quite clear that it is not the work of Moses, but written long afterwards. In fact, he makes Ezra the author of all the historical books of the Old Testament. The political part of the treatise may perchance please some who dislike the religious part, while with all who love real freedom, whatever their opinions may be, in State or Church, the contrary must be the case. Spinoza leans too much to arbitrary views of government, and his work is pervaded by a tone of lofty disdain for the "vulgar." His doctrine that "religious worship and pious practices" "are to be determined by the ruling powers alone, who are at the same time to be the judges of their worth and fitness," reads oddly

enough just now, though no doubt easily explicable from the very different relations of Church and State in those days.

There is a superstition lingering in many devout minds, that thoroughness of intellectual inquiry is in some way connected with a lamentable lack of reverence. If a preacher have the general repute of discussing theological subjects with the freshness of modern thought, the conclusion that he cannot have the lowliness of true Christian piety, although not perhaps fairly shaped as a definite statement, surrounds his name with a mist of prejudice. We believe, however, that a frank freedom of theological thought is profoundly connected both with a noble directness of moral judgment and a healthful clearness of spiritual insight. The third volume of "*The Sling and the Stone*"* affords a fair illustration of this position. The book is, and is meant to be, a challenge, not (as the author explains) to ecclesiastical law, or the endurance of polemical orthodoxy, but to every man calling himself a Christian. An answer is *demand*ed (no less emphatic a word will express the tone of the sermons) from every reader to questions so clearly expressed that it is impossible to misunderstand their meaning: Are these things so? Is this true or false? We are not sure whether this prominent tendency to *demand* answers may not arouse an unthinking anger in those whose conversion might have been secured by less aggressive process; but we are equally convinced that our clergy and laity need to learn more fully the power which earnestness, honesty and courage ought to have in atoning for hastiness of intellectual expression.

The preacher, we believe, who encounters with unshrinking manliness the difficulties of modern theology, will be uplifted by his very faithfulness to the higher regions of spiritual discernment. Mr. Voysey speaks evidently from the education of experience, when he describes the way in which a new teacher who finds himself called, by a voice whose commands cannot be silenced, to utter thoughts intensely true to himself, but wild and erroneous to others, is driven more and more "to trust in the Lord with all his

* *The Sling and the Stone*. Vol. III. By Charles Voysey, B.A., Vicar of Healaugh. London: Trübner and Co.

heart, and lean not to his own understanding." The boldness of research is connected with the humility of trust. In this volume, as its predecessors, Mr. Voysey utters his opinions with no uncertain sound; but there is, we think, an increase of power in those passages addressed to the conscience and the soul.

Discussions are frequent at the present day upon the supposed waning of the influence of the pulpit. We would suggest that the experiment be more commonly tried, whether intellectual frankness will not increase the earnestness of moral appeal and deepen the reverence of prayer.

"Words from a Layman's Ministry"* contains a touching record of a Christian life and ministry, unaffected and genial in devoutness, and manifesting the rare combination of practical worldly energy with meditative fervour, and of clear thought with spiritual grace. The Layman Minister was a barrister in full practice at Barnard Castle, whose business capacities, guided by a singular directness and intensity of moral purpose, made themselves keenly felt through all the social organizations of that district. Although educated as a Wesleyan, he could not resist the claims of awakened theological inquiry, and had the courage to join a small Free Christian congregation, at that time composed of none but men of the very humblest position in the town.

"To join them was to incur great social odium, just at the time that he was struggling to make his way in the world; and what to Mr. Brown's affectionate disposition was a still greater trial, it would arouse the opposition of all his intimate friends. For some time he hesitated. An intimate friend of those days has told me how more than once he got to the front door of his house, and lifted the latch to go to the meeting-place and avow that he had come to cast in his lot with the little flock, and yet drew back. However, he did not hesitate long."†

Of this little community he soon became the religious instructor and spiritual guide. The Discourses now published are characterized by a happy blending of that glowing devotion which has given Wesleyanism its higher life, with

* Words from a Layman's Ministry: Discourses preached in the Free Christian Church, Barnard Castle, by the late George Brown. Edited by the Rev. J. J. Tayler, B.A. With Memorial Sketch by the Rev. B. Harford. London: Whitfield.

† Memoir, p. 13.

the intellectual clearness of a more liberal theology. Mr. Brown's own words* evidently express his deepest conviction: "Oh how blessed would it be if the leading element of the ages of faith and prayer would at last come to blend itself with our philanthropic efforts, and complete the glory of this advanced era of culture." Without offering any new solutions of world-vexing problems, these "Words from a Layman's Ministry" permit the light of a free theology to shine through them, while they are pervaded by a childlike longing for personal communion with God, a delight in religion as a living condition of the soul, and a spirit of kindly goodness giving to trifles a grace of piety.

Under the title "Misread Passages of Scripture,"† Mr. Baldwin Brown gives us a small volume of sermons, "a part of a series which the author projected, but which through ill health he has been unable to complete." They would have been interesting sermons to listen to; they have considerable force and variety of expression, and are everywhere distinguished by great moral earnestness. But in order to give them any real influence, as Mr. Brown desires, upon "the conflict of thought on theological subjects, which waxes rather than wanes year by year," they want a firm basis of scientific thought. No reader would gather from this volume the light in which the author regards the Scripture, the misread passages of which he professes to explain; he expounds just in the same way, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake," and "My kingdom is not of this world." And yet if any question is involved more than another in the conflict of theological thought, it is whether to Christians of the present day there is not the most vital difference between the words of the Hebrew legend which records the Jewish view of the beginning of our race, and those which claim to have proceeded from the lips of Christ. Nor is any misreading of Scripture so pregnant of error as that which, treating them by the same method of exposition, places them by implication upon the same level.

Dr. Emmanuel Bonavia, who dates from Lucknow, en-

* P. 20.

† *Misread Passages of Scripture.* By J. Baldwin Brown, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1869.

deavours in his "Contributions to Christology,"* to explain some at least of the miracles of Christ by the phenomena of animal magnetism. There are reported marvels which will not yield to this treatment; but we are far from thinking that the phenomena upon the border-land between spirit and sense have yet been adequately investigated; and we have a word of welcome for any attempt to take them out of the hands of charlatanerie, and to submit them to scientific analysis, although in the present state of the subject we are not sanguine of much solid result.—"The Second Death, and the Restoration of all Things,"† is one of the numerous attempts now being made, by men who are unwilling to run counter to the letter of Scripture, to evade the doctrine of eternal punishment. The way in which Mr. Andrew Jukes, the author of the volume in question, accomplishes this feat to his own satisfaction, would hardly interest readers of this Review, who for the most part reach the same goal by a shorter and less tangled path. But the volume is not without its interest, as forming one element in the many-voiced protest which the religious conscience of the age is constantly uttering against the most hideous doctrine of common orthodoxy.—The lover of metaphysical investigations will find something worth his attention in the "Leaves"‡ from an old student's writing-desk. The author discusses Sir W. Hamilton's theory of perception, disputes his doctrine of the "relativity" of human knowledge, and proves against him that our knowledge is not bounded by our consciousness. We do not venture to pronounce how far he has succeeded in his attempts to point out inconsistencies or detect fallacies in the great metaphysician, as we do not propose here to enter upon the controversy. It must suffice to say that he grapples with his antagonist with no weak hand, and that his essay bears the marks of careful reading and much thought.—"Quiet Thoughts for the Day of Rest,"§ is a selection of religious

* Contributions to Christology. By Emmanuel Bonavia, M.D., Lucknow. London: Trübner. 1869.

† The Second Death and the Restoration of all Things, &c. &c. By Andrew Jukes. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1869.

‡ Leaves from my Writing-desk: being Tracts on the Question, What do we Know? By an Old Student. London: Whitfield. 1868.

§ Quiet Thoughts for the Day of Rest. Published by the Manchester District Sunday-School Association. 1869.

poetry which "has a mission of its own: to bring to the cottage home of the Sunday scholar some few of those gems of English religious poetry which are already household words among those who can afford to buy costly books." It is hardly possible to bring such selections as this to any fair standard of criticism; no two editors would conceive or execute their work alike; and at least as much variation of taste may be predicated of readers. Suffice it then to say that this little book, which is produced at a very low price, contains much admirable poetry of the highest and most enduring kind, and that its outward form is extremely elegant. Our only fear is, lest its beauty may prove too refined for the work which it has to do.

Of pamphlets which lie upon our table we may mention, "The Catholic Church in America,"* a lecture delivered by Dr. Thaddeus Butler, of Chicago, before a literary society connected with the Catholic University of Ireland. It is composed in a strain of fervid rhetoric, narrating the efforts, the sacrifices and the triumphs of the Latin Church in America from the day when Columbus invoked the blessing of the Virgin upon his voyage, to the erection of the latest cathedral in the newest city of the West. For those who can read between the lines, the tale of unrelaxed effort and adaptive changefulness is very interesting: but no one should trust Dr. Butler's historical statements without being prepared to season them with more than a grain of salt.—Among the tracts recently issued by Mr. Scott, of Ramsgate, the most noticeable is one entitled "The Gospel of the Kingdom,"† in which the author, who describes himself as a "Beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England," maintains, with thoughtful adduction of much scripture evidence, that Christ and his apostles preached a temporal or millennial kingdom alone, and that it was only upon the disappointment of this anticipation that the Church put a spiritual meaning upon words which had at first been rightly taken in a literal sense. We cannot wholly coincide in this view, although, in common with all candid interpreters of the New Testament, we admit the existence in it of Messi-

* *The Catholic Church in America: a Lecture, &c.* By T. J. Butler, D.D., Chicago. Dublin: Kelly. 1869.

† *The Gospel of the Kingdom.* By a Beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England. Published by Thomas Scott, Ramsgate.

anic expectations which were never fulfilled; but we can very heartily commend both the spirit and the ability with which the author defends his thesis.—“Truth versus Edification,”* is the title of a little brochure—apparently a reprint from some magazine—in which Mr. W. R. Greg administers a very just and severe rebuke to Mr. Matthew Arnold for his article in “Macmillan,” entitled “The Bishop and the Philosopher.” Mr. Arnold, as many readers will recollect, maintained that the publication of Dr. Colenso’s researches into the Pentateuch was inexpedient, even supposing them to be true: Mr. Greg, with exceeding force and point, vindicates the right of the unlearned to participation in the results of religious investigation.—From a very distant region of thought comes to us a new edition of Anselm’s tract, “Cur Deus Homo,”† in which, more than in Augustine or in Paul, may be found the basis of the popular doctrine of the Atonement. Professor Fritzsche, the editor, claims to have made important emendations in the text, by help of those hitherto uncollated MSS. which he has found in the library of the Canton of Zürich. To all who are interested in the gradual development of Christian doctrine, it is not necessary to do more than notify the issue, in this accurate and convenient form, of a well-known book.

A very remarkable pamphlet, of which we must give a more specific account, is entitled, “The Church’s Creed, or the Crown’s Creed,”‡ and takes the form of a Letter to Archbishop Manning, from Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes, who is one of the ablest and most thoughtful men whom the Roman has succeeded in drawing away from the Anglican Church. But unfortunately for himself, Mr. Ffoulkes has preserved within the borders of his new communion the habits of inquiry and reflection which brought him there, and is the furthest possible from the mood of blind submission which is characteristic of most converts. He professes himself a sincere Roman Catholic, but it is after a pattern of his own; and he passes judgment upon the policy and practice of Rome

* Truth versus Edification. By W. R. Greg. London: Trübner. 1869.

† Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Libri Duo, Cur Deus Homo, recensuit O. F. Fritzsche. Turici: Orelli. 1868.

‡ The Church’s Creed, or the Crown’s Creed: a Letter to the Most Rev. Archbishop Manning, &c. &c. By Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D. London: Huges. No date.

as freely as ever, and more impartially. The result is the present Letter. Archbishop Manning had been criticising the position of the English Church in its present difficulties, and taunts the Sacerdotal party with their enforced submission in matters of doctrine to the Crown. "But are we any better off?" retorts Mr. Ffoulkes,—and then goes on to prove very conclusively, that the "Filioque" in the Nicene Creed was introduced and maintained there by lay influence alone, and in opposition to the will of the Church. "Recared inaugurated the addition; Charlemagne patronized it; and Henry II. got it adopted by the Popes themselves." But this is only a part of the long and heavy indictment which Mr. Ffoulkes brings against the Church of Rome—always, be it observed, with careful adduction of proof.

"Irresistible to my mind are the evidences that it is her conduct, more than anything else, which has divided Christendom—her conduct since she became a Court as well as a Church—not her faith, but her policy for the last thousand years, dating from her endowment under Charlemagne. Eminent saints and doctors of the middle ages, if they mean anything, have asserted as much: I have nothing to do but to adopt their language."*

And again:

"History deposes unhesitatingly, that Rome rose to the eminence which she occupied in the 13th century, when at her zenith—and from which, in the providence of God, she has been gradually but surely descending ever since—most unrighteously *as concerns the Church*—the whole Church I mean—by fraud and force; by the weapons of the weak and the weapons of the strong, alternately put into her hand, and employed by her as legitimate, for the spread of her own power, to the dismemberment and destruction of the Church at large."†

Then in the second and even more powerful part of his Letter, Mr. Ffoulkes appeals to the practical reason against the overweening pretensions of Rome. We cannot find room for extracts, but his argument is briefly this: "The Sacraments are the life of the Christian: I myself live by them. Of these, only one, that of Baptism, is allowed to be doubtfully valid in the Church of England; the rest are but pseudo Sacraments. But though I now live by Roman, I know that I formerly lived by Anglican Sacraments; the

* P. 14.

† Pp. 26, 27.

spiritual effects now experienced by me do not differ from those of former days. So, comparing the Archbishop of Westminster with the Archdeacon of Chichester, can it be said that one is not a natural growth out of the other, and that the virtues and graces which adorn the Roman were not first learned and practised in the Anglican communion? Nay, in many things the spiritual and moral advantage is on the side of England; there are characteristics of English piety which are less marked within the limits of the Roman obedience, and notorious corruptions in the unreformed not to be found in the Reformed Church.' All this is urged at considerable length, with great strength of reasoning and felicity of statement; while the force of the whole is enhanced by the writer's constant and sincere profession of attachment to the incorrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome, and acceptance of her legitimate claims.

The present issue of this pamphlet is, we believe, the twelfth thousand; but neither Dr. Manning nor any of his subordinates have deigned to take notice of its arguments and appeals. On the contrary, we are assured by one of the Catholic papers, that the arm and not the pen of the Church is to be invoked against Mr. Ffoulkes. It is easier to silence than to answer him. No one is to be allowed to remain within the sacred fold to disseminate heresy; and unless Mr. Ffoulkes retracts, he is to be denied the Sacraments, and if needful to be excommunicated. We await the issue with much interest. In the mean time, this pamphlet remains a most powerful dissuasive to those Ritualists who are looking longingly towards Rome, and a better defence of their present position than any they have themselves put forth.

Mr. Martineau, in his "New Affinities of Faith, a Plea for Free Christian Union,"* is at one with Mr. Ffoulkes in his desire for the re-union of Christendom, though he approaches the subject from the opposite side. It is not necessary to attempt to give an outline of his general argument, which he has himself developed in these pages,† nor to remark that this pamphlet is distinguished by his accustomed force and beauty of statement. The most noticeable

* *The New Affinities of Faith: a Plea for Free Christian Union.* By James Martineau. London: Williams & Norgate. 1869.

† Vol. III. p. 296.

part of it is his reply to the objection made by Mr. F. W. Newman to the Free Christian Union, that by its adoption of the word Christian into its title it shuts out the devout Theist, whether Jew, Brahmin or Mohammedan. To this, Mr. Martineau answers in the only possible way :

"Action, however large its principle, *must* take its cases one by one : and the range of cases which any given instrument can reach lies within strict limits. To assign and to keep these limits is not to betray the principle, but to lend it the efficiency of practical wisdom. If a man founds an hospital, it is no imputation on his universal humanity that its provisions extend no further than the boundaries of Middlesex ; nor would even Surrey people charge him with inconsistency, though he should preface his bequest with acknowledgment, in general terms, of the duty of helping the distressed. If a Wesley or a Brainerd chooses to address himself to some class specially accessible to him in all localities, and to leave others to agencies distinct, the selection does not derogate from his impartial 'zeal for souls.' The apostle Paul's gospel was not less comprehensive because his missionary field was the Gentile world, and he abandoned the Jewish pale to the Judaic twelve. Similarly, the Free Christian Union chooses, in preference to foreign religions, '*the Christian life*' at home as its province for carrying out a principle intrinsically applicable beyond, and tries to organize a service fittest for this work. Mahomedans and Hindoos would help it about as well as those who 'seemed to be pillars' at Jerusalem would have 'added to' Paul at Athens. To found a charge of exclusiveness on such practical limitation of instruments and work is as reasonable in the one case as in the other. The phrase 'Christian Union,' then, like the phrase 'Gentile Church,' marks only the main recruiting field and sphere of operations selected for an enterprise which may have other provinces and other agencies. Whenever Jews, Mahomedans, and Hindoos apply themselves to the same work, they will offend no one by forming a Free Jewish Union, a Free Mahomedan Union, a Free Hindoo Union : and, meanwhile, they have no ground for offence in the example of a Free Christian Union."*

E.

* Pp. 27, 28.

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I.—SCHLEIERMACHER AND THE GERMAN CHURCH
A CENTURY AFTER HIS BIRTH.

THE influence exerted by Schleiermacher upon both the theology and the constitution of the Church of Germany, is of such extent and depth, that the attitude taken by theologians in reference to him determines pretty accurately to which of the existing parties they belong. The centenary of his birth, celebrated on the 21st of November of last year, most naturally, therefore, called forth angry demonstrations of party feeling. But a foreigner could not look at the spectacle long without inferring that there was more than Schleiermacher's influence at the bottom of such fierce exasperation, and he would soon discover that a body of living men, important both from their intellectual rank and popular influence, were adding oil and fuel to the fire that Schleiermacher had kindled at the beginning of the century. Inquiring further, he would find that these men were attempting a great reformation of the church under the prestige and shelter of Schleiermacher's name; and looking into the origin and course of their work, he would get to the very heart of the movements now agitating the theological world. He would thus obtain a position from which he could review the condition of ecclesiastical matters in the most thoughtful and most religious land of Europe.

It may not be without its use if a foreigner, in Germany at the time, tells what he saw and gathered in watching the fight over Schleiermacher's cradle. But we must first say a little about the great theologian himself.

Schleiermacher's was a nature combining most contrary qualities. He had as tender a heart, and was as dependent upon the love and friendship of others, as a woman; yet no man could be more daring and independent in thought and action. He had both the soul of a mystic and the intellect of a dialectician. Like Spinoza, to whose *manes* he sacrificed, he worshiped God with the profoundest feeling, while he reasoned about Him with the coolest and most daring hardihood.

Schleiermacher's grandfather belonged to a sect whose hope it was that a new Messiah should arise from their ranks. His father, an army-chaplain and a member of the Calvinistic church, was a believer in the "blood-theology" of Zinzendorf, and at middle-age mourned that for twelve long years he had preached Christ as an unbeliever. Our theologian was educated in the monastic schools of the Herrnhuters in Niesky and Barby. And years afterwards he wrote of his stay among these people, "The mystical element which is so essential a part of my nature, and has saved me amidst the storms of scepticism, was here first developed. Then the germs unfolded, now they have grown to maturity, so that I can say after all that I have since passed through, that *I have become a Herrnhuter again, only of a higher type.*"

But the time when Schleiermacher was a lad in the schools of the Moravians, from 1783 to 1787, was the age of Lessing, Herder, Wieland and Goethe. In vain did the pious mystics try to keep the souls entrusted to their care safely guarded from the infectious spirit of the age. Young Schleiermacher plucked forbidden fruit, and read in secret Wieland's poems and Goethe's *Werther*. He doubted whether there was not more in the objections and attacks of the free-thinkers and neologians than his tutors allowed. This doubt, once entertained, made sad inroads upon his creed and religious life. At length he wrote to his father, "Pray that faith may be given me, for mine is gone." The faith that he then lost he never regained. He became a rationalist, and remained one, though some of his countrymen deny it.

Another great fact about Schleiermacher is, that he, the mystic and the rationalist, came into the very centre of the ferment of *romanticism*. All the new thoughts, the illimit-

able aspirations, the wild feelings, the Titanic resolves and vows, with which the heart of young Germany was then upheaving, swelled and stormed in his soul.

Thus all the manifold mental tendencies of that rich age met in Schleiermacher as in but few other men. Spener's piety, Semler's rationalism, and Schlegel's romanticism, were all to be found in him.

His first appearance before the world was as an inspired and enthusiastic prophet of religion. In his *Orations upon Religion* he pointed to man's heart as the eternal home of religion, and to the great universe as her inspiring object. He defined religion to be a feeling and sense of the universe, while to him the universe and God were at least inseparable ideas. He rescued religion from the cold, killing grasp of a utilitarian morality and rationalistic or orthodox dogmas. He found for her an asylum in the heart, safe from all the attacks of criticism and philosophy. By this work he rendered true service to religion, however much he erred in details. But it was not enough for him to defend religion. He had been gradually drawn into the church, and there especially an apologist was needed.

Schleiermacher's great aim was to rescue from greatest peril the church, with her founder and faith. He dared not trust to the old foundations upon which she had reposed. It was his endeavour to find a new foundation, and to reform the superstructure as far as the new basis made it necessary. He removed the groundwork, miracles, prophecies and scripture, without much compunction. Sometimes he said they were needless, at other times he proved them to be unreliable. He had established religion upon the eternal and indestructible feelings of man's nature, and he now sought to place Christianity upon the same sure basis. He did not attempt to prove to all men that Jesus of Nazareth was the redeemer of mankind, but boldly affirmed that no such proof of this assertion could be given. He appealed simply to the experience of Christians, urging that all Christians had experienced a divine redemption from the dominion of sense and the world through Jesus. Upon this experience he proposed to establish the church, as upon a foundation against which an unbelieving philosophy should never prevail. He also attempted to shew that all that was essential in the New Testament and the

confessions of the Reformed churches was included in this experience.

It may be worth while to give a brief synopsis of his system.

Religion is the feeling of absolute dependence upon God. Man is a creature of sense as well as spirit, with sense often prevailing over the spirit, whereby in daily life the feeling of dependence is oppressed and lost. Hence the need of a deliverance, or a redemption. Those who believe in Jesus of Nazareth are conscious of being redeemed by him from the dominion of sense. He could not have communicated to his disciples the feeling of being redeemed unless he had himself been ever free from the consciousness of an imperfect religious condition and the need of redemption. He must, therefore, have been the archetypal man, the sinless one. His disciples, his church, are they who are conscious of having been redeemed by him. His church is the means by which the consciousness of redemption is communicated from generation to generation. The new life in the individual arises from the common life and influence of the church. The Holy Spirit is the spirit of the church, and the organ of Christ's present and abiding influence in the world is the church. The church is not an external body, but the whole number of the redeemed. The new and perfect religious life, existing first in Jesus, communicated by him to his disciples, and propagated by the church, is verbally expressed in the dogmas of the creeds.

Before turning to the position that Schleiermacher at present holds in the church of his countrymen, the effect his system produced when he was living must be briefly noticed. This may be best done by quoting the words of a great lay German, the historian of the 19th century.*

"Schleiermacher, acting the part of a trimmer, made concessions to supernaturalism in his Christology, just as in his explanations of some of the miracles he conceded much to the *rationalismus vulgaris*; concessions which brought him no thanks from either party. The orthodox detected the Spinozistic orator under the dogmatic garb, while the rationalists took the fragments of his supernaturalism as evidences of time-serving or even of intentional deception. They said, that yielding to the

* Gervinus, *Geschichte des 19 ten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. VIII. p. 20.

retrograde spirit of the times, he tried to conceal his vital break with the true faith of the church and the proper sense of the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, merely to save appearances. However questionable a thing it is to lay a charge of this kind against such a man, there is always something wrong if a man's character is at all exposed to it. Luther was not suspected of being double-tongued, when, filled with the conviction of the weakness of the reason of his age, he adhered to revelation; or Lessing, when, at a loss to know what to put in the place of the faith of the devout, he advised the philosopher to keep his difficulties to himself. . . . Schleiermacher carried into the theological world by his conciliatory book, the *Glaubenslehre*, not only peace, but war also. There were so many divisions amongst his immediate followers, that a school cannot be properly spoken of. There was a *centre* of various shades of semi-orthodoxy which sought to hit upon a less bold and decisive compromise by excluding miracles upon the assumption of a 'higher nature.' Then there was a *left*, calling itself by Schleiermacher's name, which sought to follow him in his destructive tendencies; and, lastly, a *right*, which, peering into the depths of its Christian consciousness, rediscovered the whole of the old dogmatic system. At the same time, rationalism retained life enough to establish new periodical publications for a polemical conflagration, which Schleiermacher himself, considering the superstition and credulity of the age, did not think uncalled for. And, in opposition to rationalism, a new retrogressive pietism was called forth, which was full of party-hatred, and accused all rationalists, not excepting the most honourable, of being demagogues, laying its charges from the base motives of ambition and pride and the love of heresy-mongering."

We now turn to the position in German theology which Schleiermacher at present holds. And since, in a subject of this sort, quotations from documents and representative writers are of more value than second-hand descriptions, they will be used pretty freely.

Dr. Dörner, professor in Berlin, a most influential member of the *Oberkirchenrath*, and one of the most acute and learned of the theologians of the moderate party, says of Schleiermacher in his recent work :*

"This is his great merit, and entitles him to his high position in the history of theology, that he overcame the antagonism of rationalism and supernaturalism, which had prevailed until 1820.

* *Geschichte der Protestantischen Theologie*, p. 795 (1867).

He reconciled upon the basis of religion or of *faith*, both authority and freedom, tradition and personal appropriation, the historical and the ideal, returning to the main views of the Reformation."

Dr. Carl Schwarz, *Oberconsistorialrath* and court-preacher in Gotha, assigns him this high position in the church :

"He was a theologian of the importance and magnitude of a reformer, the founder of a new period in the history both of theology and the church. He was a theologian at once conservative and destructive, positive and critical, whose vocation it was to reconcile religion with both the freest inquiry and most advanced culture."*

After these laudatory testimonies from two representative men amongst Schleiermacher's friends, a fact in connection with the celebration of his birth must be introduced.

"The centenary of Schleiermacher's birth is celebrated to-day by thousands of thankful hearts in our German Fatherland. It is true the doors of Trinity Church are closed, in the pulpit of which Schleiermacher preached the gospel for six-and-twenty years ; for his successor, who was once his assistant, has recently solemnly declared that the great master's disciples have no right to enter the pulpits of the Evangelical Church. It has also cost trouble enough to force from the ecclesiastical authorities permission to celebrate the memory of Schleiermacher in a church at all. From what we hear, the permission to do this, in spite of Dörner and Twisten's energetic efforts, was granted by the majority of one voice only in the *Oberkirchenrath*."†

The *Oberkirchenrath* indicate the grounds of this slow consent in a circular letter to the various local consistories.

"He led thousands," say the council, "to Christ, even such as afterwards advanced far beyond the point to which he in the first instance led them. However uncertain the position was to which he was a guide, in reference to both Holy Scripture and the confessions of the Church, it was nevertheless one from which further progress was a necessity, and Schleiermacher himself foresaw this."

This quotation and the conduct of which it is a justification shew that the rulers of the Church are not satisfied with Schleiermacher's theology. In the quotations that follow, dissatisfaction becomes strong condemnation.

* Dr. Carl Schwarz's edition of Schleiermacher's *Reden*, p. v (1868).

† *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, Nov. 21, 1868.

An able writer in the great orthodox periodical* ends his examination of Schleiermacher's theology in these strong terms:

"Schleiermacher deprives Christ of his divine dignity, makes his human life a contortion, and his moral life imperfect, for those utterances of his which are explained by Schleiermacher as 'accommodations' can never agree with pure truthfulness. His representation of the person and work of Christ is entirely false, and completely foreign to the spirit of the gospel. It rests upon a conception wholly alien to the consciousness of the apostles, being in fact the product of Spinoza's antichristian pantheism, and is transferred into the biblical records by the aid of intentional artifice and a monstrously forced interpretation. It is often impossible to resist the impression that Schleiermacher does not himself believe in the validity of his exegesis, that in a crafty lawyer-like style he presents the matter so as to gain the appearance of a biblical support. But it is pure mendacity when Schleiermacher prefaces the paragraphs of his *Glaubenslehre* with the corresponding utterances of our confessions, as if the following discussions contained the same doctrine; for in reality they contain in nearly all cases a wholly different or opposite doctrine, and it would have been much more truthful to have used as prefaces propositions from Spinoza."

This is strong language; but it is characteristic of Hengstenberg and his party, and is not altogether undeserved.

Another opponent of Schleiermacher must now be heard. He dwells at the theological antipodes of the last writer. David Strauss writes† in 1864:

"Schleiermacher's lectures upon the Life of Jesus have not yet been published.‡ The conservative party, which increasingly prevailed amongst his disciples, found so little comfort in them; they proved to be especially weak as a defence against the mythical view of the Gospel histories; they were so truly the clay feet of the bright brazen image of Schleiermacher's theology; it seemed accordingly advisable to suppress them. . . . On the life of Jesus also he was an oracle, which the ambiguity of his whole character, in this respect a true *Loxias*, well fitted him to be."

Ferdinand Christian Baur is equally as hard upon Schleier-

* *Die Geltung Christi in der Theologie Schleiermachers*, in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, No. 93 sq., and published separately. Berlin, 1868.

† *Das Leben Jesu für das Deutsche Volk bearbeitet von David Friedrich Strauss*, p. 23. Berlin, 1864.

‡ They were published the same year.

macher, in his Church History of the Nineteenth Century. And the sharp criticism of these theologians is accepted and whetted by many of the lay *literati*.

With such differing and contradictory estimates of Schleiermacher's theological position and importance, it is not at all surprising that theologians should get angry with one another when the centenary of his birth is to be celebrated. Yet the anger was not in this case provoked simply by the differing estimates of the man's worth. The quarrel was more than a quarrel about Schleiermacher. He was really only the occasion and not the cause of the noise. The fact is, there is a crisis in the German Church. We must go back a few years to understand it.

It is only ignorance or hypocrisy that ventures to speak of the overthrow of rationalism in Germany. David Strauss' *Leben Jesu* in 1835, and the revolution of 1848, were turned to good account by both conservative theologians and conservative politicians. The solidarity of all conservative interests was a doctrine to which both set their seal. Both raised a cry of alarm, and timid people sought refuge in the arms of the church and the divine right of kings and all existing authorities. The reactionists used the opportunity to cut up the liberals both root and branch. The means they used will not bear to be looked at. They stormed and flattered, bribed and persecuted, and apparently not in vain. From '35 to '55, they were at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs. But the world is bigger and better than the church, and to rule the latter is often to have little power in the former. Hengstenberg's party were not the only, as they were not the most able, theologians in Germany. Opposed to them were men like Ewald, Hase, Rothe, and the great school of Tübingen. Even in their own retrogressive and orthodox ranks, unpleasant signs were continually appearing that criticism and inquiry could not be eradicated. Hofmann in Erlangen, Kahnis in Leipzig, Baumgarten in Rostock, notwithstanding their orthodoxy, turned out to be heretics after all. And, what is most important of all, the nation itself, as distinct from the theologians, the men of science, the mental philosophers, the literary artists, with their great educated public, were, almost to a man, liberal and dead against the theological retrogressionists. The result was, that the great shout of triumph over ra-

tionalism raised by the followers of Hengstenberg, a shout which was heard in England, and is here caught up and echoed still, while in Germany it has died away, ended in their own shame and confusion. In 1859, the great lay agent of the reaction, the jurist Stahl, was driven to wail, "Where is there an earthly stay left, where one remaining earthly hope for our church? Existing powers are against us, the masses are against us, the tide of the times is against us, the most powerful errors in the church itself are against us."

We must now proceed to see who the representatives of these "most powerful errors" are. They are men of note, and have become a banded party. They form the *Protestantenverein*, and the history and aims of this union of advanced Protestants must be briefly sketched.*

It is a fact that cannot be concealed, that the educated people of Germany, always excepting the theologians in office, are as a whole estranged from the church. Various proofs of this fact can be given. The *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* for Dec. 5, 1868, estimates the attendance at church in Berlin as 8,000 to 10,000, and the population is 640,000. The population of Brunswick is about 50,000, and a medical man of the city told us that all the churches have together but a congregation of 1000. Good authorities say that the number of church-goers in Hamburg is proportionally quite as small. Nippold† cites from an unnamed author the following words, as representing the average state of feeling about church-going amongst the people of Berlin:

"Whoever wishes to be court-purveyor or to get a riband, goes to church; hysterical ladies who seek in religion unadulterated *haut gout*, go to church; whoever feels flattered when he hears his name mentioned in connection with high society, goes to church; in fine, whoever has or seeks advantage from it, goes to church."

Even Tholuck is compelled to speak of a "church of pastors followed by no flock;" adding, "This condition of things has grown worse; if we look back forty years, everything was better." The art-literature of Germany is in

* *Der deutsche Protestantenverein und seine Bedeutung in der Gegenwart nach den Akten dargestellt*, von Dr. Daniel Schenkel. 1868.

† *Kirchenpolitische Rundschau im Advent 1868* (Mannheim, 1869), p. 42.

reference to the church essentially what it was in the time of Goethe and Schiller. Julius Sturm's lines on the "sick church and her doctors,"

"No means could avail,
No medicine had I seen,
The poor church lay dying,
And grew worse and worse,"

express the convictions of most literary men. Auerbach, Gottschall, Rückert, Fanny Lewald, E. Marlitt, and a great number of other popular writers, are, to say the least, decidedly anti-church. The *Gartenlaube*, certainly the most clever and able, as well as the most largely circulated, periodical publication, delights in holding up the church to contempt, and makes heroes of men like Wislicenus.

These ecclesiastically alarming facts some theologians deny, while the great majority ascribe them to the natural ungodliness of the human heart. Yet there are a number in all official positions, professors, members of consistories and pastors, who acknowledge with sorrow the facts, and assign to them a much more sensible cause. Men like the late Richard Rothe confess, that

"In the majority of cases, those who are indifferent towards the church are by no means alienated from Christianity and religion also. In fact, many of these people hold a higher moral and Christian position than those who are zealous church-people and Christians only from habit."

And they believe that it is not human nature that is at fault, but the church herself. They recognize as the root of the estrangement of the people from the church, the opposition of the church to the culture and science of the age. They see this and boldly express it, and often at great personal risk. One of Schleiermacher's disciples, Gustav Lisso, preacher in the New Church in Berlin, in a paper read before a synod of that city on the 29th of October, 1867, uttered these bold words:

"What is the present condition of Christian inquiry? The simple religious view of the world, which was based upon orthodox Protestant theology, is gone. It gave deep satisfaction to the hearts of our fathers as they contemplated it through the medium of Klopstock's poetry, but the vast and influential culture of our age has for ever destroyed it for us, even those of us who still imagine that they are orthodox. The natural sciences

have removed the biblical conception of the universe, and substituted another, in which there is no place for miracles violating nature's laws. The sciences of mind, with a modesty far surpassing that of theology, have taught the insufficiency of the human mind to form an adequate idea of the Infinite and Eternal; they have shewn that all that we can say about God is only the image and illustration of a fact which no thought can comprehend; and they have thereby cut up the roots of fanaticism. Criticism and history have presented in a new light the religious development of man, the narratives of the Bible, and the importance of the religious endowments of individuals. The German people await with happy confidence the giant who shall compel this stream of the sciences to turn back again."

Although Lisco says here only what the whole party of advanced theologians are saying both in the pulpit and by the press, circumstances gave considerable notoriety to his words. The orthodox pastors of the synod did not allow them to pass without severe censure. The year after their utterance, in the next synod, April 29, 1868, the heretic was called to account. In his defence he maintained that he had spoken only the truth, and that the Copernican system, and not the Biblical one, was now received by the members of the church. This adherence of Lisco to his heresy provoked a question from a man who has since gained world-wide celebrity. Pastor Knak, preacher in one of the Berlin churches, asked Lisco, "Do you count me amongst the orthodox who have lost the old Biblical conception of the universe?" "Yes," replied Lisco; "for you will hardly maintain, with the Bible, that the earth stands still and the sun goes round it." "But I do; I acknowledge no other conception of the world than that of the Bible," was the response of the now famous orthodox pastor. Since this synod was held there has been a fierce fight between the orthodox and heterodox pastors of Berlin, but we cannot now follow it.*

The bold attacks of men like Lisco upon the system of orthodox theology naturally brings them into collision with the orthodox of the church. The latter get up protests and denunciations, call conferences of pastors, and present peti-

* Lisco's paper and an account of the whole controversy is contained in a small pamphlet, *Zustände des sittlichen und kirchlichen Lebens in Berlin*. Dargestellt von Gustav Lisco. Berlin, 1868.

tions to the government. They make common cause with the Roman Catholics in some cases, and always seek the assistance of conservative politicians and governments. They protest that men like Lisco have no right to a place in the Christian church, much less to fill its pulpits. Every means in their power they use to eject them. There is a constant repetition of ecclesiastical cases, something like those of the "Essays and Reviews" and Colenso. The banded opposition of the orthodox to the heterodox makes it needful that the latter should also stand by each other. There must not only be advanced Protestants, but a Union of them also.

Officials are always inclined to undue conservatism and routine, and theological officials most of all. Great movements do not begin in sanhedrims, nor find their strength in castes and offices. If they do not spring from the people, they must derive their strength from them. It is clear that the pastors of the German churches, who would make the sun go round the earth if they could, will never recognize the claims of the modern spirit. It is equally clear that the professors of theology as a rule will not speak the truth about their subject until "the people are prepared for it;" and how the latter fact is to find its way into their heads does not appear. Advanced theologians, therefore, conclude that for many reasons their only hope is in appealing to the people. They desire to create a democratic church constitution.

Hitherto the Protestant Church of Germany has been a collection of separate territorial churches, each petty kingdom having an ecclesiastical constitution and government of its own; and in most cases each church has been divided into two unfriendly confessions, the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinistic. For more than fifty years there has been the name of a union of the two confessions in the Prussian and some other churches, but the reality has fallen far short of the name. It is one of the aims of the advanced party of theologians to get a national church, in which both confessional and territorial divisions will cease.

We may sum up the intentions of the *Protestantenverein*, therefore, as these: that the church shall acknowledge the culture and science of the age, that perfect freedom shall be ensured to both clergy and laity to search for and publish

the truth in entire independence of all external authorities whatsoever, that the clergy and the laity shall stand upon a mental and spiritual equality, and the laity have a greater share in church matters, and that a national church shall be established upon the basis of universal suffrage. Its watchwords are "culture," "liberty of conscience," "universal priesthood," "a national and people's church," "the congregational and synodal constitution."

The first meeting of the *Protestantenverein* was held at Eisenach in June, 1865. Dr. Richard Rothe read an introductory paper upon *the means by which the estranged members of the church may be reclaimed*. He urged upon his hearers the facts, that the estrangement was not from Christianity or religion too; that the disease lay in the church and not in the deserters; that strong and decisive means must be used for its cure; that the church is of no use as soon as she loses the moral power to win and keep the hearts of her members; that she lost this power by opposing modern progress, and can only regain it by becoming progressive; and that she must cease to be a church of parsons, and receive a large lay element. Dr. Schwarz dealt with the question of *the liberty of teaching and its limits in the Protestant Church*. He endeavoured to shew that the symbols only close the doors upon the past, but open them for further advance; that to pledge a man to stay by them is both anti-Protestant and immoral; that the letter of the Bible is not to restrict inquiry; that, on the contrary, Protestantism demands free examination both *about* and *in* the Bible; that the only limit to the liberty to teach is; that the one fundamental truth of Christianity, namely, the Christianity of Christ, the gospel of love and the fatherhood of God, must remain intact.

The second diet of the *Verein* was held at Neustadt on the Hardt, Sept. 1867. Dr. Schenkel, who is the great leader of the movement, held forth on *the principle of the Union* existing between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Prussia. He maintained that the Union is an existing legal expression of the conviction of Christians, that Christianity does not consist in dogmas, but in the moral life of the Christian community; that wherever the Union was allowed free play, a legal obligation to the authority of the confessions is a moral impossibility; that

the so-called *consensusunion*, which proceeds upon the supposition that the confessions are obligatory wherever they agree, is contradictory to the true principle of the Union; that all that is needful for the Union is one government and fellowship at the Lord's Supper. Professor Holtzmann treated the question of the *historical Christ*. He stated that the *Protestantenverein* did not consider itself to be in a position to publish a view of the person and work of the Christ of history which should be common to its members, but that various views could be held within the *Verein*.

The last diet was held in Bremen, June, 1868. Dr. Hanne, Professor in Greifswald, read an elaborate paper on the *authority of the Bible*. The result of his inquiry was, that the Bible had a purely human origin, but at the same time, notwithstanding numerous errors and weaknesses, is the most venerable collection of records of divine revelation, and as such can claim highest authority.

Of course such meetings as these, attended by large numbers of educated laymen and no few pastors, addressed by professors and other men well known in the learned and scientific world—the formation of a union with the magnificent project of establishing a national church upon the basis of morality, freeing both clergy and laity from the oppression of worn-out creeds—this open sanction of modern science and culture and denunciation of orthodox creeds, must excite no little stir in the ordinary clerical mind. In June of last year, accordingly, a conference of Berlin pastors fulminated a bull against the unheard-of heresies of the *Verein*. The orthodox pastors detail their creed, and set that of the *Verein* in contrast with it. The contrast is great enough. And the conclusion of the incensed clergymen could hardly be other than it is.

"The members of the *Protestantenverein* have broken with our evangelical church and her confessions. They have forsaken the faith in which they were baptized, the faith which they confessed before the church in their confirmation, and which the clergy of their number pledged themselves in their ordination to preach in its purity. We, therefore, contest the right which they claim to teach their unbelief in our churches and schools."

But the orthodox do not rest content with denunciations of the *Verein*. They have great influence in the consistories, and they effectually hinder the ordination of candidates

for the pastorate if they will not renounce all sympathy with it, and prevent the advancement, if they do not procure the ejection, of ordained pastors who belong to it. Whether it can withstand their opposition is to some very questionable. For the moderate party in this matter come to their assistance. The two men of greatest influence in the court and university of Berlin, the General-Superintendent, Dr. W. Hoffmann, and Professor Dorner, have spoken against it in strong denunciation. Hoffmann writes :

"Such views have no right whatever in the church. They are opposed not only to the church, but to historical Christianity in general. This party in the church, like the extreme party of progress in the state, is no national, but a European, or rather cosmopolitan party. It can never be tolerated in the Prussian church as having a legal right to stay there under the name of the Union. In reference to the church, it can only hold a similar position to that of the Dissenters or the Jews."^{*}

It is very important for the *Protestantenverein* to bring a legal and historical defence of its position. If it fails to do this, Hoffmann and the whole body of ultra-orthodox and moderate men may obtain the expulsion of its members from their offices. The legal defence maintained by Schenkel and his associates is, that the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Prussia and other kingdoms is based upon the recognition of the antiquated obligation of the confessions. The great moral and historical defence is, that Schleiermacher, the noblest of modern Christians, the most successful of Christian labourers, the prince of modern theologians, was not only permitted to stay in the church, but was raised to an influential position in it, and recognized as one of its brightest ornaments, and Schleiermacher was the man who of all others most infected theology with advanced modern ideas. If he was entitled to fill a pulpit and a professor's chair, say the advocates of the *Verein*, so are we. The practical worth of this defence depends upon the degree to which the educated laity sympathize with Schleiermacher's position. If they will interest themselves in his work, and stand up for an enlightened and progressive theology, the opponents of the *Verein* may think it advisable not to expel its members. But if

^{*} *Deutschland Einst und Jetzt* (1868), p. 492.

the unconcern and indifference to the church and her ways which at present exist among the laity continue, the members of the *Verein* will hardly maintain their position.

We have now arrived at the real cause of the intense feeling manifested on the festival of Schleiermacher's birth. The members of the *Protestantenverein* were anxious to make the most of him as their great chief. The moderate men were incensed that their great teacher should be claimed by such heretical followers. The ultra-orthodox used the opportunity to shew that neither Schleiermacher nor his most conservative disciples have any more right than the members of the *Verein* to the chairs and pulpits of the church. From this point, it may be well to take a survey of the contending parties.

First, the party that has the prestige of history and a great name, the orthodox Lutherans. Numerically this party is strong, and it is strong by virtue of its orthodoxy. It is united in declaring that its members alone hold the true faith of the Bible and Luther, and that they alone have a legal and historical right to a place in the Lutheran Church. At the same time, they are not united in more essential respects. There are in reality three marked tendencies discernible within their ranks. Some of them are historical, or, if we may use the word in the German sense, *romantic* Lutherans, men fanatically and fantastically in love with the name, the character and the poetry of the reformer. Luther is to them the prophet, and the last prophet, of Germany. Their creed is, "I believe in Luther and the Lutheran Church." Then there is a class of Lutherans who are intensely doctrinal. They are personifications of high and dry orthodoxy. They believe in the infallibility of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and swear by the eternal and absolute truth of the Lutheran confessions. Without shrinking, they assert that the heretic shall perish everlastingly. A third class are sacramentarians. They know but one church, the visible one, composed solely of the baptized. Faith, according to them, is the creation of the act of baptism. They wish to revive the institution of the confessional, and call the pastorate "the sin-absolving office." They are especially zealous patrons of his Satanic majesty.

A short time ago, the doctrinal and sacramentarian

Lutherans were in conflict with each other. But recent political changes have tended to unite them. The political passion for union has infected theologians, and the ascendancy and victories of Prussia have become dangerous to rigid Lutheranism. For more than ecclesiastical reasons, Prussia desires to introduce the Union of the two confessions, which has to a certain extent long existed in her old territories, into the annexed lands. The powerful moderate party in the church second the desires of the government, while the cry of the radical party, the *Protestantenverein*, is for a national church. The Lutherans are, therefore, in imminent peril of being absorbed into a larger body. They have taken the alarm, and for a time thrown their differences one amongst another into the background. In July of last year, some 5000 of them, including 1900 pastors, held a large meeting at Hanover for the purpose of establishing a General Lutheran Conference, and starting a weekly ecclesiastical paper* for the defence and advocacy of Lutheranism. The conference was a most decided protest against absorption into the Union, and the demand was made to be governed, not by the authorities of the united Church of Prussia, but by a separate Lutheran council. The papers read supply most sickening evidence of the shockingly benighted religious condition of a vast number of German pastors and professors.

What will become of this party it may be hasty to predict. Yet the impression that they will illustrate the sad truth of the old Latin proverb, is naturally produced by their conduct. They know no other way of attracting into the church a population that, to say the least, disregards it, than promulgating more monstrous and irrational dogmas. They think by substituting more orthodox school-books and catechisms for the moderate ones at present in use, to destroy the prevailing unbelief. The disastrous defeat which attended this attempt† in Hanover four years ago, ought to have taught them a lesson. But it does not, and their fate is sealed.

The second great party is that of the moderate men. It

* *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*. Editor, Prof. Luthardt, of Leipzig.

† See Hass's *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 621 sq., 9th ed., 1867.

is the party that has hitherto been favoured by the regal house of Prussia. It zealously propagates the principles of the Union of the two confessions, and favours Prussian ascendancy. For learning, character, wealth and influence, it holds a high position. Of men that are dead, Neander and Nitzsch represented its theological position, and of living men, Twisten and Dorner are two of its most distinguished adherents. As theologians, the men of this school have somehow got the name of *Mittlere* and *Vermittlere*. They hold a position midway between the rationalists and the supernaturalists, and claim to have bridged over the dividing chasm. The supernatural, say they, is only a higher natural; miracles are part of a higher nature than that which is known to us. The incarnation, for instance, is natural, since the human race was created with a view to it, but it is supernatural in as far as it is something beyond the past level of humanity. Empirically, it is supernatural, but ideally natural.

This semi-rationalistic, semi-orthodox, divided state of mind, is characteristic of this party. It is infected with rationalism, but fears to trust to reason. It has felt the influence of humanism, yet is afraid to believe in humanity. One moment it recognizes the stability of nature's laws, but the next it sets up ideas that defy them. It explains as many of the biblical miracles as possible by the introduction of natural causes; some it vaporises into ideas, and a perverse few have to be elevated into the domains of a higher nature. It denies that the Bible is the basis of faith, and makes faith the basis of the Bible, and yet, at the same time, claims for the Bible the character of a sacramental author of faith. The peculiar doctrines of the orthodox faith, such as original sin and the Trinity, it endeavours to establish by seizing upon some philosophical notion that may be in vogue, as Kant's doctrine of *radical evil* and Hegel's of the *divine idea*. It has often acquired a fictitious strength by laying hold of terms of science and philosophy and applying them in new senses to theology. Brought to the bar of inductive science and historical criticism, it makes but a poor figure. It is powerless against the rising school of inductive philosophers, just as it has to a certain extent prevailed against Strauss and Baur, not in open fight, but in consistories and govern-

ments. This style of fight its members do not seem to think dishonourable, for Tholuck innocently enough confessed at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Amsterdam, in 1867, that the church had throughout Germany an army of orthodox pastors, because the theological chairs in the Prussian universities had been filled up by the appointment of conservative theologians.

The future of this party it is impossible to predict. It is capable of adapting itself a good deal to circumstances. It suffers science and culture. It is much more respectable to belong to it than to a more extreme party. Still the rationalistic party is gaining strength, and the orthodox press for decision. There is on all hands a tendency to decide matters. Science must soon, one would think, be wholly trusted or condemned, as Pius IX. and Pastor Knak are condemning it. Let us hope, therefore, that the days of this party are numbered.

The third party are the liberals. Their position has been described in the account of the *Protestantenverein*, although there are men belonging to the party who have not joined the *Verein*. The names merely of a few men who belong to them shew at once that this party is strong, and that rationalism is in full vigour in Germany. The list might be a long one, but we will curtail it: Ewald, Gervinus, Nippold, Petersen, Lipsius, Ritschl, Hilgenfeld, Hase, Schwarz, Alexander Schweizer, Keim, Hitzig, Holtzmann, Volckmar. Not only does standard theological literature owe more to this party than to any other, but periodical theological literature brings their aims and ideas to the homes of the people. The *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*,* one of the three chief ecclesiastical papers of Germany, is ably conducted by them. And several of their number publish learned or other periodicals for the propagation and advancement of their opinions and the publication of the results of learned inquiries.

The names we have given shew that the party is strong, so far as learning and ability are strength. But these great

* The circulation of the three weekly organs of the three parties is worth insertion :

(Orthodox) Hengstenberg's *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 2000.

(Moderate) Messner's *Neue evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1500.

(Liberal) Krause's *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 800.

qualities hardly constitute the strength of a party. For this, numbers and popular or political influence are essential. Now the liberal party are not strong in these respects at present. The religious masses, that is, the country people, are not disposed to receive new ideas, and the irreligious masses of the large towns care nothing for the church. The present government of Prussia is more inclined to strict orthodoxy than to liberalism, and the reigning family have the reputation of moderate conservatism. In Baden the liberals have great influence; but this little kingdom is their paradise, and it may be lost. Besides, to some the very position that the liberals take up seems to be one of inherent weakness. They go so far, that many of their pupils go farther, and they themselves find it hard to render a good reason for stopping where they do. The place they assign to Christ, the Church and the Bible, is from their point of view not very intelligible. There still clings to them some of the evil genius of their teacher, Schleiermacher; they are not quite free from the oscillation and halting of which they accuse the moderate men. They are sons of the great age in which they live, but they cannot turn their backs altogether upon a past which they have undoubtedly outlived. We could not agree with a prophet who should augur for them a great future, unless they and the nation greatly change.

The orthodox do not prophesy for them a long existence, nor do men who stand at the antipodes of the orthodox. Before we close this review, it may be well to say a word as to these men of the extreme *left*.

Passing by men like Arnold Ruge and Herrmann Tegov, who openly avow that they have left, not only the church and Christianity, but religion itself, religious men like David Strauss must be remembered. They take up a position like that of Goethe's in reference to all theologians. The most liberal theologians teach some doctrine about God; whilst to these minds the Deity is wholly unsearchable. The most liberal theologians use the word "church," and ascribe great importance to this institution; whilst to these men both the word and the thing are wholly of the past. The most liberal theologians assign to Christ amongst men, and the Bible amongst books, a supreme and exclusive place; whilst to such men as Strauss, other men and other

books may be classed with them. These men cannot, therefore, rejoice in the work liberal theologians are doing. They do not see that the great end of all life and teaching, the development of a natural and noble humanity, is likely to be promoted by their efforts.

In addition to these men of culture, there is a number of men connected with a few free congregations in various large towns of Germany, who have advanced beyond the theologians who remain in the church. These are Uhlich, Wislicenus, Baltzer, Rupp and others, who now stand at the head of the "Freie Gemeinden," and they and their associates were at first known by the name of the "Protestantische Freunde." The leaders of this movement, Uhlich, Wislicenus and others, were until '45 and '46, clergymen of the Established Church, but were then expelled for their heterodoxy. In most cases, their congregations left the church with them, forming the nucleus of still larger ones. Uhlich's congregation grew to 5000 members. Both he and the other ejected clergymen enjoyed the entire confidence and warm affection of their followers, and every town in which they worked, Magdeburg, Halle, Nordhausen, testified to the noble devotion with which they laboured and the beneficial influence they exerted. At first they held fast by the faith of the old deists—God, morality, and a future life. But of late years they say less about the third article, confess greater ignorance about the first, and make only the second the regulator of their lives and the main theme of their discourses. They have been driven by the secret and open persecution of the church to oppose with greater vehemence every fragment of ecclesiasticism. Orthodox and Christian belief, in every form with which they come into contact with it, has borne such disastrous fruit, that they look less and less to Christianity for any useful service of mankind. A *Sonntagsblatt* is published by Uhlich, and he is constantly engaged in delivering lectures to large audiences in the populous towns of Germany. Baltzer is a man of talent and learning. His writings are very voluminous, and many of them have passed through several editions. Wislicenus is best known by his work, *Die Bibel, für denkende Leser betrachtet*. It presents in a popular form the results of modern criticism on the Bible. It is a large work, and soon reached a

second edition. The *Gartenlaube* hails it as a work that promises to be a people's book on the subject of religious freedom.*

Having thus taken a hasty glance at the chief movements of the German Church, we must be allowed to extract a conclusion from what has been seen.

Orthodoxy is not dead. Knak holds by the Hebrew belief that the earth is stationary and the sun goes round it. In the year 1868, nineteen hundred clergymen assembled at Hanover for the purpose of asserting that it is an essential article of human belief that the bread and wine of the sacrament become the veritable body and blood of Jesus of Nazareth, and that the sprinkling of a few drops of water upon a baby's brow rescues him from an eternal hell.

Heterodoxy is not dead. In June of last year, a large assembly of pastors, professors and laymen, from all parts of Germany, met together at Bremen, solemnly agreed that the Bible contains many errors and weaknesses, and is entitled to highest authority amongst other books because it is a collection of most venerable records of revelation.

The two are not reconciled. Naturalism and supernaturalism are as angrily opposed as they were when Friedrich Schleiermacher was a student in Halle. Pastor Lisco says that men have given up the belief in miracles, whereupon fourteen pastors of the same parish solemnly protest that he and his party have no right to fill the pulpits of the church. Schleiermacher tried to reconcile both by claiming for Christianity a natural and a supernatural origin. The *right* of his school have given up the natural side of his view, and the *left* have let go the supernatural side. And the battle is as hot as ever.

Meanwhile, the churches are empty, and the candidates for holy orders are few and poor. Men of culture and science shun the church and often hate her. The mechanics of large towns are infidel and materialistic.

The last fact is patent to all, confessed by the orthodox and heterodox. The former seek to mend it by more as-

* For a full account of this movement see Nippold's *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte* (2nd ed.), § 45, and Hase's *Kirchengeschichte* (9th ed.), § 433. But the freer and more laudatory accounts of *Unsere Zeit* and the *Gartenlaube*, e.g. No. 30, year 1864, must also be read.

siduous application of orthodoxy. But they have power only over women and children. The latter apply a different remedy. They make culture Christianity, and call the world the church. Their mission is to the heathen of the church, and to them they say, "Be ye converted."

Hitherto the new gospel has made but few conquests from the church, and the world is amused, and refuses ecclesiastical titles and saintship. Culture it understands, and moral goodness too; but why it should be called the church and profess the religion thereof, is beyond its comprehension.

Here, we humbly think, lies the error and the weakness of the liberal party in the German church, and other churches too. Why retain a name when you have lost the thing? And why retain a name which is associated with so much oppression, such lamentable errors, and has for centuries been the greatest hindrance to true human progress? There is no other way out of the terrible nets and snares, the wrath and fighting, which bewilder and injure good men, not in the German church alone, than to have done with what has had its day. The religion which Jesus had and taught was of the purest and noblest kind. All truly great men have paid their homage to that, and pronounced it eternal as the universe that inspired it and the human heart that gave it a home. But no small number of the greatest sons of earth have given their testimony against the church. They have acknowledged the good that it accomplished in the days of the first Christians, and even in later centuries, when it had become another thing with the same name. Yet for this age they see in it only an anachronism at best, and generally a great impediment to true progress. Nearly a hundred years ago, Lessing wrote in his great Dialogues for Freemasons, "The lodge is to freemasonry what the church is to faith. This system of lodges is to me perfectly incomprehensible. Nothing lasts for ever. Perhaps this may be the way which Providence has chosen to put an end to the whole *schema* of freemasonry as it at present exists." Nor has the number of great men whose motto is, *Extra ecclesiam salus est*, grown less since Lessing's day. The great poets, the great philosophers, the great scientific men, have very generally given their vote against this institution. These great men

we profess to hold in honour, and thank God that He sends us such teachers. Yet by most of us their testimony in this respect is but little considered. The Romanist and the Calvinist are consistent in disregarding it, but the consistency of the liberal men of the church is equal to the validity of their defence of the institution.

"The Christian Religion arose in the mystic depths of man's soul, and was spread abroad by 'the preaching of the word,' by simple altogether natural and individual efforts; and flew, like hallowed fire, from heart to heart, till all were purified and illuminated by it; and its heavenly light shone, as it still shines, and (as sun or star) will ever shine, through the whole dark destinies of man."*

"Adieu, O Church; thy road is that way, mine is this; in God's name, adieu!"†

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

II.—THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT CONSIDERED AS THE SOURCE OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTION.

FOR three centuries past, the supernatural authorities which for so long formed the groundwork of men's belief, have been gradually falling to pieces. The Reformation struck a mortal blow at the authority of the Church. But it retained that of the Bible, and even, as if in compensation, attributed to the Canonical books so absolute an authority, as to afford ground for the belief that a Book would come to stand in the same relation to Protestants, as the Papacy to the ancient Church. Criticism has spared this authority as little as the other. It has shewn that neither the Canon itself, nor the character of the individual books, nor their contents, nor their origin, is consistent with the idea of a written revelation descended straight from heaven; and in our own days we see clearly that the most orthodox writers, while professing to found their belief on the authority of the inspired Bible, in reality endeavour

* Carlyle, *Miscellanies*, *Signs of the Times*.

† *Life of Sterling*, p. 363.

to base it on other considerations, which would be perfectly useless, were this authority in itself sufficient.

History, too, in its latest developments, has given the final blow to the faith which rests on authority. If a priesthood or a book be the exclusive depository of the truth revealed to man, there must be a chasm of separation between the doctrine taught by this book or this priesthood and all other beliefs. What can there be in common between the perfect wisdom of God and the speculations of men? On the one side we shall find dazzling light; on the other, thick darkness: on the one side, pure truth; on the other, at the best but a few faint lineaments of the truth, lost and drowned in an ocean of absurd and dangerous errors. Clearly this is what must be the case. And, accordingly, this is the point of view from which orthodox sects, whether Catholic or Protestant, have regarded all religions other than Judaism and Christianity. Mahomet, for example, was to them but an infamous impostor; Buddha, as far as they were aware of his existence, only an absurd dreamer. They have seen in the various mythologies nothing more than fables invented by demons, or (which is in fact the same thing) by the lowest tendencies of the human heart. All that was neither Jew nor Christian formed part of the great empire of absolute error, in the face of which the Christian system, miraculously revealed, shone forth in transcendent splendour, like a dazzling sun overpowering a few dull and smoking torches. But history no longer allows us to remain at this point. Not that it reduces the Christian religion below, or even to the level of, the others; but, while recognizing its superiority, it can see only a *more* or a *less*, where orthodoxy loved to dream of an absolute contrast. Relative differences take the place of what were once stated as radical contradictions. Christianity, even in its apostolic form, is not all truth; nor are other religions, even the rudest, simply error. There are forms of Christianity which, as to moral purity, for instance, ought to be classed below certain forms of Mahometanism or Buddhism. Christianity is the greatest, the most beautiful tree of the forest, it is true; but yet it grows in the forest, and it is but a single tree.

There have been periods during which many cultivated men were able to flatter themselves with the idea that the

loss of early illusions would produce no really damaging consequences, believing that metaphysics would give back to man what theology could not preserve, namely, convictions clear, adequate, consoling and sanctifying, concerning God, the soul and its destiny. This was the case in France with the school of Descartes, and later among the Deists ; in England, among the Free-thinkers ; in Germany, among the disciples of Leibnitz, and later among those of Kant, and even of Schelling and Hegel. This last illusion is no longer possible. Without absolutely accepting the verdict of Positivism against all metaphysics, we cannot avoid the conclusion drawn from the history of speculative philosophy, that it does not succeed in affording to man any assurance which wears a character of certainty. Even if we are seduced to believe in some one of the metaphysical structures built up by the powerful thinkers of modern Germany, we have to ask ourselves if one degree more of subtlety of mind might not discover deficiencies, fallacies, fatal errors in our favourite system. The fact is, that none of these systems have escaped criticism, none have overcome it ; a sufficient reason for receiving them with distrust, even while admiring them and adopting from them many useful and grand conceptions ; a reason, too, for distrusting any systems which might attempt to take their place. Every metaphysical system, like the grass of the field, which was yesterday and to-day is cast into the oven, has but its season.

We cannot but feel compassion for the men of our time, who, accustomed by their education to rest all their faith on some supernatural basis, now feel their only foundation shake under them, and know of no safe ground whereon they may so much as pitch a tent wherein to rest and wait calmly till day shall dawn. Some commit intellectual suicide, and ask the Pope or the old orthodoxy for the repose of imbecility. More than one case of the profound melancholy which contrasts so strangely with the agitation of our social life, has had no other cause than this. Ancient natural philosophers attributed to physical nature the abhorrence of a vacuum, because they conceived of it as possessing the sentiments of the human soul. In truth, the soul of man does abhor a vacuum, and when it finds itself driven to doubt the existence of God and itself, either

seeks to drown itself in sensual excesses, or withers away in gloomy and painful melancholy.

For this reason it is the duty of those who profess to remain religious, Christian and Protestant, and who yet have been goaded on by the spur of criticism and of history, to look for a basis for their faith and hopes other than the external authorities which one after another have been discovered to be false or insufficient; it is right, I repeat, for them to make known their method, the only one capable of leading man, without injury to his intellect or his conscience, to the conclusions which his heart requires.

II.

Among all the ruins heaped up by criticism and history, one thing has remained standing, or rather has increased in certainty and reality, in proportion as all that surrounded or enveloped it has been destroyed or thrown down. This is *the religious nature of man*. Man is religious by nature,—that is to say, that by the free play of his natural faculties, independently of any education, institution or revelation, man, when he has attained a certain development, receives a quite special impression from certain ideas, sensations, fears, admirations, sympathies, veneration, loves, which are not specifically either moral, or æsthetical, or philosophical, or political, or scientific, but are specifically *religious*.

This is a primary fact, the validity of which neither history nor criticism can impair. What do I say? Much more have they brought it out into the fullest light. They have taught us how much there is of universal and permanent in this particular condition of the human being. They have forced us to see in religion one of the essential characteristics of the *genus homo*, which alone would suffice to separate it by a distance, impassable to our reason, from the animal races which most nearly approach man in their physical conformation. They have shewn us how false and superficial were the theories which could attribute the existence of a phenomenon so characteristic and so essential, to the ambition of priests, the wisdom of lawgivers, or the ignorance of all. Whence could priests have come, if there had been no previously existing religion? Why should lawgivers have sought to give a religious sanction to their laws, if they

could not appeal to beliefs antecedent to those laws? And do we not find men who are very ignorant and very irreligious; and, on the other hand, men who are very learned and very religious? The animal and the infant are absolutely ignorant, and yet the one never can be, and the other as yet is not, religious.

Undoubtedly the religious faculty in man, like many other faculties, varies with the individual, the nation, the race, the period. There are moments in the life of humanity when it seems to decline. It is sometimes intense and sometimes nearly extinct. It inspires sublime deeds and horrible actions. It may govern a whole life, or only reveal its presence at rare intervals. At one moment we may compare it to a great river which carries all before it; at another, to one of those tiny springs, rising from the desert sand, which flow for a few instants, and then disappear underground, without leaving a single blade of grass to tell the passer-by of their subterraneous existence. It is the same with the æsthetical faculty,—the sense of the beautiful; it is the same with the moral sense. Yet who thinks of denying their existence in human nature because of these variations?

Thus the religious sentiment, which is the element common to all religious phenomena, constitutes a natural inalienable faculty of the human mind. But what is it in itself?

III.

To give an exact definition of the religious sentiment is extremely difficult, or rather, if the word is to be used in its strict scientific sense, it cannot be defined at all. We can only analyze and describe it, like other immediate and essential phenomena of the human mind. Every one knows what we mean when we speak of it. When, for instance, we dwell on the *religious* impression caused by the sight of a Gothic cathedral, or of some grand scene in nature, or by human speech, no one confounds this impression with that of the good or the true or the beautiful, although it may be good, true and beautiful. But if it is *religious*, it is something more than this. A Greek temple is more purely beautiful and less purely religious than a mediæval church. An honest merchant who is careful to pay all bills signed by him as they fall due, acts in a *moral* manner; his inte-

grity is not immediately or necessarily *religious*. A geometrical theorem is true, but it does not speak directly to the religious soul. Greek architecture, honesty in business, mathematical truth, only become religious on condition of being connected by reflection with a superior order which comprehends and surpasses them. The beautiful, the true and the good, are combined in the notion of supreme perfection, and it is only when we become conscious of the bond of derivation which unites them to this absolute ideal of the mind, that they assume a religious character which the religious man can contemplate with emotion and delight.

To give a faithful description of the religious sentiment, we must, then, enter into an analysis of the different elements which are combined in it.

One of these elements strikes us at first sight, namely, the feeling of dependence. The religious sentiment is always and necessarily the perception of something superior to man. This is evident; and when we seek to formularize the law which governs the religious differences of mankind, we soon observe that it comes to this, that man ceases to adore what he feels to be inferior, or even only equal with himself. The first instinct of man is to bow down before what he adores, but no man bows down before his inferior or his equal.

Reasoning from this, some thinkers, considering the general character of the primitive religions, and many phenomena of religious life still too common even in our days, have declared the essence of the religious sentiment to be fear. *Deos timor fecit*; and in our time this superficial aphorism has been repeated under various forms. It is true that in the religious sentiment there is always an element of respect, of veneration, which borders on fear, and very often also is confounded with it. In primitive religions this element seems to preponderate. Man is literally in terror of his gods, and believes himself obliged to appease their anger by monstrous sacrifices. This is the natural consequence of his ignorance, and of the very unmoral character of the gods of nature that he worships. But if this feeling of fear, so dominant in the primitive religions, constitutes the whole of the religious sentiment, how comes it that religion has subsisted at all without it? How is it possible that, instead of losing, it should have gained in power, while

gradually more and more assuming a moral character, and even giving to the mercy of God the highest place among articles of faith, to filial confidence in God the highest rank among religious virtues? Would it not, for instance, be simply absurd to say Jesus was afraid of God? Evidently the religious sentiment must, from the first, have comprehended something more than fear, to render it capable of lasting and undergoing such great changes, while yet remaining essentially identical with itself.

We should make the same criticism on Schleiermacher's theory, which represents the religious sentiment as that of pure dependence. Undoubtedly, the religious sentiment cannot exist without dependence. And undoubtedly, from the religious point of view, man recognizes himself to be subject to the power of the God whom he adores, and in whom he sees the absolute Arbiter of his destiny. The idea of boasting before God of our merits or our strength can never come into our minds when we pray. But is this the whole of the religious sentiment? Does it diminish in proportion as man, growing in physical and intellectual strength, finds himself in all things less dependent than in the days of the childhood of his race? Experience and history prove the contrary. The feeling of dependence forms a part of the religious sentiment, it is even an essential and prominent element, but it does not exhaust it, nor does it comprehend the whole of it.

The only way of determining with certainty what is the essence of the religious sentiment, consists in inquiring by a method of induction what element is common to all its manifestations, and then testing the result thus obtained by endeavouring to derive all religious phenomena by natural deduction from this common principle. History and observation of the inner workings of the mind ought to give mutual assistance in such an attempt.

Now we are able to say, in the name of history, that the religious sentiment is what is felt by man when he believes himself to be in the presence of the *infinite-perfect*. It is not without a purpose that we combine these two abstract qualities.* The word *God* alone gives us their synthesis,

* We prefer them to the word *absolute*, which shews itself too vague, alike in defying all definition and in lending itself to the most arbitrary reasoning.

and this would not as yet be in its logical place. Nor would it be right to separate the two, or to suppress either of them. In presence of the infinite alone, the void and bottomless infinite, man shudders with fear, he is dizzy, but he does not worship; in presence of perfection alone, perfection achieved in a limited sphere, man admires, he is enraptured, but that is all. On the other hand, the union of the two forms the divine. It is not difficult to see that the feeling of the infinite-perfect is the very essence of all the manifestations of the religious sentiment, from the rudest fetichism up to the worship in spirit and in truth of the advanced Christian. When the savage prostrates himself before a rock of singular form, or before an animal of strange appearance, like the serpent or the elephant, it may be very difficult for us, with our habits of reflection, to imagine what it was in the object of his superstitious reverence that awakened in him the religious sentiment. In the same way we often find it difficult to understand what attaches the child to some hideous plaything which he prefers to the most beautiful presents. Evidently the savage and the child project upon the object of their preference a light whose source is in themselves, and which this object, through some speciality inappreciable by us, has the gift of kindling within their souls. It is further certain that the fetishist attributes an infinite power to his fetish. In his absolute ignorance of nature, he has only a vague presentiment of a power superior to the special facts by which he is surrounded. His fetish, if he is well disposed, will grant him everything; that is to say, everything which his worshiper conceives of as desirable—game, victory, health; and the being who can bestow all this is perfect, endowed with the only perfection known to the savage. As long as he has faith in his idol, he believes him omnipotent; if he occasionally substitutes another, and abuses or beats him when he is displeased with him, it proves that rationalism is possible at all stages of the religious scale. Is it not on the same principle that, at a further stage of civilization, man becomes intensely insolent towards the divinities whom he abandons, and even appears to be animated with profound hatred against them? The supplanted fetish and the forsaken gods have fallen below their ideal; experience has shewn them to be neither infi-

nite nor perfect ; and the more faith had exalted, the more does incredulity degrade them.

Now what in actual fact do we find in the polytheistic religions ? Founded on the worship of the immense forces and the vast phenomena of nature, these religions also shew us man believing that he will find the infinite-perfect in the visible objects of his adoration. Do not blame him for the contradiction which consists in attributing infinite perfection to several beings at once. He cannot clearly feel this contradiction till much later. It does not take effect for a long time, except in an indirect manner ; as, for instance, by leading him to arrange his gods and goddesses in a certain hierarchical order, or especially by causing him always to endow the god who is worshiped *now* and *here* with all imaginable perfections. If we look back to the most ancient hymns sung in honour of the pagan gods, does not each taken separately seem to assume that the god whom it celebrates is sole powerful, sole wise, sole adorable ? This will in no wise prevent the polytheist from repeating immediately afterwards the same litany to a different divinity. The same unconscious feeling in the Roman Church causes the saint of the day, if we believe his panegyrist, always to appear the chief saint of Paradise. It was a step beyond the polytheistic idea, but also the beginning of the decay of polytheism, when, above the divinities great and small, the religious man attained to the idea of the *fatum* or of the *Moiræ*, whose decrees even the greatest of the gods could not infringe. Here the idea begins to dawn that neither Jove himself nor the other gods were in truth infinite and perfect.

With regard to the monotheistic religions, no proof will be necessary. The rise of monotheism pre-supposes the existence of a feeling that no one of the visible divinities was worthy of the adoration of men ; and it was the conception, which became gradually more intense and more pure, of perfection, and of what was involved in the idea of infinity, which guided the development, the moral and spiritual progress, of monotheism.

While thus insisting on the existence of the sentiment of the infinite-perfect, in all stages of religious belief, we need hardly say that we are not now speaking of it as a philosophical notion. This sentiment has moved in reli-

gious souls for hundreds of years, like the blood in their veins, without their being conscious of it. The age of reflection discovers both the circulation of the blood and the inner nature of the religious sentiment; it has a name for both; but it does not create them any more than it can exist without them.

The induction drawn from the combination of religious facts which we have just summed up very rapidly by tracing them back to their three great divisions, shews us the religious sentiment identical with itself—always the sentiment of the perfect-infinite. Let us now follow the inverse course; let us see if deductive reasoning will confirm this attempt at a synthesis of religions.

We assume, then, that it is in the nature of man to be moved by the feeling of infinite perfection, to long to unite himself mentally with it, and to *adore* it, that is to say, to address it and to express by gestures, words and actions, the emotions which the perception of it causes in the heart.

Having once laid this down, do we not see that a creature, gifted with such a faculty, beginning his course on earth in extreme ignorance, and only gradually arriving at the real knowledge of things, must pass through all the phases which the history of different religions shews us to have been those of humanity obeying the laws of its spiritual nature? At first, from the want of general ideas, of wide views, the religious man, like the child, attaches himself to some detail, to some singular, paradoxical fact. He sees an animal which walks without feet, a stream which flows constantly without any one's knowing whence it comes and whither it goes, a log of wood somewhere in the forest which from a distance might be taken for a man; and this is enough to excite in the primitive man a dim feeling of the infinite and the perfect. The savage, in fact, conceives of nothing as more beautiful than the singular. In proof of this we need only instance tattooing, the primitive ideas of ornaments, and the earliest attempts at religious sculpture. The sentiment of the perfect-infinite is here confounded with that of the marvellous and singular; man worships the strange object which has struck his simple imagination, and fetishism begins. In Shamanism, or any other religion of sorcery (which comes very near fetishism), man himself becomes the fetish, the extraordi-

nary man who by his incantations, his postures, his incomprehensible operations, absolutely rules nature, does with it what he will, and astounds the spectators, who cannot conceive that anything or any person exists superior to him, or that there can be any limit to such a power.

The advance made by mythological religions lies in the enlargement of man's intelligence, in the fact that he is able to take a general view of nature, of which he does not yet comprehend the central unity, although he has learnt to observe its most important phenomena from a human point of view. So when we ask ourselves what natural phenomenon would probably most often and most vividly and for the longest time recur as the type of infinite perfection during the ages of semi-ignorance, we must assume that it would be the sun, and by extension light. Observe, for example, how widely spread has been the worship of the sun in India, at Nineveh, at Babylon, in Syria, in Egypt, at Carthage, in Mexico, in Greece. Under how many forms, how many names, how many symbols, how many different aspects! Now he is a winged bull darting from east to west; now the first and sovereign manifestation of the light—god; now invincible, majestic serene, pure, unblemished; now angry, insatiable, raging against men whom he devours; now the ruler, legislator, civilizer, the inspirer of harmony, poetry and the arts; now the destroyer, without law and without limit. Here he is Apollo, and there Baal; here Mithras, and there Osiris, Adonis or Hercules, Indra or Moloch, Helios or Phaeton. And the more the sun embodied in any special manner the particular idea which each people had formed of perfection, the more it called forth the idea of the perfect-infinite. The present condition of biblical studies makes it difficult for us not to suppose that the monotheistic worship of Jehovah arose out of the solar worship of the ancient Semitic peoples. The ritual details of Mosaicism can hardly be explained on any other supposition. The only natural phenomenon which has ever come into competition with the sun, and has eventually even surpassed it in its power of arousing the feeling of the infinite-perfect, is the vault of heaven, the blue sky, Varuna, Zeus, Jupiter, the ruler of the sun, who knows no limit, and remains unspotted in its serene majesty, overarching all,

governing all, seeing all. The recognition of its supremacy marks a fresh advance in the conception of the general idea of all things. On the other hand, in those northern countries where the sovereignty of the sun and the blue sky is less undoubted,—in ancient Germany, for instance,—we find rather that the wind, with its irresistible power, its unbounded sweep, its sounds, sometimes harmonious and sometimes terrible, becomes the supreme divinity, under the name of Wuotan or Odin. Undoubtedly, neither the sun, nor the sky, nor the wind, can give birth to any form of monotheism whatever. The contradiction which lies at the bottom of all adoration of nature, and which must finally destroy those religions which cannot go beyond it, is, that no natural object is sufficient in itself to explain everything in the visible world. The sky, the sun, the wind, must have wives, the earth, the moon, the sea, and also children, relations, family connections. But this does not alter the fact that, at a certain stage of intelligence, man, following his natural tendency, has been capable, while contemplating certain phenomena, of opening his mind to the feeling of the infinite-perfect, and of adoring them as possessing this infinite perfection.

How did monotheism disengage itself from polytheism, not as a speculative or philosophical theory, but as a sentiment, a spontaneous intuition? We know the fact from history, even if it is not possible to us to pass without a break from the last link of the chain of polytheism to the first of the chain of monotheism. All great inspirations in this way veil themselves at some point or other from the investigation of ages of reflection. What we do know is, that among the people who made this immense advance, monotheism was preceded by *monolatry*, that is to say, that before believing that God was one, the Israelites believed themselves forbidden to adore any other divinity than their national God. From this idea, that it was not permitted to adore any but a single God, sprang the correlative idea that this God was the only one worthy to be adored; and from the moment that He was conceived of as the sole God worthy of adoration, the time was certain to come when He should be thought of as the only existing God, to the exclusion of any other. For, if there are others, why should none other but He be adored? The monotheism

of the Israelites, then, rests on the separatist, exclusive direction taken by the sentiment of the infinite-perfect. In his unconquerable faith in himself, in his grand egotism, the primitive Israelite could not conceive that a God whose omnipotence and perfection were worthy of *his* adoration, should look with favour on other nations, or should accept any other homage but his own. Both the one and the other supposition would have run counter to the very high idea which he had of himself, and consequently, in his egotism, would have diminished the perfection of his God. The monolatry of the Israelites, therefore, has its root in the national egotism to which they were always so strongly inclined, though it was doubtless also favoured by the general character of the Semitic mythology, the least rich of any, by the life in the desert, by the reaction against the exuberant polytheism of Egypt, and, lastly, by the influence of one or more great religious geniuses. But one thing is clear, that in this mysterious transition from polytheism to monotheism, the same tendency of the human mind asserts itself, and when once monotheism has clearly worked itself out and been distinctly formularized, we may foretell *a priori* that the consciousness of God will become purer in the monotheist in proportion as his ideal of perfection itself grows purer. Once let us find upon earth a heart pure among the pure, in whom the feeling of God is of incomparable intensity, while his ideal of perfection, the reflection of an unspotted heart, is infinite love, and the God of the gospel will be declared.

We come, then, to this, that assuming the pursuit of the infinite-perfect to be inherent in human nature, it is the intellectual and moral development of man which determines the successive objects of his adoration, as we see them follow each other in the history of different religions. In the same way we might, by taking a general view of the history of various religions, discover this feeling of the infinite-perfect in the various forms of religion which embrace mankind. Regarding this conclusion as well established, we may proceed further with the analysis of the religious sentiment.

IV.

In the presence of the infinite-perfect, which, whether he conceives himself to see it with his eyes, or to contem-

plate it in spirit, he always represents to himself as really existing, man naturally receives impressions which vary according to his degree of culture or of morality. In the first place, it is clear that he feels himself dependent, absolutely dependent, on the being to whom he attributes this absolute perfection. But, remark this, however intense is the feeling of dependence, man, by giving himself up to it, in no wise abandons the sentiment of his distinct personality. He seeks, he loves this feeling of dependence, but his individuality continues to assert itself even when, or rather especially when, he sacrifices himself to the object of his adoration. "Thou art all," he says to his God, "and before Thee I am nothing." This is his first exclamation; but, nevertheless, this *nothing* speaks of an *I*, and would, by no means consent to do otherwise. There is in the most exalted adoration a personal will, of which the adorer is perfectly conscious, and the absolute renouncement of self, preached by certain eccentric religions, is only a paradox. In reality, the *I* never ceases to exist, and if it finds its supreme happiness in the most complete union with the infinite-perfect which it adores, and in which it delights to be absorbed, still it is on the condition of personally feeling the joy of it. The mysterious *Dein-Mein* engraved on Charlemagne's ivory horn, is the chief feeling in all religious ecstasy. You can no more take away the *Mein* than the *Dein*; for as soon as you suppress either, both at once disappear.

We must also observe, that in the religions in which fear reigns supreme, as in the worship of Siva, of Moloch, of the earth-born divinities of ancient Greece, the personality of man is not so much suppressed as a superficial analysis might lead us to suppose. Need we repeat, what all the world knows, that man is attracted by the tragic, and that in religious terror there is a pleasure *sui generis* which explains the pursuit of it, as well as its terrible refinements. It is incredible that man should ever passionately follow after what causes him merely pain and anguish.

The truth is, that the religious sentiment offers to our observation a vast series of varied impressions, at times predominant, at other times very indistinct, ranging from actual terror to the most intimate, the most confiding, the most filial love. But, as religious terror is not devoid of all

attraction, so the most fervid love of God does not exclude a certain fear, provided only it be that which always accompanies veneration.

Midway between these two extreme poles lies admiration, which may reach to enthusiasm. This is the product of the sentiment of infinite perfection. We say that it comes midway, for admiration of the terrible verges on horror, just as admiration of what delights us becomes love. Between terror and admiration we must place respect mingled with awe, as between admiration and love comes sympathy or pleasure in a common feeling of life. In every religious phenomenon, a careful analysis will discern the whole series of impressions which are combined in the religious sentiment, except terror and ardent love, the two extremes, which mutually exclude each other. There will be great differences in the combination of the different elements. In the primitive religions, fear, dread, terror, predominate, even when admiration and sympathy exist; in the most advanced form of religion, love distinctly preponderates, and quite banishes, not respect, but terror.

Thus the religious sentiment combines those emotions of the soul which, always associated with the sentiment of personality and that of dependence, extend by a series of intermediate grades from terror to love, and spring up in the soul from the sight of the infinite-perfect, whether the soul believes itself to see it in a visible object, or whether, recognizing the limited and imperfect nature of all visible things, it conceives of infinite perfection only as a spiritual reality.

But let us carefully observe, that faith in the objective reality of this infinite-perfect is necessary in order to make the religious sentiment substantial. If the object of worship proves in the last resort to be only an ideal created by the human mind, if nothing real corresponds with this tendency of the soul, the religious sentiment has no longer any meaning, and vanishes. Those who in our days have reduced God to the abstract subjective ideal of the human mind, have in vain endeavoured to shew that they could also retain the legitimate position of religion. What! shall I worship an image of my brain which I know to be nothing more than this? Shall I say to this, "To thee be all honour, to me nothing"? It is impossible. We cannot worship

what we ourselves create. The creator does not adore his own creation. This subjective ideal can and does serve as an inward model to represent to me what I can conceive of infinite perfection,—so much is certain ; but if it cannot be applied to anything objective or real, there is no longer any real God nor any real religion.

In other words, the reality of religion imperatively requires that of its object.

Before going any further, let us not neglect to remark the impression of satisfaction, more or less vivid, which the awakening of the religious sentiment in all its forms communicates to the human soul. We have seen that we should deceive ourselves completely if we imagined this impression to be possible only in religions of love. It is easier to conceive of and to feel in these religions, but it exists in all. The fanatic seeks his own satisfaction in the mutilations which he inflicts on himself, as much as the mystic in the ecstasies to which he gives himself up. This satisfaction and happiness vary greatly in intensity according to individual character. It may be only a vague sensation of enjoyment playing on the surface of the soul, like a passing breath imperceptibly curling the mirror of the waters ; it may reach the most intoxicating rapture, and surpass in force the most ardent transports of physical delight. How does this come to pass ? Can there be any other cause than that man, by following his religious bent, obeys the higher law of his being, of his life, of his nature ? What is satisfaction, what is happiness, but the feeling of life expanding without hindrance, according to its internal laws, and, for man, of life extending infinitely ? Analyze any kind of happiness whatever, and let us see if all are not included in this definition, and if the limits which circumscribe all are not owing to the fact that none can be entirely realized under the conditions of actual existence. If man is, then, happy in his spiritual union with the infinite-perfect which he worships, it is clearly because this union, this complete adoration, gives a powerful development to his life, because it becomes fuller than if he refused to follow this impulse of his nature. If religion were contrary to his true nature, if the religious sentiment were but an aberration of his spiritual being, how could he find in it his chief happiness ?

V.

If our analysis of the religious sentiment is correct, we conceive ourselves to have found the positive basis on which the enlightened man of our day can build up the structure of his belief as on an indestructible foundation. Let us begin by shewing this in the case of the most essential belief of all, faith in God.

It is known that, since Kant, thinkers who do not mistake their unproved prepossessions for rigorous arguments, are generally agreed in allowing that the classical proofs of the existence of God have not the positive value which was long attributed to them. The ontological argument of Anselm, for instance, reproduced and modified by Descartes, which deduces the existence of God from the idea we have of a perfect being, simply signifies that we have such an idea, but in sound logic can go no further. The *cosmological* argument, drawn from the principle of causality applied to the world, leaves the thinker undecided on this capital point. Is the cause of the world, since we must arrive at a *causa sui*, distinct from the world, and have we the right to assume its existence outside of the world itself? The *moral* argument, which Kant preferred to the others, and which he deduced from the absolute character of the moral law, resulted simply in the statement of the supremacy of the moral order in human society: The most popular, the most striking, in fact the strongest of these traditional arguments, the *teleological*, which starts from those facts which assume order, intelligence and finality in nature, is met, in spite of the width of plan which it admits, by the difficulty of the existence of evil, of undeserved suffering, and of the impassive indifference of nature, which maintains its general order only by perpetually crushing individuals. There is another consideration which renders us incurably sceptical of all arguments from which it is proposed to *deduce* the existence of God. What is a deduction? It is the extraction of some unknown quantity contained in certain premises. This method is perfectly legitimate so long as it is applied to finite beings. When the premises are supported by other unquestionable facts, they may be dealt with without any arbitrary assumption, in order to decompose them and obtain their result. Thus the particular is reached from the general. But when the

subject is the Infinite Being, where is there a principle more general than Himself, which would include Him, and out of which He might be deduced? Is it not evident that the existence of God can only be proved, on the deductive method, by first including in the premises of the reasoning the conclusion which we desire to obtain?

These are certainly serious, and even at first sight alarming difficulties. But do not let us allow more weight to scepticism than it deserves. For the religious man who seeks rather to support than to create his faith in God, it remains a fact, that the idea of the perfect Being is a constituent part of his intellectual nature; that he cannot do otherwise than recognize a supreme Cause of the universe; that the absolute character of the moral law, the supremacy of moral order, follow quite naturally from the existence of a perfect God, while without this faith they are simply inexplicable; that the facts of finality and ruling intelligence, which are so numerous in the universe, are infinitely more easy to conceive when they can be connected with a Sovereign Mind than on a contrary supposition. All this remains; so that if the classical arguments have somewhat fallen from their ancient high estate, they are none the less so many avenues which, converging from different directions, lead the eye of thought to one single point. If they are no longer proofs in the mathematical sense of the word, they are at least very strong considerations in support of belief.

In support of what? Simply in support of the religious revelation of human nature itself. Among the arguments alleged by philosophy to prove the existence of God, it is very rare to find mentioned the *religious* argument, which is the only really strong one. Or rather, it is not an argument, it is not a deduction, it is a reflection, a method, which allows man, when he has come to a reflecting age, to regain, by going deeper into himself, the certainty which he had before reflection, and which the first superficial glance at facts had shaken. When we doubt the reality of an object that we believed ourselves to see, we try to touch it, and our confidence returns when the touch agrees with the sight. So it is now. We do not deduce the existence of God from a syllogism. But we say, By nature, man seeks and adores the infinite-perfect; it is his inborn tendency, spontaneous and permanent in him; and so spontaneous

and so permanent that, while forced by the progress of his intelligence to give up one after another the different objects to which he thought himself able to attribute infinite perfection, he has never ceased to rise in his idea of God to a continually greater height. Now the question is, Is this tendency legitimate? Yes, for it is natural, and Nature cannot lie; she is necessarily truthful. It is impossible that I should be attracted, impressed, moved, by nothing. If I have the religious sentiment within me, it is that I feel the object of religion, that I feel the infinite-perfect, I feel God; and if I feel God, God exists. By what subtlety can I be made to admit that what I feel does not exist?

The advantage we have in taking this purely religious ground is this. While drawing strength and clearness from the powerful considerations on the positive side of which we have just spoken, the religious man can easily resign himself to profound and even prolonged ignorance as to the difficulties which all metaphysical reasoning finds sooner or later in its way. Whence comes moral evil? What is the precise relation between God and the world? How can we reconcile the unchanging, immovable perfection of the Divine Being with the sufferings of His creatures? I do not pretend to pass over these questions, but I shall probably only succeed in partially solving them. I must expect beforehand, I, an imperfect and finite being, that in my attempt to conceive the infinite-perfect Being, I shall soon meet the incomprehensible. *Finitum non est capax infiniti*, truly said the old Calvinistic theologians. But the essential, immediate object of my faith does not depend on the solution of these perhaps insoluble problems. Just as my certainty that I touch any resisting body comes to me from the very fact that I do touch it, though I cannot understand how any resistance whatever can issue from a sum of atoms, that is to say, of infinitely small resistances, so likewise I am certain of the existence of the perfect-infinite, of the existence of God, by the fact alone that I feel God.

The intellectual notion of God is not to be confounded with the sentiment of His real existence, any more than we ought to confuse the certainty of the existence of the sun with any theory concerning its nature. Nevertheless, I cannot avoid the necessity of having a theory. I will

therefore endeavour to purify, as best I can, my conception of God, in order that it may be at once rational and adequate to the sentiment that I have of Him. The more lofty is my ideal of perfection, the better I shall see Him as He is. The more pure is my inward eye, the light which is in me, the more my feeling of God will be delicate and true. Let metaphysical speculation go as far as it will. Though feeling a keen interest in its bold views, and often taking advantage of its conclusions, I protest in the name of the religious sentiment as soon as it appears to deny what I feel much more directly cognizant of through my inward experience, than I am of all the speculations of the schools.

There is one disadvantage in this method of shewing the reality of the object of religion, which I readily admit, the more readily because, considering all things, it results in what is really an advantage. It can only convince persons whose religious sentiment is alive. Clearly, those with whom it is dull must find the argument singularly weak. But what can we do? It is the same with the moral sentiment, which in some men becomes weakened to such a degree, that all considerations based upon it are as a dead letter to them. So, again, it is with the sentiment of the beautiful in art, which has hardly dawned upon the majority of the human race, yet which, nevertheless, also forms an integral part of human nature. On the other hand, this method has the immense advantage of being accessible to every man whose intellect cannot escape doubts and imperfect knowledge, but whose heart is religious. Wherever are found the hunger and thirst after God, after the infinite-perfect, I feel assured that this method, not of proving His existence, but of revivifying the sentiment of Him, will be well received.

The heavens declare the glory of God, and echo Amen to the human soul, which spontaneously proclaims His infinity and His perfection.

VI.

And is this all? Must the revelations of the religious soul be limited to this very abstract idea of an infinite-perfect, which we adore without venturing to affirm anything beyond the fact of its existence?

Not so. We have only to follow it up, and we shall find that the revelation continues.

First of all, let us observe that the religious sentiment is neither deistic nor pantheistic. By the very fact that it bears witness to the direct relation, the spiritual contact, of man with God, it refutes by inference the deistical notion of a God lost beyond visible space, and withdrawn into the icy depths of the infinite. So, likewise, since it is inseparable from the heart of personal life, distinct, ready to give but not to annihilate itself, it has no place in the pantheism which swallows up all individualities in an impersonal whole. The religious sentiment is naturally *theistic*, and without going deep into considerations which would carry us beyond the limits of an article, we may assume that it has no real existence except in a conception of God which subordinates the world to Him, but at the same time recognizes that the world is in Him, and He in the world. If He were only *in* the world, or only *out* of the world, where would be His infinity?

But there is something more. The natural religious sentiment of man is necessarily Christian, and we shall explain why.

What is the original, essential principle of Christianity? When carefully examined, it may be summed up in a definite feeling concerning God, the feeling that God is a Father. This feeling is expressed with such purity and such intensity in the person and in the work of Christ, that it has become a power in him by its radiance and its outgoing virtue, and has founded a matchless religion. Jesus, in a pure heart, felt God as his Father, and thought that all men were called to feel like himself. If we wish to give a philosophical form to this primal Christian sentiment, we must say that Christianity in its principle proclaims the affinity or the relationship of the human spirit with the divine.* The human spirit is in immediate con-

* It has been objected that this conception of God as a Father is not absolutely peculiar to Christianity, that it is occasionally found in the Prophets, in the Psalms, and even in certain Pagan writings. In the latter, there is no question of divine fatherhood in the Christian sense, that is to say, in special relation with the spiritual development of men. Jupiter is "the father of gods and men," only because he is the master of them all, their governor and their legislator. As to the Hebrew Prophets and Psalms, the divine fatherhood is only

tact with the divine, and though infinitely inferior to it, is still of like nature. It is the final form, distinct and consciously accepted, of the idea confusedly felt and coarsely expressed by the verse of Genesis, according to which God "breathed the breath of life into the nostrils of the man whom he had formed of the dust of the ground." From this affinity, from this community of nature, Christian piety takes its special character,—the intimacy, the confidingness, the constant appeal to paternal compassion, the joy of life in God, which mark its most genuine manifestations. The sense of sin quickly arises in connection with such a sense of God. For the more man sees himself to be called to perfection by the sublimity of his essential nature, the more he is humbled by the view of his actual condition. But the sense of sin is counterbalanced in the Christian by his faith in God as a Father, and becomes a motive, not for discouragement, but for brave and energetic action.

What do the personality and the life of Jesus do for us? They do this, they lead us to feel our filial relation to God strongly enough to proclaim it with assurance, without reserve. Could we without him have attained this blessed assurance? It is allowable to doubt it, even while we say that Jesus has but revealed the religious man to himself. It is through him that the Christian consciousness of God has grown up in the mind of the human race. But who does not see that, when thus carried back to its original principle, the Christian consciousness is nothing but the intensified affirmation of the pure religious sentiment? If it is true—and this is what the religious sentiment reveals to us—that man feels God, is in a spiritual relation with Him, that is, an intelligent, loving, moral relation with God,—if it is true that the human and the divine spirit can meet, interpenetrate each other and be united, it must also

meant for the Israelites, or, at least, is very rarely applied universally. But—and this is a rule which religious critics ought always seriously to observe—when a religion is to be judged, it is the principle that we must look to, without stopping at any accessory changes which it may pass through, and which are sometimes more, sometimes less, important than itself. It is evident that the principle of polytheism is the worship of nature; the principle of Judaism is law; and the principle of Christianity is the filial relation of man to God. We must not attribute the Christian principle to Judaism or polytheism, any more than we must connect with the Christian principle those polytheistic or Jewish elements which are still found in so many Christian societies.

be true that there is a community of nature between them. Beings of like nature can alone enter into such a mutual relation. The religious sentiment thus reveals the affinity of man to God; and as God necessarily remains the Superior, this spiritual affinity cannot be better expressed than by the analogy of the normal relation which exists between a son and a father. This is why Jesus sums up the perfect religious life in the love of God and the love of man. To the fatherhood of God corresponds the brotherhood of man.

With the filial relation to God corresponds also the religious faith in personal immortality. As soon as the individual feels himself the personal object of divine attraction, as soon as he knows himself consciously in living communion with the inexhaustible Source of all life, as soon as he feels himself beloved by God who calls him to His own infinite perfection, he is conqueror over death, and *his* God can no longer be to him any but *the God of the living*. How profound soever be his ignorance of the mysteries beyond the grave, he affirms his immortality with entire assurance. His future, which is according to God's will, lies hid in God; it becomes a part of the tendency towards divine perfection which is the principle of religion itself. Contemplated from this religious point of view, death can no longer be anything but a second birth; and as in the days of our first childhood we often fell asleep in full confidence in the strong arms of a father whom we loved with some touch of fear, so we must rest with a well-grounded confidence on the infinite bosom of the Heavenly Father.

We say, then, in the name of the religious sentiment, truly understood, felt in its inward nature, and examined in its historical development, that Christianity is of all religions the most religious, since it expresses with the greatest force and truth the very essence of the religious tendency inherent in human nature. If a man, to be a true and complete man, needs to be religious, to be truly and fully religious he needs to be a Christian.

It is needless to explain that this conclusion infringes on no liberty of criticism as regards churches, theologies, or Christian societies.

VII.

There still remains another deduction to be drawn from

this method, to which it is well to call attention before we conclude.

In our days, Christianity has two forms, two grand expressions, not always perfectly understood and faithfully interpreted by those who represent them, but which, taken on the whole, correspond to two radically different modes of Christian feeling, namely, Catholicism and Protestantism.*

What is the vital principle of Protestantism? It is not simply the return to the Bible, as has been too often said. The Bible, the New Testament, in so far as it is a canonical collection, is the work of the Church, which existed before it; and if Protestantism has conceded to it a paramount authority in theological controversy, it is on the ground of being the first document, the earlier and superior tradition, and thus serving as a criterion for testing the value of doubtful traditions. Besides, the authority of the Bible is but an external principle. The important question is to ascertain what Protestantism has discovered in the Bible.

Neither is it free inquiry, which is a principle belonging as much to philosophy as to the Reformation, and which cannot, except by an abuse of language, pass for a religious principle. It is asserted, indirectly proclaimed, by the very fact of the Reformation, but it does not constitute its religious vitality. No; the essence of Protestantism is the assertion and the maintenance of the Christian principle, the direct, immediate relation of man to God, and, as a necessary consequence, the elimination of all human and material intermediaries, such as sacraments and the clerical power, which Catholicism interposes between the children and their common Father. For this reason, *justification by faith* was its central dogma. Through all the theological subtleties by which the Pauline dogma was overlaid by the doctors of the Reformation, the idea always comes out clearly that nothing mechanical, nothing magical, nothing ceremonial, can save man, and that his chief recourse must be to inward, individual, immediate communion with God.

* We do not here attempt to define the position of the Greek Church. With her, the middle ages are not yet passed; that is to say, we see within her, under the cover of sacerdotal unity, the confused agitation caused by the fermenting of those opposite elements which troubled Roman Catholicism in the West during all the middle ages, and ended in the great schism of the 16th century. Time alone can shew how much of real Christianity exists within the Eastern Church.

The purity and strength of the Christian principle are thus found on the Protestant side; and it is this affirmation (which seems a negation to the traditionalists) of the legitimate and direct union of man with God, which is the spirit and the force of Protestantism. And so, little by little, we see any lapses of the Reformation from its own principle either corrected by time, or else giving rise to insuperable difficulties in those Protestant churches which would not or could not correct them. For instance, the idea of a *sacerdotal* work accomplished by Jesus, has faded more and more out of the consciousness of the nations. The great majority of Lutherans have practically abandoned the specific doctrine of the Holy Communion as Luther had elaborated it. The enormous perplexities of the Established Church of England arise from the fact that, being Protestant by confession, she has retained a sacerdotal organization, together with certain observances and even some doctrines connected with the sacraments and clerical absolution, which delude a great number of its members, who either believe themselves Protestants without being Protestant altogether, or who think they are not Protestants and yet in many points must be so.

That man is the son of God, a member of the divine family, in right of his religious nature, this is the Protestant principle; that man necessarily requires the intervention of a priesthood to bring him into union with God, is the Catholic principle. Thus logical Protestantism is essentially laical, liberal, progressive, enterprising, even audacious; it has confidence in itself. Logical Catholicism is no less essentially clerical, conservative, scrupulous, retrograde or immovable; it distrusts itself. Such, likewise, will be found to be the respective tendencies of the various communities where one or the other of the two principles distinctly preponderates; and therefore we see throughout Europe, that in proportion as religious and political principles gradually reveal their secret affinities, political liberalism becomes more and more at issue with Catholicism in Catholic countries, and political conservatism more and more distrusts the Protestant principle in Protestant countries.

The religious sentiment, the Christian principle and the Protestant principle, all originate in one identical fact, the natural affinity between man and God, or, if we prefer it,

the direct action which God exercises on the human soul to raise it to His supreme perfection. The history of religion is that of one long yearning, one continued aspiration of human nature towards the infinite-perfect. Man worships God because his destiny is divine, because he is born to ascend towards God, because he is formed in such sort that he finds his true end only in the conscious union of his being with infinite perfection. If we acknowledge the religious sentiment to be an inherent part of human nature, we must acknowledge its truth. If it is true, then Christianity is its purest and truest expression. If the idea of Christianity is the most religious of all ideas, then the idea of Protestantism is the most Christian of all ideas. To be completely human, a man must be religious; to be completely religious, he must be Christian; to be completely Christian, he must be Protestant.

Evidently, Christianity and Protestantism in this sense nowise imply acceptance of the theology of the Fathers, nor of the Reformers, nor even of the Apostles. The question is entirely one of principle. But by adopting it, and by attaching ourselves to the Protestant Christian society which most deserves our religious sympathy, we have the advantage of uniting ourselves with the religious part of humanity, of being, as it were, carried by it into new lands which the spirit of God invites us to enter. Like the Master, we labour, not to destroy, but to bring forth. We admire the truth of feeling in the parables which compare the kingdom of God to a growing plant. This thought strengthens us in our weakness, and supports us through the mysterious possibilities of the future. It also encourages us when we measure the infinite littleness of any result that we can reach. How small is this wave, which rises up in its turn and breaks on the shore, and what more will it effect than others which have gone before, and, after one short sounding roll, returned to the depths whence they came? In itself, it is but little, and its mark will hardly be seen. But behind it comes the rising tide, and the beach, which is already wet with snowy foam, will presently be covered with the flood.

ALBERT REVILLE.

III.—THE CANON OF MURATORI

Canon Muratorianus, the earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament. Edited, with Notes, and a Facsimile of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1867.

THOSE who have any acquaintance with modern researches into the history of the Canon of the New Testament, are well aware that a little before the middle of the last century, the learned Muratori, in collecting materials for his great work, *Antiquitates Italice Medii Ævi*, discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, a curious fragment written in barbarous Latin, which contained a list of books used in the early Church. This he gave to the world in the year 1740 at Milan, in the third volume of his work, where it formed a part of his forty-third Dissertation, "On the State of Letters in Italy subsequent to the Incursion of the Barbarians down to the year of our Lord 1100." Of the MS. as he found it, Muratori has given a full and interesting account. It had been brought to the Ambrosian Library, with many other literary treasures, from the older convent of Bobbio, founded at the beginning of the seventh century, in the neighbourhood of Pavia, by the Irish monk Columbanus. From the form of the writing, in large, square characters (*literis majusculis et quadratis*), Muratori inferred, that the actual transcript must have been made somewhat less than a thousand years before his time, which would carry it back to the first half of the eighth century after Christ. The list itself must of course be much older, not referable, on grounds to be presently stated, to a later date than some time in the second, or at most the earlier years of the third century. In the same transcript with this fragment are contained extracts from other writers, Eucherius Lugdunensis and Ambrose; the whole collection being attributed by the title prefixed, but without any reason, to John Chrysostom. "It seems," says Dr. Tregelles, "as if it must have been a kind of commonplace-book, in which some monk, possessed of more industry than learning or critical tact, had written out various things which came in his way, without his having any definite reason in his selections, and without there

being any relation between the things so brought together. Many, however, of the astonishing mistakes found in the fragments did not *originate* with him, though he may perhaps have increased them, partly from ignorance, and partly from that frequent cause of the corruption of ancient texts, the attempt at emendation.* The list, as we now have it, is defective at both ends. Possibly it might have been imperfect when it fell into the hands of the scribe at Bobbio.

This curious relic of Christian antiquity soon attracted the attention of scholars on the continent, among whom Mosheim, Stosch, Freindaller, Zimmermann and Eichhorn, may be specially named; though even in Germany, owing to the extremely corrupt state of the text, and the uncertainty about its date and authorship, it was hardly perhaps subjected to the amount of critical investigation that it deserved, till the time of Credner.† In England, though Dr. Routh inserted it, with a full and learned commentary, in the first edition of his *Reliquiæ Sacræ* (Oxford, 1818), it has remained almost unnoticed to the present day, when Dr. Wordsworth, Mr. Westcott and Dr. Tregelles, have at length made it the subject of criticism in their respective publications. So far as we remember, in the old standard works on the Evidences, it is never once alluded to. For a long time scholars had been satisfied with the edition of the fragment published by Muratori, without taking pains to test its accuracy by collation with the original. Dr. Routh at length obtained a collation through a friend, the results of which he introduced into the second edition of his *Reliquiæ*, 1846. Wieseler procured another, which was published in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1847. In the same year, M. Hertz made a third collation, which was used by the late Baron Bunsen in his *Analecta Anti-Nicœna*, 1854. These several collations brought to light no very serious discrepancies among themselves, nor any deviations of importance from the original edition of Muratori. Nevertheless Dr. Tregelles, in the true spirit of critical scholarship,

“Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum,”

determined to obtain, if possible, an exact facsimile of this oldest canon in existence; and through the kindness and

* P. 3.

† *Zur Geschichte des Kanons.* Halle, 1847.

liberality of Signor Antonio Ceriani, one of the staff of learned men attached to the Ambrosian Library, he was enabled, in the autumn of 1857, to make a tracing of it. On his journey home he shewed this tracing to Baron Bunsen at Charlottenberg, near Heidelberg; and they collated it together, letter for letter, with the transcript of Hertz. In every case where they detected any variation, however slight, between the two copies (and these occurred only in the additions of later hands), Dr. Tregelles sent a tracing of the line or lines which exhibited them to Dr. Ceriani for collation with the original MS., and procured from him a precise correction, if needed, of what the later hands had added or altered. "These minute corrections in the MS.," he tells us, "are sometimes very faint, so that as to one Dr. Ceriani had to wait for a day sufficiently clear and cloudless to enable him to see the correction with absolute certainty." The Delegates of the Oxford University Press undertook to bring this facsimile before the public. It was in consequence placed in the hands of a lithographer at Oxford; and when lithographed, Tregelles examined it letter by letter with his tracing, and further sent it for revision and approval to Ceriani at Milan. A corrected copy of the original lithograph was transferred by photography, and then re-lithographed. This facsimile, exactly representing the original, is placed by Dr. Tregelles at the head of the volume which he has just published. The critical student can now, therefore, examine it for himself, and is in the same position as if he had the actual MS. before him in the Library at Milan. He is under the greatest obligation to the learned editor for the scrupulous care with which he has executed his task.

The question arises, Have we any means of determining the probable date and authorship of this fragment? Muratori, from the fact that it makes no mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that Caius, a presbyter of the Roman Church in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, reckoned only thirteen Epistles of Paul, has inferred that Caius must be its author, and that its date must therefore fall about 196 A.D. But this is a very slight and precarious premise for so decisive a conclusion, and later scholars have not generally adopted this view. There were numbers in that age, besides Caius, who doubted the Pauline origin of the Epistle

to the Hebrews. Moreover, in the fragment itself there are some chronological indications which must not be overlooked. The writer refers to the Shepherd of Hermas as having been written *nuperrime temporibus nostris* by Hermas, the brother of Pius, while the latter was bishop of Rome. The episcopate of Pius is usually placed at the close of the first half of the second century, 142—156 A.D.;* and Tregelles, laying stress on the word *nuperrime*, believes the document to belong to about 160 A.D. or earlier. But when we find Irenæus,† about 180 A.D., speaking of the Apocalypse of John as having been seen *not long ago*, *οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς*, towards the close of the reign of Domitian, though nearly a century must have elapsed, it is clear we ought not to press too closely the loose statements of time which are customary in ecclesiastical writers. On general grounds, the later date of 170 suggested by Credner is far more probable. Some have brought it down to the commencement of the third century, and later still. But to aim at fixing the precise date and assigning the actual author of such anonymous productions as these, unless the internal evidence should be overpoweringly conclusive, ever seemed to me a hopeless task and a waste of critical ingenuity. We must be satisfied with a proximate determination of the general period to which they belong. This is often sufficiently evident to yield reasonable satisfaction. We know from all existing records of the condition of the Church towards the close of the second century, that a strong principle of catholicity was then beginning to combine and reconcile, by compromise and mutual forbearance, the discordant tendencies by which it had been hitherto torn asunder; and that one of the deepest needs of this state of things was a body of authoritative writings to which the settlement of all disputed points of faith and practice could be at once referred. Irenæus and Tertullian, who wrote at this time, abound in indications of a pervading movement throughout the Church towards the recognition of a scripture, supplementing for the Christians, as a com-

* This makes him the successor of Hyginus, 138—142 A.D., and the predecessor of Anicetus, 156—173 A.D. He is placed here in an old poem on Marcion, belonging to the second century, and inserted in the earlier editions of Tertullian. See Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, p. 84.

† Adv. Hær. V. xxx. 3.

pletion and fulfilment, the mass of sacred writings of which they had inherited the use and reverence from the Jews. Tertullian employs already the significant terms *instrumentum* and *testamentum* in reference to the Christian books which constitute substantially our present canon. The contents of the Muratorian fragment bear evident witness to the incipient working of this catholic principle, and correspond entirely to that remarkable crisis in the development of the Church which is so fully attested by Irenæus and Tertullian. This circumstance, taken in connection with the allusion to the Shepherd of Hermas, as of date not long antecedent, fully justifies us in referring the fragment to the latter part of the second century (by whom written, it is impossible to say), and in accepting it, with Dr. Tregelles, as the earliest catalogue extant of the books of the New Testament. The text is exceedingly corrupt and barbarous; and to this source of obscurity is added another—that there is every appearance of its being a translation from Greek into Latin by some one who was not perfectly master of either language. Dr. Routh suspected this from the first,* and Bunsen and Hilgenfeld have been so convinced of the fact, that they have endeavoured to recover more perfectly the original sense by re-translation into Greek. This is hardly a safe and prudent course, as such a version can after all be only conjectural, and must increase the chances of subjective error and misrepresentation. It is best to deal with the document as it exists, and draw out of it the meaning which it seems on the whole to yield; not of course refusing the aid which the supposition of what may possibly have been the original Greek, may be able in particular instances to afford.

The questions connected with the origin and authority of the Christian Scriptures are now exciting so intense an interest, and involve such important consequences, that it may not be unseasonable to submit this oldest list of them to a careful scrutiny, with the valuable help which Dr. Tregelles has furnished for its elucidation, with reference more particularly to those portions of it which suggest the occasion of warmest controversy at the present time. I shall

* "Ex vestigiis satis claris deprehendisse mihi videor hominem, qui Græce scripserit, subter hæc Latina verba latentem, eo indicio quod eadem ita græcissant, ut etiam ex illa lingua reddita esse videantur." *Reliq. Sacra*, I. p. 402.

give what seems to me the meaning of its successive sections as faithfully as I can, placing, as a check on my own rendering, the original text and its amended form side by side in the margin.*

This document, as I have said, is imperfect at the beginning. It now opens with the words, "which, however, he was present at, and has so stated."† There can be no doubt, from the *tertio* immediately following, and the general analogy of the sequel, that we have here the conclusion of an account of Mark's Gospel, and that this must have been preceded by a notice of that of Matthew. The list then proceeds thus :

"In the third place, the book of the Gospel according to Luke. This Luke, a physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him for a follower, as being zealous for righteousness, wrote in his own name, according to his own judgment. The Lord, however, he did not himself see in the flesh : and the same (wrote) as far as he could trace facts ; and so began to speak from the nativity of John. ‡

"Of the fourth of the Gospels, John (is the author), one of the disciples. To his fellow-disciples and his bishops who were urging him, he said : Join in fasting with me three days from to-day ; and whatsoever shall be revealed to each, let us narrate it to one another, be it what it may. On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that with the concurrence and sanction of them all, John in his own name should give an

* I have exhibited the text in the first column precisely as it exists in the MS., with the exception of the form of the letters, which are capitals in the original. Where the characters are nearly effaced, or an erasure has been intended by a stroke through the letter, I have used *italics*.

† quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit.

‡ tertio evangelii librum secundo Lucan

Lucas iste medicus post acensum $\chi\rho\iota$
cum eo Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum
secundum adsumsisset numeni suo

ex opinione conscribet dñm tamen nec ipse
vidit in carne et idē pro asequi potuit
ita et ad nativitate Iohannis incipet dicere

Juris, as Routh and Credner have suggested, may possibly be a rendering of τοῦ δικαίου. If *secundum* is not used here in the sense of *sequentem* = ἀκολουθον, we should perhaps read with Routh, *secum*. The *nomine suo*, the *ex opinione* and the *pro ut asequi*, seem pretty obviously to refer to the language of Luke's own preface, ἰδοὺς κάποι παρηκολουηκότη ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς.

Tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucan

Lucas iste medicus, post ascensum Christi,
cum eum Paulus, quasi ut juris studiosum,
secundum adsumsisset nomine suo

ex opinione conscripsit : Dominum tamen nec ipse
vidit in carne. Et idem, pro ut asequi potuit,
ita et a nativitate Johannis incipit dicere.

account of all things. And therefore, although in the several Gospels different principles are taught, still this makes no difference to the faith of believers, since in all, all things are set forth under one and the same ruling spirit concerning the nativity (of Christ), his passion, resurrection, intercourse with his disciples, and twofold advent—the first in the lowliness of contempt whichthe second glorious in regal power which is to come. What wonder, then, is it, if John should so confidently put forth his several statements even in his Epistles, by saying in his own person, ‘What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things have we written to you.’ For so he avows himself not only a seer and hearer, but also a writer in order of all the wonderful things of the Lord.*

“Moreover, the Acts of all the Apostles are written in one book. Luke embraces (in his narrative) for the excellent Theophilus,

* quarti evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis cohortantibus condiscipulis et eps suis dixit conieciunate mihi odie triduo et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum nobis ennarremus eadem nocte reuelatum andree ex apostolis ut recogniscentibus cunctis Iohannis suo nomine

cuncta describeret et ideo licet varia sin-
culis evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur nihil tamen differt creden-

tium fidei cum uno ac principali spu de-
clarate sint in omnibus omnia de natiui-
tate de passione de resurrectione

de conuentione cum decipulis suis
ac de gemino eius aduentu
primo in humilitate dispectus quod.....

.....secundum potestate regali pre-
clarum quod futurum est. quid ergo
mirum si Iohannes tam constanter
singula etiā in epistulis suis proferat
dicens in semetipso quæ uidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audiuiimus et manus
nostræ palpauerunt hæc scripimus

sic enim non solum uisorem sed auditorem
sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dñi per ordi-
nem profetetur

This is comparatively clear. *Alterutrum* makes no sense as it stands. It is probably a rendering of *ἑκατέρωθεν*, or something equivalent in the Greek. Routh, supported by Bunsen, Hilgenfeld and Westcott, regards *principali* as a version of *ἡγέμονικῃ*. There is perhaps an allusion to John xvi. 13, *ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*.

Quarti evangeliorum Iohannes ex discipulis Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit, conieciunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte reuelatum Andree ex apostolis, ut recogniscentibus cunctis, Iohannes suo nomine

cuncta describeret. Et ideo, licet varia sin-
gulis evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur, nihil tamen differt creden-

tium fidei, cum uno ac principali spiritu de-
clarate sint in omnibus omnia de natiui-
tate, de passione, de resurrectione,

de conuentione cum discipulis suis,
ac de gemino ejus aduentu,
primo in humilitate dispectus quod.....

.....secundo potestate regali præ-
claro quod futurum est. Quid ergo
mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter
singula etiam in epistolis suis proferat
dicens in semetipso, ‘Quæ uidimus oculis
nostris, et auribus audiuiimus, et manus
nostræ palpauerunt, hæc scripimus
vobis.’

Sic enim non solum visorem se et auditorem
sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium Domini per
ordinem profetetur.

the several events which occurred in his own presence, as is plainly shewn by his omitting all reference to the passion of Peter, and to Paul's departure from the city for Spain.

"Now the Epistles of Paul declare of themselves, to those who wish to understand, from what place or for what reason they were severally sent. First of all, that to the Corinthians, forbidding the heresy of schism; and then, secondly, that to the Galatians, condemning circumcision. To the Romans he wrote more at length, citing the Scriptures (i.e. of the Old Testament) in order, and intimating that Christ is the fundamental idea in them. On each of which points it is necessary that we should speak more at length. Since the blessed apostle Paul himself, following the order of his predecessor John, writes to only seven churches by name, and in the following order: the first is to the Corinthians, the second to the Ephesians, the third to the Philippians, the fourth to the Colossians, the fifth to the Galatians, the sixth to the Thessalonians, the seventh to the Romans. But though he writes twice for the sake of reproof to the Corinthians and Thessalonians, the Church is still recognized as one diffused through the whole world. For John in the Apocalypse, though he writes (i.e. by name) to seven churches, speaks nevertheless to all.

"But there is one to Philemon, and one to Titus, and two to Timothy, (written) for affection and personal attachment; still, however, in honour of the Catholic Church. By admission into the order of ecclesiastical discipline they are sanctified. There is an Epistle also current to the Laodiceans, another to the Alexandrians, fabricated in the name of Paul in relation to the heresy of Marcion, and many others which cannot be admitted into the Catholic Church; for the mingling of gall with honey is not fitting.

"The Epistle indeed of Jude, and two which bear the name of John, are accepted in the Catholic Church; as also 'Wisdom,' written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. The Apocalypses also of John and Peter we simply receive, which some of our people are unwilling should be read in the church. The Shepherd, indeed, Hermas wrote very recently in our own days in the city of Rome, while his brother Pius was occupying the episcopal chair of the Church of Rome. And therefore it is fitting indeed that it should be read; but it cannot be set forth with public authority to the people in the Church, either among the prophets whose number is completed, or among the apostles in these last days.

"But of Arsinoüs or Valentinus or Miltiades, we admit nothing whatever. Moreover, the Marcosians, together with Basilides,

have made a new collection of Psalms. The founder of the Asian Cataphryges (Montanists) "....."

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the text in particular passages, the general purport of this fragment is sufficiently clear; and we gather from it, that the New Testament canon, as we now have it, and as it stood in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, was in process of formation, but not yet fixed. Its formative principle is not obscurely indicated. We detect it in the evident wish to bind in one a catholic church;

* acta autē omnīū apostolorum sub uno libro scribita sunt Lucas optime theophilē comprehendit quia sub præsentiā eius singula gerebantur sicut et semota passiōe Petri

evidenter declarat sed profectionē pauli ad [b]urbes ad spaniā proficiscentis

epistulæ autem

Pauli quæ a quo loco vel quæ ex causâ directæ sint volentibus intelligere ipse declarat; primū omnium corinthiis schismæ heresis in

terdicens deinceps B callatis circumcisiōne romanis autē cruidine scripturarum sed et principium earum oād esse xpm intimans prolixius scripsit de quibus sinodis necesse est ad nobis disputari cum ipse beatus apostolus paulus sequens prædecessoris sui

Iohannis ordinē nonnisi comenatī septimā

ecclesies scribat ordine tali a corenthiis prima ad efesios secunda ad philippinenses tertia ad colossenses quarta ad galatas quinta ad thessalonicenſis sexta ad romanos

septima uerum core(i)ntiis et thessalonicenſibus licet pro correptione iteretur una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia diffusa esse denotatur et Iohannis enī in apocalypsi licet septē ecclesiis scribat tamen omnibus dicit

uerū ad filemonem una

et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affecto et dilectione in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ

de(i)scepline sanctificatæ sunt fertur etiam ad laodicenses alia ad alexandrinōs Pauli no

mine finctæ ad hæresim marcionis et alia plura quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recepti non possunt: fel enim cum melle misceri non conruit

Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophilo comprehendit quæ sub præsentiâ eius singula gerebantur, sicut et semota passiōe Petri

evidenter declarat et profectione Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentia.

Epistolæ autem

Pauli quæ a quo loco vel quæ ex causâ directæ sint volentibus intelligere ipse declarat. Primum omnium Corinthiis schismæ heresin in-

terdicens; deinceps B. Galatiis circumcisiōnem; Romanis autem ordine Scripturarum, sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans prolixius scripsit; de quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari: cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prædecessoris sui

Iohannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem

ecclesiis scribat ordine tali: ad Corinthios prima; ad Ephesios secunda; ad Philippenses tertia; ad Colossenses quarta; ad Galatas quinta; ad Thessalonicenses sexta; ad Romanos

septima. Verum Corinthiis et Thessalonicenſibus licet pro correptione iteratur, una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia diffusa esse denotatur: et Iohannes enim in apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit.

Verum ad Philemonem una

et ad Titum una, et Timotheum dum, pro affecto et dilectione, in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ, in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ

disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt. Fertur etiam ad Laodicenses, alia ad Alexandrinōs, Pauli no

mine finctæ ad hæresim Marcionis, et alia plura, quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non possunt: fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit.

in the sensitive repudiation of Gnostic heresy ; in the awakening distrust of writings, especially apocalyptic writings, too deeply imbued with a Jewish spirit ; in the anxiety to keep authentic and spurious writings with an apostolic name as separate as honey and gall ; in the recognition of two collected bodies of prophetic and apostolic writings, standing to each other very much in the relation of our Old and New Testaments—the type and antitype of the great Messianic idea—into which there was a growing aversion to introduce any more recent or less perfectly authenticated production. Dr. Tregelles has accompanied his critical edition of the text with a copious and learned exegetical commentary. I am compelled to say that he is less satisfactory as an interpreter than as a textual critic. In not a few cases he seems to be so completely blinded by a foregone conclusion, as not to see the consequence flowing by inevitable logic from the premises which he has himself so clearly set before the reader. I proceed to discuss briefly a few of the more interesting questions raised by this most ancient witness of the second century.

It is evident that the two books which have been ascribed to Luke, the third Gospel and the Acts, must have existed, and been recognized by the Church, very much in the form in which we now have them, when this list was drawn up. This is important testimony ; as, notwithstanding the dis-

epistola sane Inde et superscriptio
Iohannis duas in catholica habentur et aspi-
entia ab amicis salomonis in honorē ipsius
scripta apocalypsee etiam Iohannis et Pe-
tri tantum recipimus quam quidam ex nos-
tris legi in ecclesia nolunt pastorem vero
nuperrim et temporibus nostris in urbe
roma herma conscripsit sedente cathe-

tra urbis romae ecclesiae Pio eps frater
eius et ideo legi eum quidē oportet se pu-
blicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter
profetas completum numero neque inter
apostolos in finē temporum potest

Arsinoi autem seu valentini vel mitiadeti
nihil in totum recipimus. qui etiam nouū
psalmorum librum marcionis conscripse-
runt una cum basilide assianum catafry-
cum constitutorem.....

Epistola sane Iudae et superscriptae
Iohannis duae in catholica habentur, et Sapi-
entia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius
scripta. Apocalypsee etiam Iohannis et Pe-
tri tantum recipimus, quam (quas?) quidam ex nos-
tris legi in ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem vero
nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe
Roma Hermas conscripsit, sedente cathe-

dra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre
eius : et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, se pub-
licari vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter
prophetas completos numero, neque inter
apostolos in finem (in fine?) temporum potest.

Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Miltiadis
nihil in totum recipimus. Quinetiam novum
psalmorum librum Marciani conscripse-
runt una cum Basilide. Asianorum Cataphry-
gum constitutorem.....

tingent references by name in Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, we find that as late as the time of Chrysostom, towards the end of the fourth century, there were many in the East who knew nothing of the authorship of the book of Acts, and were not even aware of its existence.* The description of it as "*Acta omnium Apostolorum*," betrays that tendency to loose and exaggerated statement, which is so characteristic of the ecclesiastical writers of this period. The traditional title favoured the misconception. An inspection of the work itself would have shewn that the earlier chapters are exclusively occupied with the state of things in the Jewish church at Jerusalem under the conduct of Peter and John, and that the latter and far larger portion of the book is devoted to the ministry of Paul and his assistants. Perhaps the word "*omnium*" indirectly expresses sympathy with the conciliatory spirit in which the book of Acts is obviously written; and Peter and John on one hand, and Paul on the other, being taken as representative types of the two forms of apostolic action which embraced in that age the entire field of the Christian ministry, is meant to assert that, however apparently divergent, they were one in their ultimate aim and effect. Such an interpretation would be quite in harmony with the catholic tone which pervades the whole fragment.

Extreme interest attaches to the account of the origin of the fourth Gospel. We have here, if not the earliest reference to that Gospel by name (for the testimonies of Irenæus and Theophilus of Antioch belong probably to about the same date as the Muratorian fragment), yet certainly the oldest distinct mention of the circumstances under which it was said to have come into existence. This statement does for the fourth Gospel what that of Papias, preserved in Eusebius,† does for those of Matthew and Mark; it informs us how it arose. The comparison is not in favour of the higher historical character of the fourth Gospel. It has been the fashion of late in some quarters to undervalue the testimony of Papias; but surely without reason. What he tells us seems perfectly natural and credible, and quite in

* οὐδ' ἔτι ἐστὶ γινώσκον. Hom. I. in Act. Apost., quoted by De Wette. Einleit. N. T. § 117 a.c.

† H. E. iii. 39.

harmony with all that we know of the first age of Christianity. He does not indeed explain how our present Matthew and Mark ultimately took the form in which they have come down to us ; but he gives a very intelligible and probable account of the way in which their materials were originally collected, and of the genesis of the nucleus out of which they were subsequently evolved. And this fully warrants the belief, that in the record of Christ's teachings contained in the Synoptical Gospels, qualified here and there, especially in Luke, by the influence of a later tradition, we rest in the main on a broad basis of historical fact. The remarkable verbal coincidence of the three, which so often occurs in citing the words of Jesus, argues strongly in support of this view. Everything, in fact, concurs to shew that Papias has transmitted to us a substantially reliable tradition. But when we turn to the Muratorian fragment for the account of John's Gospel, we come to something very different. We have here evidently lighted on a mere legend. It is clear that the writer had no historical knowledge of its origin. A special authority is intended to be conferred on the work, by ascribing its suggestion to a divine revelation. John was to describe the whole ministry of Jesus *in his own name*, that is (as we interpret the words), under the sanction which had been specially conveyed to him, from his own point of view,—with the concurrence, however, and approval of his fellow-disciples and bishops. In "*episcopis suis*," there is possibly a reference to the Asiatic union of churches, of which John, in his central seat of Ephesus, was traditionally regarded as the head. It might not of itself have deserved much remark, that John is here described as "*ex discipulis*" and associated with "*condiscipulis*," had not Andrew, almost in the same clause, been distinguished with marked contrast as "*ex apostolis*." The selection of Andrew as the medium of divine communication was probably suggested by the fourth Gospel itself, where he is mentioned as the first who became a disciple after the recognition of Jesus by John the Baptist (i. 40). Now there is nothing resembling this story anywhere in Irenæus and Tertullian, who are our earliest authorities for the reception of the four Gospels by the Catholic Church. They simply speak of the fourth as acknowledged along with the other three, and refer it, as if by general consent,

to an apostolic source in John of Ephesus, who was known in the Church as *ὁ ἐπιστήθιος*, "the bosom friend of the Lord." Clement of Alexandria goes a little more into detail, and in the same connection tells a story of the origin of Mark's Gospel, which has some likeness to this of the Muratorian fragment respecting John. The passage occurred in his lost work, the *Hypotyposes*, of which Eusebius has preserved some fragments; and as it is short, it may be well to quote it, though perfectly familiar to all critical students, for the sake of the parallel that it suggests:

"While Peter was publicly preaching the word at Rome, and proclaiming the gospel under the influence of the Spirit, many of his associates urged Mark, as having accompanied the apostle from afar, and keeping what he had said in remembrance, to write out his words, and when he had composed the Gospel, to impart it to those who had made the request. Which when Peter was aware of, he neither urgently hindered nor promoted the work. John finally, observing that the material aspect [of Christ's person] was disclosed in the [existing] Gospels, urged by his friends and actuated by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel."*

We have here the original statement of Papias respecting Peter and Mark somewhat developed into the form of a later tradition, and with this it is curious to compare the still more amplified story which Eusebius has given in another place.† The account of John, excepting the omission of the legendary elements, is not at variance with the Muratorian fragment, and might have been suggested by a mere comparison of the character of the fourth Gospel with that of the three first.‡

* Τῷ Πέτρῳ δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔξιπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας παρακαλεῖσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μνηστικὸν τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα, ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μεταδοῦναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ. Ὅπερ ἐπιγινόντα τὸν Πέτρον, προτρεπτικῶς μὴτε καλύσαι μὴτε προτρέψασθαι. Τὸν μὲντοι Ἰωάννην ἰσχυρὸν συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγέλοις διδῆλωται, προτραπίντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι διοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον. Eusebius, H. E. vi. 14.

† H. E. ii. 15.

‡ Jerome, in the Preface to his Commentary on Matthew, has more closely adhered to the Muratorian fragment, with additions of his own. "Ecclesiastica narrat historia, cum a fratribus cogeretur [Johannes] ut scriberet, ita facturum se respondisse, si indicto jejunio in commune omnes Deum deprecarentur. Quo expleto, revelatione saturatus, illud proemium e caelo veniens eructavit." Quoted by Heinichen on Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.

I have already observed, that this is the earliest notice on record of the origin of the fourth Gospel; and it is surprising that Dr. Tregelles should have passed over its obviously legendary character with the simple remark, that "it is to a certain extent in accordance with the statements of Clement of Alexandria and Jerome."* This seems to imply, that it is confirmed by those later writers; whereas it is quite evident that they merely followed that account, and knew nothing of the origin of the Gospel but what it stated. In regard to Jerome, this is distinctly admitted by Dr. Tregelles himself. Putting the four Gospels into one category, applying to all of them indiscriminately the special testimony that may appertain to any one, and assuming the identity of authorship between the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, of which he justly observes,† that "for scarcely any book of the New Testament is there such overwhelming evidence in the second century as for this,"—Dr. Tregelles does not shrink from the unqualified assertion respecting the fourth Gospel, that "we can trace its historical use in the Church, back to the age of St. John's own contemporaries; and that we find it equally well known to heretics and heathens."‡ How is this statement reconcilable with the indisputable fact, that we meet with no mention of this Gospel by name, and no certain quotation from it, till after the time of Justin Martyr and the probable date of the Muratorian fragment? Some of the proofs on which our critic relies, will not bear the stress which he lays on them. In citing the "Confutation of all Heresies," assigned at first to Origen, but more probably the work of Hippolytus, for the testimony of Basilides, the earliest he is able to adduce, he has omitted to notice that the school is referred to generally, not specially the founder of it (*Βασιλείδης καὶ Ἰσιδώρος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτων χορὸς*), and that in the sentence immediately preceding that which he has quoted, not Basilides himself, but the Basilidians, are mentioned as *οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι*, and again, a little afterwards, as *ἐκείνοι*, with *ἴδωμεν ὅν τι λέγουσι* (vii. 20, 22). This obviously renders the passage inapplicable for the fixing of any chronological datum; for the Basilidians subsisted as a sect till the close of the fourth century. Again, it is hardly

* P. 84.

† P. 89.

‡ P. 80.

fair to adduce Celsus as bearing witness in the middle of the second century to the existence of the narrative which occurs only in the fourth Gospel, xix. 34; for, when we turn to Origen,* we find it is he, not Celsus, who quotes the Gospel, with the description of the issue of blood and water from the side of Jesus, whereas, so far as appears, Celsus alluded generally to the crucifixion, ἀνασκοποῖ μὲν τοῦ σώματος. It is not, however, in itself improbable, that the tradition which has found a place in the fourth Gospel, might already be in circulation in the time of Celsus. We do not say that there is not ground still left open for fair discussion on all these points. We simply dispute the right of Dr. Tregelles to affirm as unquestionable fact, what is after all but an inference of his own from very slender and dubious premises. "Whoever," he adds, "casts doubt on this Gospel, seeks to render uncertain *now* that on which there was no doubt in the second century, and that on the part of those who had all the facts before them. One testimony such as that of the Muratorian fragment shews the futility of all the surmises that could be brought together."† Every one who reflects for a moment, cannot fail to perceive how many gratuitous assumptions are involved in this loosely worded passage. When our author speaks in these round terms of the second century, to what part of that long period of a hundred years does he refer? Does he mean to assert that there is the same evidence of the recognition of our four Gospels by the Church at the beginning or even in the middle of that century, as it is admitted there was towards its close? Will he venture to affirm that there is any reliable evidence at all? If so, let him produce it. We know, indeed, from the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian—that is confirmed by the Muratorian fragment—that in their time the Church was beginning to agree in the reception of certain writings as authoritative on matters of faith and practice; and we know also the state of things which had induced this tendency and brought about this agreement. But by what process the selection was made from the mass of evangelical records, which we have reason to believe were then in circulation—beyond the guiding tact of strong sympathy with

* *Contra Cels.* ii. 36.

† P. 80.

the spiritual substance of apostolic doctrine—we are left wholly to conjecture. We are certain from evidence yet extant, that it was not anything like our modern critical sifting of authorities. When Dr. Tregelles appeals to the Muratorian Canon as the one sufficient reply to all recent surmises about the origin and character of the fourth Gospel, we confess we are astonished at his temerity. Nothing can more clearly shew than that very document (the earliest notice, be it remembered, that we have of the origin of the Gospel), that no *historical* knowledge whatever was possessed on the subject. The discreet brevity with which our critic himself has passed over this portion of the fragment, plainly indicates his unwillingness to ventilate the obviously legendary character of its contents.

How difficult it is to be perfectly candid, where theological prejudices are concerned! In a note,* Dr. Tregelles says: "Those who have of late revived the theory, that Justin used some of the profane legends called Apocryphal Gospels, would do well to inquire how it is that he has so little in common with such writings." Two perfectly distinct classes of writings are here most unfairly identified, and the confusion is rendered the more invidious by the introduction of the word *profane*. Tischendorf, notwithstanding the conservative tendency of his general criticism, has satisfactorily shewn† that we must make a distinction between writings that were called forth in the first age of the Church by a *bond fide* desire to perpetuate a true account of the person and teaching of Christ, and no doubt contained a valuable record of authentic tradition, such as the Gospel of the Hebrews and some others—and the wanton fictions of a far later date, such as the Gospels of the Infancy and of the Nativity of Mary, with other productions of a similar character, which bear the evidence of falsehood on their very front. We are not aware that any scholar of character has ever ventured to suggest that works of this last description, which may be truly called profane, were used by writers of the second century, and then superseded by our canonical Gospels. Such a supposition is too absurd to have been ever seriously enter-

* P. 72.

† *De Evangeliorum Apocryphorum Origine et Usu*, § 8, 4, "Diversa est pro temporum diversitate Evangeliorum Apocryphorum notio."

tained by any author of sense and information. But the very different works of the first class have perished all but a few fragments, and probably belonged to those numerous narratives of the life of Christ, to which Luke alludes in the preface to his Gospel. Their exclusion from the canon and adoption by heretical parties, led subsequently to their intermixture with less pure and authentic elements, which has unduly prejudiced posterity against what may have been their original character. What was the precise relation of these lost histories to our present synoptical Gospels, it is now of course impossible to say. Jerome attests an unmistakable affinity between the Gospel to the Hebrews and our Matthew; and it is difficult not to believe that Justin must have had access to other sources of the evangelical narrative than are contained in our actual canon. Dr. Tregelles is far too learned a man not to be perfectly well aware of these facts; and the knowledge of them should have dictated more candid language in estimating the theories of others who, he must be sure, dissent from them as strongly as he may himself, could never have maintained anything so absurd as he charges them with. Indeed, at the close of the note he almost gives up the applicability of such a charge, when he adds, "It is impossible to suppose that *any* of the Apocryphal Gospels now extant can belong to so early an age." We regret, for his own sake, that so estimable a scholar should have allowed himself to write as follows: "It is in vain to overlook the fact, that the fourth Gospel is distasteful on account of the doctrines which it sets forth with such plainness: the testimony of John the Baptist to our Lord is that to which the real objection is made, 'Behold the Lamb of God! which taketh away the sin of the world.'" Such is the way, according to the present standard of theological morality, in which a purely critical question is prejudged, apart from the evidence by which alone it ought to be decided. We wonder Dr. Tregelles does not see that this kind of reasoning is a two-edged weapon which will cut both ways. Subjective influences are what we must all be on our guard against (for they are very insidious), if we would be thoroughly honest and impartial critics. But if preconceived opinions may almost unconsciously dispose a person to underrate the evidence for the authenticity and historical

credibility of a particular book, they may also operate very powerfully and quite as unconsciously in the opposite direction, especially when doctrines felt to be of vital moment are assumed to be involved in the ultimate decision. And what can be said of cases where the negative conclusion has been slowly and even painfully arrived at, not in concurrence with, but against, convictions early entertained and long deeply cherished?

In the sequel of this account of the fourth Gospel in the Muratorian fragment, a sort of consciousness is implied that different views of Christ's person and ministry were exhibited by the different evangelists—*varia singulis evangeliorum libris principia*, though all based on a common recognition of his passion, resurrection and future advent; and the belief of that day in the common authorship of the Gospel and of the Epistles which bear the name of John, is very distinctly indicated.

The notice of the Pauline Epistles is at once curious and significant, and betrays the conventional principle which had evidently large influence in determining the selection and arrangement of canonical books. Irenæus's strange reasons for the limitation of the Gospels to four, have often been made a subject of comment. He evidently attached a mystical value to that number. The author of this Muratorian Canon discovers a similar predilection for seven. Seven, as we shall shew by example presently, was a symbol of catholicity. By reckoning the two Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians as each one, he gets the desired result of seven, which he takes care to affirm expressly, is not inconsistent with the applicability of those writings to "one church diffused through the whole world," illustrating the case by that of John in the Apocalypse, who, in writing immediately to seven churches, is in fact speaking to all. The four *personal* Epistles, as we may call them, addressed to Philemon, Titus and Timothy, are left to stand separately on ground of their own; and it is declared of them, that by admission into the order of ecclesiastical discipline, they acquire a sort of canonization and contribute to the honour of the Catholic Church. When, at a later period, the Epistle to the Hebrews was admitted among the Pauline letters, a duplicate of seven was obtained by taking into the list the three pastoral Epistles with

Philemon, and again resolving Corinthians and Thessalonians into two; and so we get the fourteen Epistles of Paul, which constitute to this day a firm article of orthodox belief. Again, if we take all the Epistles in our canon, exclusive of these fourteen, we come once more on the number seven—one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude. This cannot be pure accident; and some very curious citations which Tregelles and Routh have made from ecclesiastical writers shew how close was the connection in the early ecclesiastical mind between the number seven and the notion of catholicity. A few examples will suffice. Victorinus Petavionensis, who wrote towards the end of the third century, says: "In toto orbe septem ecclesias omnes esse, et septem nominatas, unam esse catholicam Paullus docuit;" and he adds, that Paul wrote afterwards "singularibus personis, ne excederet modum septem ecclesiarum."* Cyprian, the great champion of Catholicity, writes: "Paulus septem ecclesiis scripsit, et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit, ut servetur septenarius numerus;" and this number he elsewhere calls "numerus certus et legitimus."† Optatus, in his work against the Donatists, calls the Church, i.e. the Catholic Church, "*septiformis ecclesia*;" and Routh refers to ancient authors who with Augustine hold the doctrine, "numero septenario universæ ecclesiæ significatam esse perfectionem."‡ It has been inferred not unreasonably, that one hindrance, among others of far greater critical weight, to the admission of Hebrews among the Pauline Epistles, was its breaking up the "numerus septenarius." The bearing of these facts, rightly appreciated, suggests the conclusion which they bring home to the mind, that the deepening sense and need of catholic union was the generative and formative principle of the canon. Another indication of the same tendency is the evident wish—which I have already noticed in the description of Acts as "omnium apostolorum"—to exhibit the ministries of Peter and Paul as in perfect harmony. The Muratorian fragment accounts for the omission of all mention of the martyrdom of Peter in that book, by the fact that it did not come within the personal cognizance of Luke. Tregelles observes, that this is probably the earliest historical notice of that martyrdom

* Routh, i. p. 417.

† Tregelles, p. 45.

‡ Ibid.

extant.* Dionysius of Corinth, about 180 A.D., quoted by Tregelles,† asserts, that Peter and Paul were in like manner conjoined in the founding of the church of Corinth; and this he distinctly compares with their subsequent combined ministry in Rome. Statements like these, whatever basis they may have in historical fact, clearly indicate, by the obvious importance attached to them, the tendency of public opinion among the Christians towards the close of the second century. Such considerations measure the value of that constancy of tradition, which is so often appealed to in proof of the received opinion respecting the origin and authorship of particular books. It shews what the leading churches had agreed to accept, and which, once fixed, there was an increasing disinclination to call in question, in the conservative reaction which made them desirous everywhere to build up a catholic unity on the general recognition of such authoritative documents as carried to their minds satisfactory evidence of being a true representation of apostolic unity in belief and practice. But no ecclesiastical tradition, however constant and clear, can itself logically carry us beyond the decision of the Church at the end of the second century. Of course, it is not pretended that the Church acted arbitrarily, and had no probable grounds for its choice. But that these grounds were critically conclusive, cannot be assumed from the mere steadfastness of subsequent tradition. Their true character is to be gathered from subsisting testimonies and indications scattered over the interval between the apostolic age and that of Irenæus and Tertullian. Here is the proper battle-field left open to modern criticism. When the Church had once made up her mind, as she did in the course of the third century, criticism was silenced and authority carried the day.

Dr. Tregelles has called attention to the prominence given in this canon to the four principal Epistles of Paul, Corinthians, Galatians and Romans; and to the curious fact, that in these there are eighty-eight citations from the Old Testament (fifty-one in Romans alone), while there are only six in all the other letters which bear his name.‡ The reader will have noticed the singular description of Paul, as "following the order of his predecessor John:"

* P. 41.

† Ibid.

‡ P. 48.

"Apostolus Paulus sequens prædecessoris sui
Johannis ordinem."

On which Tregelles remarks: "It cannot be that the author thought that St. John saw and wrote the Apocalypse before St. Paul had written his Epistles; the explanation seems to be, that John, who wrote to seven churches (with whom in that respect Paul was compared), had been previously spoken of by the writer as the author of the Gospel and his first Epistle."* This must strike every one as a lame and forced explanation. In the rudest Latinity conceivable, *prædecessor* could never signify "one previously referred to." There seems least difficulty in understanding the word in its natural sense, and admitting that the author of the canon knew so little of the historical relations of the two apostles, that he actually supposed John had preceded Paul in Asia.† It may perhaps be taken as a vague traditional indication of the very early date of the Apocalypse, and of the general belief that it was a work of the apostle John.

Reference is then made to two Epistles bearing the name of Paul—to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians, which are treated as forgeries and said not to be admitted into the Catholic Church. What are these Epistles? Tregelles finds a clue in the reference to Marcion, who altered the Epistle to the Ephesians to suit his own doctrinal purposes, and sent it out into the world under the title "*ad Laodicenses*." In the history of the New Testament text there is an odd connection, it is well known, between the Epistle to the Ephesians and one to the Laodiceans. In many Latin MSS. an "*Epistola ad Laodicenses*" occurs, composed of a cento of phrases from Paul's genuine Epistles. Tregelles thinks, however, that this cannot be alluded to here. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which so strongly insists on the intimate spiritual connection between the Old Testament and the New, might very properly be regarded as a refutation of the characteristic heresy of Marcion; and some have not un-

* P. 44.

† Another interpretation is possible: that the allusion may be to the order of the books in the New Testament, and that in the copy which the author of the canon had in his eye, the Apocalypse was placed before the Pauline Epistles. But this is hardly likely. The oldest MSS., A. B. N., put the Apocalypse at the end; and the Fragment itself postpones the notice of it to the last.

naturally concluded that by the "Epistola ad Alexandrinos" our Epistle to the Hebrews, which is written in an Alexandrine spirit, may be intended. The Western Church, we know, hesitated for a long time to admit the canonical authority of Hebrews. If Hebrews is here meant, "ad hæresin Marcionis" must be rendered, "with reference to or bearing upon." Wieseler, Credner, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and, on the whole, Westcott, acquiesce in this view. The concluding remark, "fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit," which appears to have been suggested by a passage in the Shepherd of Hermas,* betrays the sensitive repugnance of the public feeling of the Church, as represented by this canon, to the admission of any writing as authoritative which did not bear on it the recognized apostolic stamp.

The Epistle of Jude and two of John (the writer had already quoted the first of John in speaking of the Gospel) are included in the canon; while James and the two of Peter are passed over. Almost in the same clause with Jude and the two of John, is placed a book called "Sapientia," described as having been written "by the friends of Solomon in his honour." We are indebted to Dr. Tregelles for a very learned and ingenious account of this book and of its insertion in this connection. Some had supposed, and among them the late Baron Bunsen, that the reference here was to the Book of Proverbs, designated by some of the early Fathers as "Wisdom."† But Tregelles has shewn conclusively that the work intended is the apocryphal book, "Wisdom of Solomon," portions at least of which he thinks must have been written after the introduction of Christianity by a person named Philo, not of course the celebrated Alexandrine author of that name. In the original Greek, he conceives the passage may have run thus: *Σοφία Σαλομῶνος ὑπὸ Φίλωνος εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη*. The Latin translator, not noticing the diminutive letters which marked the genitive termination, read *ὑπὸ Φίλων*, which he rendered

* Mand. v. 1.

† Some portions of the Book of Proverbs are described (xxv. 1) as "the Proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied out," or, as the LXX. have rendered it, *οἱ φίλοι Ἑζεκιῶν*. Bunsen supposed Hegesippus, to whom he ascribed this canon, to have substituted through lapse of memory, "Salomonis" for "Hezekia," and so to have described the book as in the text.

"ab amicis." Tregelles first came on a trace of what he considers the true authorship of the book in a sentence in Jerome's preface to the books of Solomon; when, speaking of the apocryphal book of Wisdom, he says, "nonnulli veterum hunc esse Judæi Philonis affirmant." Jerome may possibly have had this very fragment in his eye; and being familiar with the name of only one Philo, may have added almost unconsciously the customary epithet *Judæus*. This book is often quoted by early Christian writers; and the estimation in which it was held, is indicated by the place assigned it by Eusebius in his account of the canonical writings used by Irenæus, in immediate connection with the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle to the Hebrews, after the universally accepted books of the New Testament.*

In the ensuing section of the Fragment, if, with Tregelles, for *Apocalypse* we read *apocalypses*, which puts the Revelations of John and Peter on the same line, our first feeling would be, to read *quas* for *quam*, and extend the objection to being read in church to both works equally. But in a preceding part of the Fragment the canonical character of the Apocalypse of John seems to be acknowledged; and the doubts about its apostolic origin and authority which acquired force in the third century under the sharp criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria, had as yet, if we may judge from the language of Tertullian and Irenæus, hardly begun to be felt. On this view we must perhaps put a longer stop at *Johannis*: "there is too an Apocalypse of John;" and then take what follows, reading *quam*, with exclusive reference to Peter. The few fragments of his Apocalypse still extant have been collected by Hilgenfeld.† We learn from Sozomen,‡ that down to his time the Apocalypse of Peter was still read in some Palestinian churches on the day of *Parasceue*, when the commemoration of our Lord's Passion was kept. It does not appear, however, to have been accepted in the churches generally; which corresponds to the language of the Fragment. Hilgenfeld suggests doubtfully, whether the passage in Ephesians, v. 14, commencing *διό λέγει*, may not be taken from this source.

* Euseb. H. E. v. 8, 26, referred to by Tregelles.

† Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum. Fascicul. iv. pp. 74—78.

‡ H. E. vii. 19.

The account of the Shepherd of Hermas which follows is very interesting, both as indicating the sort of place which works not regarded as strictly canonical were allowed to occupy by the side of the books of the New Testament, and also as revealing to some extent the principle on which the canon itself was constructed. The book, it is said, might be profitably read, but could not be put forth as a public recognized authority either among the prophets, whose number was filled up, nor among the apostles, who had also done their work in reference to the end of all things which was approaching. The type and anti-type, the Messianic promise and the Messianic fulfilment, had both been brought providentially to their completion, and were a standing witness of divine truth. Any addition to, or interference with, this grand ultimate economy of Scripture, was already beginning to be regarded as an approach to the impiety threatened with the awful plagues which are described in the concluding verses of the Apocalypse of John. But these rigid views were not attained to all at once. Books of instruction and consolation were allowed to enforce, illustrate and apply the deeper verities of canonical Scripture. Some of these, especially the Shepherd of Hermas, were held by many of the early Fathers in an estimation hardly inferior to recognized Scripture. Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria quote the Shepherd as an authority and as *ἡ γραφή*, and Origen speaks of it as "Scriptura, ut puto divinitus inspirata." It is curious, too, that some of the oldest MSS. contain books of this description, like New Testament Apocrypha, appended to the canonical books. Thus the Codex Alexandrinus has the two Epistles of Clement of Rome, and the Sinaiticus, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas.

The omission of the Epistle of James and the two of Peter from this early canon, should not pass unnoticed. As it is confessedly imperfect at both ends, the thought suggests itself whether they may not have been contained in the portion which has perished. But this is very improbable: though the last words are wanting, we have evidently drawn very near the conclusion of the whole piece. It is in the highest degree unlikely, that after the denunciation of Gnostic heresies with which the Fragment now terminates, and which clearly indicates the conservative feeling in which it originated, the writer would have made a further

enumeration of books admissible into the canon. We may conclude, therefore, that in that part of the Church whose opinions are represented in this canon, neither the Epistle of James nor the two of Peter were yet accepted.

A thorough investigation of the origin of the canon, though it may seem at first to unsettle some views which have been too implicitly acquiesced in, is indispensable to clear the history of Christianity from some unwarrantable assumptions, and to place its spiritual nature and operation in their true light. The canon (and we do not allege this as an accusation, for its formation was inevitable and a result of providential arrangement) was essentially a work of the Church, thrown up by it as a rampart of self-defence amidst the disorganizing and destructive agencies by which it was assailed, and under which, had they not been thus counteracted, it must have perished. But the immortal spirit found a refuge in the literal ark that was so prepared for its reception. Still the effect has been to lead to a too frequent identification of the spirit with its historical witness and vehicle. Christianity is neither a code of outward discipline nor a system of intellectual belief; it cannot be shut up either in a Church or in a Book. It is a higher life brought into the world by the wonderful personality of its Founder, and destined in its pure, uncorrupted influence to draw men, by the sympathy which it kindles in earnest and devoted minds, into a holy brotherhood and united family of God. Scripture is the record of its origin and earliest effect; and a precious legacy it is to our race. There can be no rational doubt that it conveys to us a true impression of the belief and aim and feeling—the awakened spiritual life—of the apostolic age; and the more so, that from its multifarious contents it exhibits that life on different sides and through various media, and sets before us in all vividness the development into divers forms of thought of the primitive germ of life cast on the soil of humanity by the quickening words of Christ. Though they were not critics, there is every evidence that the framers of the canon executed their task with simplicity and in good faith, under a strong sense of religious responsibility. It would be a vast improvement in the religious tendencies of our time, if, instead of raising hopeless questions about the date and authorship of particular books, for the complete solution of

which the materials no longer exist, and where the canon can only give us its witness without its reasons, we would be content to take the New Testament as, what it really is, a living expression of the faith and life of the apostolic age, and strive to throw ourselves back into hearty sympathy with the spirit which it breathes—with the love and holiness and self-denying efforts for human weal of which it presents so bright and animating a picture ; and when our souls are wearied and athirst with the fever of this world's sins and sorrows and cares, to go back in all simplicity to the words of the blessed Jesus, and drink from his lips of those living waters, of which he who drinketh shall never thirst again.

J. J. T.

IV.—THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.

The Subjection of Women. By John Stuart Mill. London : Longmans. 1869.

THE Taj-mahal has often been described as the fairest monument in the world of a husband's love for his departed wife. Colonel Sleeman tells us of a lady who, after visiting it, wished that she might die, if only somebody would build her such a tomb. We have always imagined that this Eastern trophy of affection had an English counterpart, built of better things than bronze and marble ; and that, in the unwearied advocacy of the claims of women by one of the greatest thinkers of our time, we beheld the worthiest monument of a noble conjugal friendship, the continuation by the survivor of the work of the beloved companion long withdrawn from earth. That such sacred feelings have blended with Mr. Mill's steady enthusiasm we still believe ; but from the opening sentence of the present book we learn that the adoption of his task took place yet earlier than we had supposed. His present opinion, he says, was formed "from the very earliest period when I had formed any opinions at all on social and political matters ;" and instead of being weakened or modified, it has constantly grown stronger by the progress of reflection and the experience of life.

This "opinion," bravely stated in the next phrase, and calmly argued out in a long consecutive chain of reasoning throughout the book, is one which will startle many even of those who have given Mr. Mill credit for accumulating the very worst heresies hitherto known, moral, religious and political, in his single person. "We always knew he was a dangerous free-thinker" (we hear them say), "but truly this new doctrine out-herods Herod. Where are we drifting, when such subversive ideas can be unblushingly enunciated by a man of reputation?" Truly, in all seriousness, we believe we are drifting a great way from the old moorings. Churches and systems of representation have been undergoing revolutions, and now the change threatens to come not only to our doors, but within them, and into the inmost recesses of our domestic life.

In one of the delicious old German stories collected by the brothers Grimm, there is a tale, called Frederick and Catherine, wherein the heroine, being desired by her husband to lock the door of their house when they are setting out on a journey, thinks she does a great deal better by taking the door off its hinges and carrying it on her back. Having also to carry some nuts and some vinegar, she ingeniously fastens them to the door, by way of alleviation; and staggers under her load, till, overpowered with fatigue, she stops to think how she can lighten it. "It must be the vinegar," says the poor fool; and straightway pours her vinegar away, drop by drop. But the door remains as heavy as ever. "Then it can only be the nuts," she cries; and so she lets them fall one by one on the road. Still her burden is unbearable. "Perhaps, after all, who knows but it may be the door?" So the door is thrown down, and the trouble removed. Very much in this way it would seem that women and their friends, for some years back, have been pondering what it could possibly be which weighed so heavily on them and made them such poor creatures. One detail after another has been canvassed,—the law which enabled husbands to beat their wives, the law which forbade women to testify against their husbands, the divorce laws, the common law regarding the property of married women, the obstructions to education and to entering professions, the refusal of the municipal and political franchise. "It must be the vinegar!" "It must be the nuts!" The vinegar

has been a good deal of it poured away, and the nuts seem in process of scattering. But the weight is not lifted yet. And now comes Mr. Stuart Mill, saying composedly, "My dear, it is the door which causes your suffering; get rid of that, and all will be well."

*"The principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances of human improvement. It ought to be replaced by a system of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other."**

Such is the thesis of Mr. Mill's book; a tolerably daring one, we think it will on all hands be admitted to be. So daring, that before we have time to consider how he will defend it, we are inclined to think, How he will be abused for this! What an avalanche of sarcasms and rebukes and jokes will be flung at him as he stands to be pilloried by those "sworn tormentors" of women and their knights, the Saturday Review and the Pall Mall Gazette! Think of "Paterfamilias" in the *Times*! Think of the probable Blackwood and possible Quarterly! Think of the High-church sermons on the marriage vow of obedience! Think of the Low-church lectures on texts culled at pleasure from Solomon who had a thousand wives, and from Paul who had none! Think—but we really can only think of Mr. Mill as of that African nation described by Herodotus, who went to war with the south wind, and the wind blew and covered them with the sand of the desert. The philosopher has gone forth to encounter the fierce simoom of prejudice, and if he be not blown upon with a vengeance, it will be a miracle indeed.

Having thrown down his gauntlet, our knight proceeds to ride round the course; and it must be confessed that he makes a tolerably clear sweep of it. In the present paper we shall try to follow him so as to do him the best justice in our power, namely, to give him not our praises, but a fair sketch of his argument, in as far as such close calm logic, such well-linked arguments, and sledge-hammer periods, are capable of being condensed or described by weaker hands. It is very generous of Mr. Mill to admit the mental equality

of women; but it would have done our souls good to have seen a woman's name on the title-page of such a book, or even to know any woman who was thoroughly capable of reviewing it. But then, per contra, how many men can write like Mr. Mill?

It is not without knowing what sort of dragons he has to contend against, that our author has set out on his arduous expedition. *Logic*, he thinks, is all on his own side, but *Feeling* is all, or nearly all, against him, and to attack Feeling with the weapons of Logic is extremely like cutting a fog with a hatchet. You may slash and hew right and left, and only wish for more resistance, if it were but of a man of straw to be knocked down. But when you drop your axe, the fog will be there quite undisturbed, and close round you, blinding your eyes and choking your lungs precisely as before. Nay, somehow, people cling to their prejudices with peculiar fondness when they are threatened with being exploded by reason. We are persuaded that the Baal-worshippers had quite a "Revival" after that scene in which Elijah confuted them in so aggravating a manner. Is not this a deep bit of that science for which some scholar should find us the proper name, but which we shall beg leave for the moment to call human-nature-ology?

"So long as an opinion is strongly rooted in the feelings, it gains rather than loses in stability by having a preponderating weight of argument against it. For, if it were accepted as the result of argument, the refutation of the argument might shake the solidity of the conviction; but when it rests solely on feeling, the worse it fares in argumentative contest, the more persuaded its adherents are, that *their feelings must have some deeper ground which the arguments do not reach.*"

In truth, it is not only natural, but in a certain sense right, for people to hesitate to surrender long-received opinions at the first summons. The understandings of the majority would need, as Mr. Mill himself says, to be much better cultivated, before they can be asked to place such reliance on their own power of estimating arguments as to give up practical principles in which they have been born and bred, at the first attack which they are not capable of logically resisting. There are fools at both ends of the scales of credulity; and the fool who too soon changes his opinion upon the graver matters of life, is a more dangerous

fool than he who doggedly sticks to what he has been taught, after reasonable confutation. The Philistine is a better, or at least a safer citizen of the commonwealth, than the unstable politician who lurches from side to side with every roll of the ship of state, and makes it well nigh impossible to trim the craft with such shifting ballast. But the reliance on customary opinion, when confuted by argument, ought to have its limit; and that limit ought to be reached soon when it can be shewn that the customary opinion has obviously arisen from any false and perverted sources—i.e. when there is proof that it is not natural sentiment, or (if Mr. Mill would grant us the word) intuition, but prejudice *pur et simple*. Custom may be either a venerable old gentleman deserving of all attention, or a disreputable old villain, to be dealt with on the principles of the Habitual Criminals Bill, and judged guilty till he prove his innocence. Mr. Mill consents to let his success hinge on the preliminary proof that the customary opinion which he opposes (namely, that of the rightful subordination of women to men), is the natural result of causes notoriously at work for ages, warping the consciences of men in the direction of their passions. In a word, he answers those who maintain that trees are most properly developed when their branches are all on one side, by shewing them the quarter whence a sea-blast constantly blows on them and forces them to grow awry.

It is of course not very difficult to shew how long it is in any community before the strong begin to feel that the weak have any rights as against them. Greece and Rome called themselves free, and lauded Liberty in every note of poetry, while the great majority of men were miserable slaves who might be killed and tortured with absolute impunity. To this day, few nations—nay, not even all professed moral philosophers—recognize that brutes have claims to mercy at our hands. “Non è Cristiano,” settles all appeals for pity towards horses and dogs throughout Italy and the Levant; and more than one English divine has laid down the principle, that we are called on to refrain from uselessly torturing them, not for their sakes, but our own. Despotisms of all kinds justify themselves always to the despot; and multitudes even of those who are degraded by enduring it, hug the yoke. But no tyranny of king over subject, master

over slave, has ever had so many roots of vitality as the rule over women by men. "It comes home to the person and hearth of every male head of a family, and of every one who looks forward to being so. The clodhopper exercises, or is to exercise, his share of the power equally with the highest nobleman. And the case is that in which the desire of power is strongest; for every one desires power most over those who are nearest to him, and in whom any independence of his authority is oftenest likely to interfere with his individual preferences."* Other tyrannies are got rid of by the combination of the sufferers; but in the case of women, such combination is impossible, and moreover "each individual of the subject class is in a chronic state of bribery and intimidation combined." Do people say it is "natural" that males should rule females? The law of force always seems the most natural of all things *to the strong*. "Conquering races hold it to be nature's own dictate that the feebler and unwarlike races should submit to the braver and manlier." "Unnatural" generally means "uncustomary," and nothing more.

Again, is it said that women themselves gladly accept the domination of the stronger sex? It is answered, that, in the first place, multitudes of them do nothing of the kind, but protest against it with all their small means of making themselves heard; and, in the second place, as above said, they are not only intimidated into silence, but bribed to submission. "The masters of women want more than simple obedience," and the whole education afforded to women tends to check independence and nourish submission.

"If it had been made the object of the life of every young plebeian to find personal favour in the eyes of some patrician, if domestication with him and a share of his affections had been held out as the prize to which he should aspire, and if when the prize had been obtained he had been shut out by a wall of brass from all interests not centering in him,—would not plebeians and patricians have been as broadly distinguished at this day as men and women are, and would not all but a thinker here and there have believed the distinction to be an unalterable fact of human nature?"

These and similar considerations prove, as Mr. Mill

* P. 19.

believes, that the supposed consciousness of the rightful subordination of one sex to the other, is the result of long-maintained and universal conquest constantly witnessed, and therefore confounded with a law of nature. A Chinese, in like manner, we suppose, might decide that compressed feet were a natural type of refined womanhood, and that it was an indefeasible instinct of the "eternal fitness of things" which makes Chinese mothers cram their babies' toes into iron shoes.

Whatever may be thought of the final conclusions of our author, it will hardly be denied that in these opening pages he has placed the *origin* of female subjection in a new light; and maintained not unsuccessfully his challenge to prove the common belief in its justice to rest on very ignoble grounds. Whether there be other arguments in its favour beside those of such popular feeling, he examines in detail as he proceeds.

The laws which determine the influence of circumstance on character, ought to form a very important branch of psychology, and not till some attempt has been made at ascertaining them, is there room for anybody to dogmatize about what are, or are not, the natural differences between men and women. M. Victor Hugo, by way of illustrating the horrors of aristocracy, has recently described in a slightly apocryphal manner how children used to be distorted in their growth to make agreeable toys for the "nobility, clergy and gentry" of former times. In China, he assures us, they used to be put in porcelain jars, expressly made to order; so that a mandarin had nothing to do but to sketch the ins and outs which his fancy suggested as a variety of the received undulations of the human form, and in the course of a few years he received a man precisely of the required shape and size. We have of course no doubt of the absolute truth of these wonderful anecdotes. But inasmuch as the children experimented upon by those sculptors of humanity discovered by M. Hugo could not fairly be described "natural," neither can the characters and abilities of creatures manipulated as women are, fairly come under that designation. Even if we were to confine ourselves to the training of a single girl, and treat her as an isolated being, there would be much in her physical and moral treatment to remind us of the Porcelain Jar system of education. She may freely grow, and even

swell to abnormal proportions in the regions of the heart ; but the head has but a small chance of expansion, and the whole base is weak and ricketty in the extreme. Nothing can be more misleading, however, than to think of the training of human creatures or of animals as if it reached only the individuals immediately subjected to it. We recognize familiarly how the offspring of a trained dog, or of a cat taught to be peculiarly trustful, inherit the parents' qualities ; and it is absurd to suppose that the same thing does not take place in the human race in the vast though obscure field of our instinctive tendencies and antipathies, facilities and disabilities. Mr. Darwin describes how rabbits when tamed gradually go on through generations increasing in general bulk as they are well fed, but growing more stupid and having proportionally smaller and smaller brains as there is no need for them to exert even the small intelligence of rabbinical existence in the construction of holes and the escape from weasels. Finally it comes to pass that the daughter of a hundred (not exactly high-born, but) hutch-born rabbits is twice as heavy as her ancestress was when "wild in woods that noble savage ran ;" but her brain actually weighs several ounces less. Whether Mr. Darwin intended it, we dare not surmise, but did he not in these interesting observations furnish us with a very parable in the manner of *Æsop* concerning the development of women in an artificial and hutch-like state of existence ? "Oh, but," it will be said, "inherited qualities must run in both male and female lines alike. The male offspring and the female will share them equally." I reply, that of course they, will, *if both are kept all their lives in the hutch*. But if all the young male rabbits are taken out as soon as they are weaned, and permitted to get their own living among the gorse and the turnips, while the young females are kept close in the "sacred shelter of the home," and supplied with unsought-for cabbage-leaves, the result will certainly be manifest in that day when they are both brought up for philosophic examination, roast or boiled, as the case may be. The brother bred in the open air will have a "game flavour," while the sister will resemble her forbears, so bitterly satirized by Boileau (the *Saturday Reviewer* of the *Siècle Louis XIV.*),

"Qui, dès leur tendre enfance élevés dans Paris,
Sentait encore le chou dont ils furent nourris."

Mr. Mill does not touch on this part of the subject, but presses on to urge that we are yet wholly in the dark as to what women could, or could not, do were freedom given to them, and that

"There are no means of finding what either one person or many can do but by trying; and no means by which any one else can discover for women what it is for their happiness to do or leave undone. One thing we may be certain of—that what is contrary to woman's nature to do, they never will be made to do by simply giving their natures free play. The anxiety of mankind to interfere on behalf of nature, for fear lest nature should not succeed in effecting its purpose, is an altogether unnecessary solicitude. What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing. What they can do, but not so well as the men who are their competitors, competition suffices to exclude them from, since nobody asks for protective duties and bounties in favour of women; it is only asked that the present bounties and protective duties in favour of men should be recalled."*

The double absurdity of the case comes out when we consider that women are at once supposed to be so exclusively and passionately desirous of being wives and mothers, that they are all sensible of being complete failures in life when they do not become so; and that a sour and embittered, or at best mournful and resigned, aspect is the appropriate expression for an old maid; while all the time, if other vocations besides matrimony be thrown open to them, there is imminent danger to the community of a general rush of women away from the hitherto all-inviting bowers of conjugal felicity, into offices and chambers, consulting-rooms and hospitals. Instead of seven women taking hold of the skirts of one man, it is dreaded that seven men will then endeavour to seize the (much abbreviated) skirts of one woman; and Mr. Greg's somewhat impertinent question, "Why are Women Redundant?" will be answered by a brisk denial of his major proposition, and a cheerful chorus of feminine voices,

"We've got our work to do!"

Perhaps, in sober earnest, it would be extremely well for both husbands and wives if women were generally allowed

the option of some other course of life beside matrimony, and did not always stand in the market-place idle till some man hired them. If Mr. B., who fondly believes he is chosen exclusively for his own irresistible attractions, were to know all the motives of weariness of an aimless life, fear of solitary age, narrowness of circumstances, and hopelessness of finding remunerative employment, which combine to turn the balance against dislike of his person and contempt for his vanity, he would probably think that, after all, it would have been better for both parties had Miss A. had some other choice beside Hobson's open to her as a career. Of course the simple and obvious fact is, that, as marriage is undoubtedly the Creator's plan for his creatures, so it is presumably the form of life most conducive to happiness for the majority of them. Nor can there ever be any change in this broad principle, unless in the case of human legislation adding such arbitrary conditions to the natural bond of mutual faith and love as shall make it intolerably irksome to either sex, and outbalance the felicity God meant to attach to it. Let marriage be as simple as possible, and as little clogged with onerous and irrelevant conditions, and the greater number of men and women will always prefer it either to celibacy or to those temporary unions which claim to be still more natural, but are in truth much less so,—seeing that all human love (as distinguished from brute passion) spontaneously desires to eternize its union with the one beloved, and the vow of mutual and perpetual fidelity alone fulfils this sacred instinct. On the other hand, if anything could have been ingeniously devised to deter one sex from the natural desire of marriage, it would be the conditions arbitrarily attached to it by man-made laws all over the world. Every man in effect says to the woman whom he invites to wed him, *not,*

“Oh come with me and be my love,”

but—

“Oh come with me and be my slave.”

“I will treat you with the utmost kindness and consideration, but still *that* will be our real legal relation, which I can enforce at any time if I please.” It is not very wonderful that some women decline the tempting invitation; or that many men, who know what it signifies, think it

highly desirable to shut every door behind those women who might be induced to back out of such engagements into other modes of life.

Mr. Mill thinks that the fact is, that the men who oppose the opening of professions to women are not afraid lest women should be unwilling to marry, but "lest they should insist that marriage should be on equal conditions; lest all women of spirit and capacity should prefer doing almost anything else rather than marry, when marrying is giving themselves a master, and a master too of all their earthly possessions." He proceeds further to point out that, according to such policy, all that has been done towards giving women education has been a mistake. With all deference we would submit, however, that this accusation of far-sighted policy can at most apply but to a few men. The truth to us seems rather to be, that all men whose natures are either egotistic or despotic,—all men who desire to absorb their wives' whole interests to themselves,—all, in short, who are not capable of rising to a very pure and noble love, which shall combine the mutuality of friendship with the tenderness of conjugal passion,—instinctively and without any reflection at all, dislike everything in a woman which has a tendency to give her a standpoint outside of themselves, a power of being happy and self-sufficing through her own gifts and pursuits. The more obvious is the gift, the more honourable and brilliant the career opened to a woman, the more distasteful it is to a man of the character we have described. Why is it that actresses, singers and ballet-dancers, are the exceptionally favoured and remunerated of all female artists, and alone make brilliant marriages? Is it not obvious that it is because their arts are all mere appeals to men's personal admiration, and thus gratifications of their vanity instead of mortifications of it? Men of superior class and fortune by dozens bestow their wealth and their coronets on women who have violated every article in the code of *bienséances* of their order, as well as the natural laws of personal dignity. But which of them desires to be the husband of the most modest and amiable of female painters, novelists and sculptors? Running over in our memory the brilliant list for the last hundred years of good and gifted women, from the days of Madame de Staël and Angelina Kauffman and Mrs. Hemans, to those of our own day, we do not remember one

whose romances, or pictures, or poems, have proved such an attraction as would have been the art of standing on the tips of her toes and swinging her legs at right angles; not one who has married a single degree above the station of her birth; and a remarkably large number who, having married in their own or a lower rank, have been treated with peculiar cruelty by their husbands. Not even such absolutely feminine gifts as those of poor L. E. L., Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Hemans and Mrs. Jamieson, saved them from extremest misery in marriage. In the present generation the greatest female painter of France and sculpturess of America are allowed to pursue their vocations "in maiden meditations fancy free." We do not hear of *them* being pursued (even with all the wealth their gifts command, and all the charm of their characters) by such adoring swains as follow a Patti or even a Schneider with proposals of marriage. Thus we need to go deeper than Mr. Mill has done to get at the root of the matter. There is a notion more profoundly planted in the minds of the common sort of men than even that of their rightful despotism over women. It is the notion (too readily accepted by many women also) that a perfect marriage does not mean a marriage wherein two persons are each the first in the world to one another; but a marriage wherein the woman is absorbed in the man, and the man is absorbed in—himself.

In his second chapter, Mr. Mill traces historically the condition of married women up to the present day, and discusses the existing law of England on the subject.

"Because the various enormities of earlier times have fallen into disuse, men suppose that all is now as it should be in regard to the marriage contract, and we are continually told that civilization and Christianity have restored to the woman her just rights. Meanwhile the wife is the actual bond-servant of her husband; not less so, as far as legal obligation goes, than slaves commonly so called."

He has (till Mr. Lefevre and Mr. Gurney's Bill become law) the absolute right over her property and earnings, unless she happen to be protected by a settlement. He has a right over her person which even a slave who loathed her master for his vices and his cruelty might resist, but which a wife cannot resist. And, lastly, he has a right over her children.

"They are by law *his* children. He alone has any legal rights over them. Not one act can she do towards them except by delegation from him. Even after he is dead she is not their legal guardian, unless he by will has made her so." (Mr. Mill might have added, that even when the husband does constitute his widow sole guardian of their children, she cannot again by testament appoint her successor.) "This is her legal state. And from this she has no means of withdrawing herself. If she leave her husband, she can take nothing with her, neither her children nor anything which is rightfully her own. If he choose, he can compel her to return by law or by physical force. It is only legal separation by a decree of a court of justice, which entitles her to live apart, . . . and this is even yet only given in cases of the extreme of cruelty or wrong."

Nor is the case one of temporary suffering only. The lot once cast, a wife's misery, if she have a bad husband, is all but irremediable. Other servants choose their masters many times, and change them when ill-treated; but "a woman to whom is denied any lot in life but that of being the body-servant of a despot," is refused (unless he add adultery to his cruelty) all release from him. This is in the strictest sense to be not a servant, but a slave.

Of course, when we think of the vast majority of kind and affectionate husbands there are in the world, of the number of households in which perfect equality prevails, and of the not inconsiderable proportion in which exists that highly undesirable state of things where the wife rules and the man is hen-pecked, all these strong statements of Mr. Mill seem misplaced and even preposterous. Not a few readers will feel indignant at them. But, as he goes on to say, we are not talking of what use men make of their power when they are good, but what use the law allows them to make when they are bad. "Because men in general do not inflict, nor women suffer, all the misery which could be inflicted and suffered if the full power of tyranny with which the man is legally invested were acted on," it only proves that human nature is better than the law. "Not a word can be said for despotism in the family which cannot be said for political despotism." Nobody doubts that slaves may love their masters, and that much happiness may be enjoyed under the absolute rule of a kindly-disposed tyrant. But marriage is meant not for good men only, but for bad; nor

does the law take the slightest precaution to ascertain the character of the person to whom it delegates a power no longer to be found elsewhere in the civilized world.

But in the midst of these arguments, we are always pulled up by the question, put with the conviction of its unanswerable force, "How is the family to exist without a head? When the will of husband and wife differ, how is the case to be decided if there be not an acknowledged master?" May we for a moment quit the guidance of Mr. Mill, and treat this question from our own point of view?

Many matrimonial principles are very mysterious to the celibate mind, but none of them more puzzling than this: What is the force of this commonplace about the necessity of a ruler in a house where two people happen to live as man and wife? We are poor outsiders, but we have always fondly believed that "wedded love" was a sort of glorified friendship. We read in our Prayer Books with awe, if not with envy, of "Holy" Matrimony, and of all the pretty things which M. and N. promise to do and be to one another. Judging from the mere old-bachelor or old-maid point of view, we should at least have taken it for granted that the aforesaid M. and N. would find it at least as easy to "live in unity and godly love" as Mr. A. and his sister Miss B., or the two sisters C., or the two friends D. and E., or the two heads of that flourishing firm, Messrs. F. and G. None of these good people, male or female, are in the habit of calling on Jupiter to get their wheels out of the mud when they happen to stick in it. The law settles none of their terms of agreement; but somehow they manage to rub on, and their houses do not tumble down in the apocalyptic manner threatened to married couples in consequence of being divided against themselves. Nothing is more common in such cases than for the partnership to be complicated by the joint charge of children. But even then, we do not hear of those fearful wars and disasters always prophesied in similar cases for married people unless the husband be invested with absolute authority. Can the truth be—we tremble to write it, but we must expose the depth of our difficulty—can it be that, after all, marriage is not so very—well, not such entirely and perfectly delightful a yoke as we have been always informed? A most amiable dog of our acquaintance, who never growls at anybody when at large, is apt to

grow savage and bite viciously all round when any one holds him by the tail. We do not mean anything, of course, by alluding to this fact of natural history; but still, if marriage does make such very exceptionally dear friends, how is it that married couples need, more than any other friends and partners, to be kept from fighting, by always supplementing Ponto's superior strength by the "legal intervention" of the gamekeeper's whip over Fan's shoulders?

Mr. Mill suggests various plans of "limited liability partnership" for husbands and wives, the most obvious of course being that the man should regulate the out-door concerns of the firm, and the woman those of the house. Such arrangements might easily be agreed on before marriage, and be only rescinded with the consent of both parties afterwards. But now that a woman has no independent "sphere," not even her larder or linen-closet, into which her spouse may not poke his nose, what can be expected of her but to retaliate by meddling in her husband's departments? We are all sick of being told on every occasion that "we must draw a line somewhere." But if people would only draw a line leaving wives some small field for their independent wills, we should see fewer specimens of that distressing animal, the Grey Mare. Schiller warns wisely—

Vor dem Slaven wenn er die kette bricht
Vor dem freien Menschen, erzittert nicht!

The rightful (and ample) share of work for a wife, as Mr. Mill earnestly sets forth, is the care of the children and the household. She ought not, save in most exceptional cases, to have further labour. But though this task is commonly enough left to her, she is in discharging it at every moment liable to authoritative interference. If the husband have a crotchet about baby's pinafores, the wife has no right to say, "Mind your own affairs!" A wiseacre we have heard of (a wealthy gentleman), ordained that his children till two years old should wear no clothes whatever, and should sleep at night, like so many chrysalises, in boxes filled with bran. The poor wife remonstrated in vain, as her infants pined and shivered out of the bran into their graves. The sublime law of England left the question of their little shirts to be decided beyond appeal by the sage to whom they exclusively belonged.

Our diminishing space warns us to pass more rapidly over the latest chapters of Mr. Mill's book. They are devoted to arguments touching the admission of women to the franchise, and to every profession in which their abilities may enable them to obtain entrance, and also to the consideration of the oft-repeated assertions of the intellectual inferiority and moral superiority of women. As to the latter point, Mr. Mill is somewhat indignant at the men who at the same time tell women that they are much better than themselves; and then, as if it were a proper *sequitur*, that they ought to be in subjection to them. "It is the only case," says Mr. Mill, "in which it is supposed fitting that the better should obey the worse." He does not think that women are morally superior to men, and considers the attribution to them of such goodness a compliment of a very doubtful character. For our own parts, we are inclined to think that in this matter Mr. Lecky's admirable sketch of women's character, at the close of his splendid *History of European Morals*, is very near the truth. Certainly in the peculiarly Christian virtues of self-sacrifice, purity, patience, mercy and piety, the majority of women are superior to the majority of men. Even where the servile vices engendered by their condition have eaten into their souls, when the woman whose feeble voice is constantly drowned by masculine bluster takes to deception instead of honest, above-board argument, and when the woman who cannot give her child the things she knows it needs, has recourse to mean arts of wheedling or concealment to obtain them,—even then the sin is rather one of circumstance than of nature. The spontaneous cruelty of the school-boy, the wholly selfish passion and sensuality of the man, are things most rare in a girl or woman. Even in courage of the moral sort, in trying with all her little power to "deliver him that is oppressed from the hand of the adversary," a woman is commonly much more willing to act the Quixote, and put herself out of her way and into trouble, than the supposed more chivalrous sex. Such principles of religion and morality as she has found, she generally makes an effort to act up to, in some sort of way; and does not (as a great divine once complained to us of his masculine scholars) let them all run off like water from a duck's back.

But however all this may be, the question of women's

comparative moral excellence, and also, we think, their intellectual capacity, has nothing to do with the argument in question. If they are better than men, then it is monstrous that the better should obey the worse. If they are worse than men—more cruel, more selfish, more drunken—even then, so long as they are admitted to be morally responsible beings and are subject to the same criminal laws, there is no ethical reason why every woman should have a despotic master. The laws punish crime sufficiently without selling all the individuals of the criminal classes into perpetual slavery.

Again, for the intellectual equality of women with men, we are sorry not to be able to follow Mr. Mill without misgivings. Admitting that no woman has ever created a masterpiece of literature or art, he argues that the conditions in which women have hitherto lived have made such success all but impossible to them. We fear that, though of course the negative cannot be proved, the presumption is terribly strong in its favour. One single really *great* work of ancient or modern times achieved by a woman, in poetry, in history, in sculpture, in painting or in music, only *one* in which creative power had beyond all doubt or question built an enduring trophy, and we should cease to hesitate. But till that work is done, women cannot "speak with their enemies in the gate" with any confidence. It is all a matter of conjecture. Yet if the utmost scepticism on this point be justified, it is still absolutely irrelevant to the argument concerning the political and domestic independence of women. It is not as sculptors, painters and musicians that men are permitted or wanted to exercise civil rights. The Anglo-Saxon and Roman nations have been supposed always to be inferior in artistic genius to the Celts and the Greeks, but they have not on that account been ruled by Celt or Greek. Suppose that, beside our English lack of first-rate sculptors or musicians or painters a century or two ago, it had happened that both Shakespeare and Milton had died in infancy. Then an Italian statesman of the period might have written of us that we were a race which had never produced a masterpiece of Art. Would he have proceeded further, and argued on that slender foundation that Italians had a right to rule over England? Of course, if it could be equally proved, or even a presumption shewn, that women

had not those powers which civil order demands should be possessed by all who have a share in it; if they had no moral sense, or no comprehension of matters of public or private economy, then, indeed, there would be reason in bringing up for discussion their intellectual status whenever their claims are being examined. But nobody pretends that there exist such disabilities in the sex, or even that the average female capacity is beneath that of the lowest stratum of male voters to whom the franchise has now been accorded. Nay, the curious fact is, that the deficiency of women in art and literature is curiously compensated for in the field of politics among the very few who have had a chance of shewing their power. The proportion of great female sovereigns and regents in the ancient and modern world, among the score or so of women who have ever reigned, is nothing less than a marvellous phenomenon. From the half-fabulous Semiramis, the brave Artemisia, and the noble Zenobia, down to Maria Theresa and Isabella and Elizabeth, it seems almost the rule that Queens should be great and wise sovereigns, and the exception when they are merely, like Queen Anne, on the average of male royalty. Mr. Mill indignantly scouts the *dictum* concerning these sagacious rulers by which masculine vanity has generally soothed itself, namely, that when a man is on the throne women rule, and *vice versa*. In the first place, women do not generally rule under a king; and, in the second place, it is not the relinquishment, but the practice and highest achievement, of good government to select and maintain able and upright ministers. In nothing is kingcraft so thoroughly manifested. Mr. Mill adds:

“If a Hindoo principality is strongly, vigilantly and economically governed, if order is preserved without oppression, if cultivation is extending and the people prosperous, in three cases out of four that principality is under a woman’s rule. This fact, to me an entirely unexpected one, I have collected from a long official knowledge of Hindoo governments.”*

We cannot leave this part of the subject without expressing the most emphatic agreement with Mr. Mill’s passing observations on one of the hitherto unnoticed causes which, perhaps more than all others, has kept women’s

* P 100.

capacities from due expansion. He says, that one reason "why women remain behind men even in the pursuits which are common to them and men, is, that very few women have time for them. This may seem a paradox, but it is an undoubted fact. The time and thoughts of almost every woman have to satisfy great previous demands on them before she can turn her attention to any chosen pursuit. The superintendence of a household, even when not laborious, is extremely onerous to the thoughts," and causes constant interruptions of study; and just as a woman rises in wealth and social importance above household cares, so she enters a sphere of labours connected with party-giving and party-going, visiting and note-writing, even more distracting. Many a man who despises women's intellect, would go mad if subjected for a week to the swarm of small cares for ever buzzing about his wife's ears. How many masculine works, we marvel, would be suppressed, if all the quiet Temple chambers, all the silent libraries and unapproachable studies, were shut up, and the authors had to scribble in a drawing-room, with children, nurses, notes and visitors pouring in and out all the day long? Only a woman knows how impossible it is to train even the most submissive of servants to refrain from breaking in on the hours of abstrusest study, to ask how the lace is to be sewn on an evening dress, and whether the cook is to order soles, since the mackarel are not fresh. It is an evidence of the real intelligent sympathy Mr. Mill has given to female affairs that he has "spotted" this evil under the sun, and observed, "If it were possible that all this number of little practical interests (which are made great to them) should leave women much energy or leisure to devote to art or speculation, they must have a greater original active faculty than the vast majority of men. A woman is expected to have her time at the disposal of everybody. Hardly can she give her own business precedence over other people's amusement. Everything a woman does is done at odd times." This is the reason why a resident College for young women, such as that projected by Miss Davies and founded by the munificence of Madame Bodichon and the devotion of Mrs. Manning (the first Lady-Warden), is indispensable, if there is ever to be real study for ladies. Not one daughter or sister in five thousand can command three hours—two

hours—one hour—of unbroken study under her father's roof.

But, as we have said from the first, the moral or intellectual capacity or defects of women are matters irrelevant to the questions at issue. It is as sensible to classify sex politically, as it would be to classify politically men under the height for military service. The inferiority of women to men, to make the most of it, is the most indefinite and variable of all forms of inferiority. Nobody is agreed on what it is, save in the general inferiority of physical height, strength and size of brain. But many women are taller and stronger than thousands of men, and Mr. Mill tells us that the largest brain yet weighed belonged to a woman. The moral inferiority of women is more often denied than asserted, and the average intellectual inferiority under equal conditions seems less certain after each of the Cambridge Local Examinations. Yet this (real or supposed) indefinite and indescribable inferiority is held to constitute, what no other kind or sort of inferiority now constitutes in any civilized state, namely, a permanent bar to political rights and domestic equality, and to open competition in every department of honourable employment. There is mockery in calling such inference from such a fact an argument. Let us imagine some class of male individuals, say coal-heavers or iron-puddlers, proved to have never produced a first-rate work of art among them—of being more often drunk than other men, and of general ignorance of classics and mathematics. What would be said of the Member who should rise in Parliament and gravely propose to exclude them from the benefit of the Reform Bill on the above grounds? And what should we think, further, if another Senator maintained that such inferior beings ought each of them to be "subject" for life to some individual belonging to the classes who create works of art, and do not often drink and swear, and obtain degrees at the University? Not till "inferiority" is made equivalent to "serfdom" somewhere else than in the case of woman, is there any meaning in harping upon it whenever the subjection of women is under discussion.

He who thinks that Mr. Mill's proposals would lead, if adopted, to the ruin of conjugal happiness, ought not to close his book without at least noting his observations as

to what, in accordance therewith, he thinks marriage ought to be. We are, as we confessed long ago, poor outsiders, somewhat staggered between ideal matrimonial felicity as found in novels (only occasionally in them in these days), and certain revelations which come to us through the Divorce Court and other channels, as to what may be the domestic happiness really enjoyed in England under the present order of things. A wise and loving woman, wife of a very worthy man, but a thorough disciple of the despotic school, bestowed on us two apophthegms as a general guide to the life we were then about to enter: "Remember this, my dear: Woman proposes, but Man opposes." "Married women appear happy; single ones are so."

In sober seriousness, we can testify that among the multifarious acquaintances of a life-time, the happiest and most united marriages we have known have been those where, according to the religious opinions of the parties, no "obedience" was vowed or expected. And the most miserable, were those wherein the husband considered it a portion of his duty as well as his pleasure to keep his household in subjection.

Let us end this discussion, which, however we may try to lighten it by jests, has ever a painful jar in it, by rising to the noble "note" Mr. Mill has struck in conclusion:

"What marriage may be in the case of two persons between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them, so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other, I will not attempt to describe. To those who can conceive it, there is no need. To those who cannot, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage, and that all opinions, customs and institutions which favour any other notion of it, by whatever pretences they may be coloured, are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral reformation of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation."

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

V.—HENRY CRABB ROBINSON.

Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A. Selected and edited by Thomas Sadler, Ph.D. 3 Vols. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

THESE three volumes might have been thirty, had editor and publisher so pleased. Their materials were—1, brief journals up to 1810; 2, full diary from 1811 to 1866, in 35 closely-written volumes; 3, about 30 volumes of journals of tours; 4, reminiscences up to 1843; 5, miscellaneous papers; 6, a large number of letters.

The only question must be—selection being of necessity—whether the charm of an autobiography is retained. We know that every genuine life, written by its liver, is interesting. We think Dr. Sadler has succeeded in this point. By attending to the thread of chronology, and by judicious adherence to H. C. R.'s own words, we find, by trial on others, that the interest keeps up, even to those who know little of the characters.

We might write an essay on Crabb Robinson, or we might give specimens of the diary: we cannot do both; we shall therefore prefer the specimens. But even here we must do what it would much have amused H. C. R. to see described in our way. We cannot grapple with Goethe or Wordsworth or Charles Lamb, as running through our pages: we must content ourselves with characteristics derived from points of less importance. Time was when in those suburban regions in which the gardens bore linen leaves on rope branches, the commonalty used to wash everything. The next step of aristocracy was to put out the *great wash*, consisting of sheets, table-cloths, &c. Ladies of this grade would say with much complacency, "We hangs out nothing but our *smalls*." Now this is just our case; it would exceed our ground to attempt to hang out anything but *smalls*.

If any one were to attempt a short description of H. C. R., it could only be done effectively in the semi-satirical way. You see, Sir! he was a Bury man, who broke away from a solicitor's office, and, having a small independence, went to Germany to be a Jena student. And here he clung on to

Goethe and Schiller and Schelling and Wieland, and such like: and he talked. Talk, Sir! was his line of life: a friend warned him at near ninety years of age, "Robinson, you will get on well if you never talk more than two hours at a time." "He is a good fellow, and he talks"—was the description given by the waiter, we think, at an hotel. He learnt not merely to talk in German, *cela va sans dire*, but to write and to think. Well, Sir! he came home, joined himself to the *Times* newspaper, represented it at Altona and at Corunna, wrote editorial articles, and finally was called to the bar. He was very successful, and in a few years made what he called a competency. In the meanwhile he picked up Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Charles Lamb, Rogers, &c. &c. &c., and dipped his German in the Lake. He was very thick with all these men, who loved and honoured him, as did his German acquaintance,—a sure proof that he was good: their mere toleration proved that he had good literature. When all his great cronies were dead, he lived on more than twenty years to talk about them, and to be an isthmus of communication between two different ages. Useful enough he was in this way; but he left such a heap of diary and memoranda as defies all publication. It is given to a certain extent in these volumes; but the whole is to be arranged and deposited somewhere—perhaps at University Hall. And so in time to come literary lacunæ may be filled up out of the "Crabb Robinson Papers." Having gained a good fortune by the death of his brother, he made his house the rendezvous of a select society of friends, which was not enlarged by fashion, or caprice, or the demands of convention: it grew by natural assimilation, and in various cases the sons of those who had passed away took their fathers' places. I shall not be of any use, prophesied the young man; I have not been of any use, said the old man: Wait awhile, says posterity. Putting aside all the good which springs out of genial converse and liberal aid to good institutions—and, under the rose, to good men—the collector of a vast mass of literary history is one who bids more fair for posthumous utility than the arranger and selector of a finished work. He may be content with the humble name of a collector, most of whose labours live only in the dust of one library; but the day may come, and in many cases must come, when

the very trivial facts—so now accounted—turn out the explanations of a puzzle or the clenches of a proof.

We shall not attempt to put plan into a mighty maze, but shall pick a leaf or a flower here and there, keeping the only guide we have, chronology.

H. C. R. born at Bury, May 13, 1775 ; died February 5, 1867, within a hundred days of 92 complete. Aye ! but surely some of the fag-end was mere animal life ? No such thing. He died on Tuesday, and up to noon on Saturday was quite himself, as ready at an anecdote as ever. A slight appearance of lethargy came on ; and the friend who was with him desired that the medical attendant should be called.

His father was a tanner, and both his father and mother were so good-looking, that they were toasted in Bury on their wedding-day as "the handsome couple." His first instructor (1781) was *old* Blomfield, the grandfather of the Bishop. His first classical instructor was his uncle by marriage, the Rev. J. L. Fenner, of whose instructions he gives a disparaging account. But much more is given in the Appendix by a schoolfellow of H. C. R., as he calls himself, forgetting to mention that their times of pupillage differ by thirty years. Mr. De Morgan was a pupil of Mr. Fenner, after the latter had subsided from a boarding-school at Devizes to a day-school in another part of the country ; and the younger pupil has confirmed the low estimate entertained by the elder. H. C. R. was hard to persuade that the two Fenners were one : so Mr. De Morgan said, "He called his wife *Utie*." "That *was* her name," said H. C. R.

He remembers the appearance of Cowper's "John Gilpin" and learning it by heart. This is set down at 1786, which is about the right time. But there is a gentleman alive who remembers his mother telling him the story before Cowper's tale was published ; and the name was *Gilpin* and the residence *Cheapside*.

1790-95, he was articled to a solicitor. In 1797 he got about £100 a year by the death of his uncle ; and first seriously thought of the bar. In 1798 he called on the celebrated Robert Hall to explain an assertion that it was disgraceful for a Christian to admit him (H. C. R.) into his house. Robert Hall did not come out well : he pleaded that from H. C. R.'s opinions about Godwin it might be *inferred* that

he was an atheist of one kind or another. But theologians are so much given to declare inferred doctrines to be statements of Scripture, that their application of this vicious transformation to individuals is not much to be wondered at.

In 1800, H. C. R. set off for a course of University study in Germany. Here is a description, to his brother, of a kind of dancing unknown to England :

"The dancing is unlike anything you ever saw. You must have heard of it under the name of waltzing—that is, rolling or turning, though the rolling is not horizontal but perpendicular. Yet Werter, after describing his first waltz with Charlotte, says—and I say so too—'I felt that if I were married, my wife should waltz (or roll) with no one but myself.' Judge—the man places the palms of his hands gently against the sides of his partner, not far from the arm-pits. His partner does the same, and instantly with as much velocity as possible they turn round and at the same time gradually glide round the room. Now, as Sir Isaac Newton borrowed his notion of attraction from an apple falling, why might not Copernicus, who was a German, conceive his theory of the twofold motion of the earth from a waltz, where both parties with great rapidity themselves turn round and yet make the circuit of the room?"*

Copernicus was a grave Polish priest, and had far older hints.

He made acquaintance with a parish priest, Hildebrand, who assured him that Michaelis was forgotten, and that Paulus had taken his place. On mentioning the retort then attributed to Wilkes, namely, "Where were your hands before you washed them?" in reply to—"Where was your religion before Luther?" his friend informed him that this very retort is to be found in a German pamphlet nearly as old as Luther's movement.

After some travel in Germany, he matriculated at Jena in October, 1802. We cannot undertake to particularize his introductions to Wieland, Goethe, Herder, &c. &c. We might out of these volumes collect an article about Goethe, about Schelling, about Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Charles and Mary Lamb, Blake, &c. &c. But we have no space for such great undertakings ; and we must dwell on the small

things which are most illustrative of H. C. R.'s mode of collection.

A man without science—and H. C. R. was quite destitute—may make strange mixtures. He smiles at the male and female fire of his professor of physics, and at his illustrations of the Trinity; but he adds, "He may liken the operation of attraction and repulsion to the debit and credit of a merchant's cash-book." (N.B. These are all facts.) All who are the least *en rapport* with + and —, know that the illustration is perfectly good. Schelling was hard upon the English, Darwin, Locke, the thick-skinned Johnson, and the shallow Priestley: he thought that "science is not to be expected in a country where mathematics are valued only as they may help to make spinning-jennies and machines for weaving stockings." What would he have said if he could have looked *forward* to the railroad and the electric telegraph? We fully admit the low state of speculative knowledge in England in the period, 1750—1820; but it must be a fine country whose shallow man does what Priestley did for chemistry. Schelling, seeing a serpent on an English ring, asked if it were the symbol of English philosophy. "Oh, no!" said H. C. R., "but of German, because it changes its coat every year." "A proof," was the reply, "that the English do not look deeper than the coat." Not a bad thrust: but the parry should have been—"That is because there is nothing below the coat;" which, though an unfair exaggeration, is nearer the truth than Bacon's corresponding satire on astronomy.

H. C. R. wrote on German matters for the *Monthly Register*. He quotes his translation of Schiller's distich on the Homeric metre:

Giddy it bears thee away on the waves ever restless and rolling,
And thou, behind and before, seest but ocean and sky.

We hope Schiller never introduced a pentameter into an imitation of Homer: if he did, we like Coleridge's alteration: Strongly it bears us along, in swelling and limitless billows,
Nothing before and nothing behind but the sky and the ocean.

Or perhaps we should join C.'s second to H. C. R.'s first.

He gives an amusing account of what the German students called their duels, and of the precautions taken to keep them harmless. They might almost as well have adopted the plan

insisted on by a person who wanted to laugh at his challenger, and who used the privilege of the challenged person to insist on sabres at fifty paces, and no striking at a vital part. All this history is known; but it is not known that the victory of Jena was in part due to a colonel in the French army having been a student at Jena, and thereby knowing of a route which was little frequented, but which led to a favourite duelling-ground.

H. C. R. saw Chladni at Jena, and is surprised that his name was never heard in England. But this was only because he was not in the way of scientific discussion. Chladni has been a household word among those who study acoustics ever since 1810 at least.

H. C. R. went to a lecture by Paulus on the slightly more orthodox Paulus of the first century. The German considered Priestley as superstitious. Here is what came of it :

"Referring to the lecture I had heard, I said, 'Herr Geheimer-Kirchen-Rath (Mr. Privy-Church-Counsellor), will you oblige me by telling me whether I heard you rightly in a remark I understood you to make? It was this—that a man might altogether disbelieve in miracle, and of course all prophecy and inspiration, and yet be a Christian.' His answer I distinctly recollect: 'Don't imagine, Mr. Robinson, that I mean anything personally disrespectful when I say that that seems to me a foolish question (eine dumme Frage).—'How? Is that possible?'—'Why, it implies that Christianity may have something to do with inspiration, with prophecy, or with miracle; but it has nothing to do with them. (Es hat nichts damit zu thun.)'"*

It came into our head on seeing this anecdote that H. C. R. might be the abbreviation of Herr Conversations-Rath.

We might say much of Madame de Staël, but we shall only notice her remark on Coleridge, which is a label, if ever there were such a thing; but no libel. He is great at monologue, said she, but incapable of dialogue. Of the first conversation with Goethe is preserved his remark, that the comic scenes of *Venice Preserved* are particularly good. Now they are more disgustingly indecent than any scenes in the English drama, and are omitted in all modern editions. But Goethe meant that they shew a state of morals in the senate which accounts for and justifies the conspiracy. This criticism struck H. C. R. very forcibly, and took root:

he would give it in his latest days without any allusion to its source ; an uncommon thing with him.

There are stories, and remarkable ones, which find no place in the diary. The following, for instance, given in the Appendix, is easily explained as to the omissions. H. C. R. was introduced to Wordsworth in March, 1808, when he had just returned from his Danish newspaper mission, and was preparing for his Spanish mission: his notes might at this time be imperfect. It is also to be remembered that he did not begin to keep a *diary* until 1811. But he related the following to Mr. De Morgan several times, and at least twice more at request. Perhaps it took place on the very day of his introduction to Wordsworth. H. C. R. was sitting with Charles Lamb when Wordsworth came in with the *Edinburgh* of January in his hand and fume in his countenance. "I have no patience with these reviewers," he said. "Here is a young man, a lord and a minor, it seems, who has published a volume of poems, and these fellows attack him as if no one may write poetry unless he lives in a garret. The young man will do something if he goes on." Many years afterwards, H. C. R. told this to Lady Byron, whose remark was, "Ah! if Byron had known that, he would never have attacked Wordsworth. In truth, he had a great respect for Wordsworth. He went out one day to meet him at dinner, and when he came home I said, Well! how did the young poet get on with the old one? To tell the truth, said he, I had but one feeling from the beginning to the end of the visit—*Reverence!*"

Schiller died in 1805. H. C. R. was sitting with his friend Knebel, when one came into the room with, "Schiller ist todt." Knebel sprang up, struck the table, and cried out, "Der Tod ist der einzige dumme Jung." To challenge the grim king by the highest term of abuse of the duelling code, which must be followed by a fight, was a very amusing example of unpremeditated wrath.

H. C. R. left Jena in August, 1805. He got to Hamburg, after very nearly falling into the hands of the French, and thence to England. We have omitted many incidents of German life, and must do the same in what follows. He was now introduced to Mrs. Barbauld, and to Charles and Mary Lamb. There is a little effusion by Mrs. Barbauld, written in very old age, and not nearly as much known as

it should be: we give it for the sake of the accompanying story:

Life! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear:
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time;
Say not Good night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good morning.

Wordsworth made H. C. R. repeat these lines to him until he could repeat them himself, and then muttered, "I am not in the habit of grudging people their good things, but I wish I had written those lines."

H. C. R. now became connected with Walter and the *Times*: in 1807, he went to Altona as correspondent. He was driven out before the end of the year by the arrival of the French, against whom at that time there was no prophylactic except salt water. He had great difficulty in avoiding arrest before their arrival: and when his Serene Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin—no less a person—called out to him while bathing, that 10,000 French had just arrived, it was time to get away out of that, as the Irish say. He came back to England by way of Stockholm, was soon introduced to Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge. His close acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Clarkson began so early, that we can hardly detect its beginning. In a few months he accepted the Spanish correspondence, and arrived at Corunna, July 31, 1808. Here he remained until the battle had been fought and the English evacuated Corunna. Two things are worth a notice. Lord and Lady Holland arrived in Spain with a Lord (probably John) Russell. H. C. R. instructed a Spanish lady whom they visited to offer them the usual chocolate and sweetmeats, and also tea and bread and butter. To make sure, he had up the loaf and cut two very thin pieces, denoting that a plateful of the like should be prepared. The result was an immense silver dish loaded with pieces an inch thick, enough to feed all Westminster School. The other point is a mistake of name, arising from the sound. A Mr. Allen, said to be satirically known as "Lady Holland's Atheist," is called the "Edinburgh Reviewer," who in that character fell into a scrape

by abusing some Greek that was by Pindar. Now Byron's satire was not published until 1809, and *Hallam*, not *Allen*, was the alleged culprit. It should seem probable that Byron only caught up a story that was actually going about. As to the thing itself, it amounts to this, that Payne Knight, translating Gray's *Bard* into Greek, robbed Pindar of a line which ended in the middle of a clause, made his bard wet warm *tears* with *groans*, and procured from Hallam the verdict that the line was *nonsense*; as it was. The following is a tolerable parallel. Suppose some one wrote,

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Which Eve gave Adam in his birthday suit,
Sing, heavenly Muse!

And suppose some one called it nonsense; would that some one be satirizing *Milton*?

H. C. R. ceased to be on the staff of the *Times* in August, 1809; he had been for some time foreign editor. Among his colleagues was the Rev. Peter Fraser, who used to write leading articles. H. C. R. says very little about Peter Fraser, who was at last rector of Keyworth; but his life was a puzzle to his relatives. He was constantly moving about on the continent; and the suspicion was that he was a political agent of successive governments. H. C. R., if we remember aright, rather doubted this. But Peter Fraser certainly told his relations a story about his breach with Lord Melbourne, who reproached him with opposing the government in his county: Peter Fraser told the Minister that, though employed in foreign service by various governments, he was not pledged to the home politics of any one; and he gave Lord Melbourne to understand that the Whigs were particularly distasteful to him. This is given only as old hearsay: it may be confirmed or refuted. Peter Fraser was certainly one of the *Anti-Jacobin* lot with Canning, &c.

Another acquaintance was W. Combe, who wrote "*Dr. Syntax*." This, H. C. R. says, was utterly worthless, text and plates both: but this is a *Lake* judgment; we understand both text and plates are now in course of republication; and so much the better.

With 1811 begins the *diary* proper. Hitherto, says H. C. R., the trouble has been *collection*; henceforward it is *selection*.

Holcroft told Horne Tooke he was a "——— scoundrel." Tooke answered, "Mr. Holcroft, some time ago you asked me to come and dine with you; do tell me what day it shall be." At dinner at Thelwall's, Dr. Wolcott (Peter Pindar, of course) propounded as his morning's work,

Say, would you long the shafts of death defy?
Pray, keep your inside wet, your outside dry.

H. C. R. used to quote the first line as,

Would you, my friend, the shafts of death defy?

Peter Pindar had his own bottle by his side, wine of course: but H. C. R. slyly abducted a glass, and found it was brandy. He said, "Satire is a bad trade." Charles Lamb valued no pun but what partook of the ridiculous. He saw no merit in calling Evanson, who was all for St. Luke, a *lukewarm* Christian; but he was pleased with a friend who said the *Mantschu* Tartars must be cannibals. This kind of selection shews off the lighter parts of the diary: we might make a very serious article about Flaxman, but not in our space. Our readers have heard the story of an underwriter who hesitated to sign a policy, and promised to decide before next day. In the mean while the insurer heard that his ship was lost, and sent to the underwriter to say that he need not sign, as the vessel had been heard of. The underwriter, thinking that the news must be good, sent back word that he *had* signed; and so had to pay. E[rskine?] assured H. C. R. that this was a real occurrence: our jest-books send it across the Atlantic.

In 1811, he determined to study for the bar: he became a pupil of Littledale, afterwards Judge. To him the introduction was from Serjeant Rough, who is commemorated as one of three Cantabs who were chased by the Proctors for chalking, "Frend for ever!" on the walls during the famous trial. The second was Copley, Frend's private pupil (Lord Lyndhurst). The third, whose name is lost, was the only one captured, and was afterwards a bishop. This brings us to William Frend himself, who is soon after mentioned. Strange to say, the editor has given a correct account of the result of the trial: the heretic was *banished*, not *expelled*; that is, he kept his fellowship and his degree, and his name was on the list until his death in 1841. The following

is the real version of a story which has been mauled and handed over to Eldon and others.

"He related that when, in 1788, Beaufoy made his famous attempt to obtain the repeal of the Corporation and Test Act, a deputation waited on the Lord Chancellor Thurlow to obtain his support. The deputies were Drs. Kippis, Palmer (of Hackney), and Rees. The Chancellor heard them very civilly, and then said, 'Gentlemen, I'm against you, by G—, I am for the Established Church, d—mme! Not that I have any more regard for the Established Church than for any other church, but because *it is* established. And if you can get your d—d religion established, I'll be for that too!' Rees told this story with great glee."*

Wordsworth was not disconcerted by the laugh he raised when he said he would shed his blood for the Establishment, but confessed that he knew not when he was last in a church. "All our ministers are so vile," said he. We wonder H. C. R. did not know that those are political Churchmen who would fight for establishment, but whom nothing would induce to sit through a sermon. Was not Lord Thurlow one of them?

Coleridge threw in the face of Lady Macintosh the common satire,

A primrose by a river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.

This the lady admitted was her case. H. C. R. once tossed this reproach at an unpoetical friend—not that *he* tells the story—who forthwith went on with the quotation, shewing how easy it is to unhorse sentimental satire:

But after he had had his beer,
That primrose would like two appear,
Though only one before.

A case may be incapable of decision by one ambiguous word. Buller, then or afterwards Judge, was Coleridge's patron, got him into the Blue-coat school, and asked him to dine every Sunday. One day, when there was much company, the boy was placed at a "second" table, and, though only nine years old, would never go near the house again. Now a second table may mean a servants' table, or

it may mean a side-table: in the first case the young gentleman was right; in the second he was over-dignified.

Coleridge said that if philosophy had commenced with an *it is*, instead of an *I am*, Spinoza would be altogether true. There is something to think of here, but our readers must do it themselves. When did Coleridge open his mouth without the issue of something about the *sum-jective* and the *omjective*?

"October 10th [1812].—Dined at the Hall. A chatty party. It is said that Lady —— invited H. Twiss to dinner, and requested him to introduce an amusing friend or two. He thought of the authors of the 'Rejected Addresses,' and invited James Smith and his brother to come in the evening of a day on which he himself was to dine with her ladyship. Smith wrote, in answer, that he was flattered by the polite invitation, but it happened unluckily that both he and his brother had a prior engagement at Bartholomew Fair—he to eat fire and his brother to swallow 200 yards of ribbon."*

This story is true. We heard it several times (first in 1824) from a sister of the Smiths. In our recollection, it was that one was engaged to jump through a hoop at Astley's, and the other to eat fire at Bartlemy Fair: but the principle is the same, as Mrs. Nickleby said. We like good stories to be verified.

H. C. R. remembered that Marryat, a king's counsel, actually took the motto, "Causes produce effects," when he set up a carriage. A gentleman still living saw, in the last century, the motto, "Quid rides," on the chariot of Jacob Brandon, the tobacconist. This motto was furnished on demand by Harry Callender, of Lloyd's, a wit and a scholar, of whom we would gladly know more.

In "1811," that is, both in the year and in a poem thus entitled, Mrs. Barbauld gave what must stand for the real original New Zealander, until further showing. She says that a traveller from the antipodes will, from a broken arch of Blackfriars Bridge, contemplate the ruins of St. Paul's. Macaulay says he will *sketch* them from London Bridge. We have no doubt Macaulay had forgotten his source, but we may be sure that Mrs. Barbauld was not *aliena a Scaevolae studiis*.

* I. 401.

H. C. R. says that the two wisest acts of his life were his going to the bar at the age of 38, and retiring at 53. In those fifteen years he obtained a good practice, established himself as a leader on circuit, and made what he called a competence. He seems, at least, though it is ambiguously expressed, to have converted what he began with, £200 a year, into £500.

"*December 7th* [1814].—Met Thomas Barnes at a party at Collier's, and chatted with him till late. He related that, at Cambridge, having had lessons from a boxer, he gave himself airs, and meeting with a fellow sitting on a stile in a field, who did not make way for him as he expected, and as he thought due to a gowmsman, he asked him what he meant, and said he had a great mind to thrash him. 'The man smiled,' said Barnes, 'put his hand on my shoulder, and said, 'Young man, I'm Cribb.' I was delighted; gave him my hand; took him to my room, where I had a wine party, and he was the lion.' Cribb was at that time the Champion of England."*

At the end of his life he became rich by his brother's death, and, even after liberal gifts to his family, had a great deal to leave them. A friend of his used to be much puzzled by his saying, "All my money is either gone or going to public institutions." That friend did not know that by "*my* money" he meant what he had made himself: what, in reason, was the reversionary right of his relatives, he never called *his*.

It may be that in what follows we have some of the secret which made H. C. R. so easy to talk to.

"Mr. Crabb is arrived at an age when it is a prime pleasure to relate the history of his early years; and I am always an interested listener on such occasions. I am never tired by personal talk. The half-literary conversation of half-learned people, the commonplaces of politics and religious dispute, are to me intolerable; but the passions of men excited by their genuine and immediate personal interest always gain my sympathy, or sympathy is supplied by the observations they suggest. And in such conversations there is more truth and originality and variety than in the others, in which, particularly in religious conversations, there is a mixture of either Pharisaical imposture or imperfect self-deception. Men on such occasions talk to convince

* I. 463.

themselves, not because they have feelings they must give vent to."*

In September, 1816, H. C. R. first saw Wordsworth and Southey in their own houses. A neighbour, an auctioneer it would seem, inquired privately of H. C. R., "Is it true—as I have heard reported—that Mr. Wordsworth ever wrote verses?" Southey was haunted by fear of civil war, Luddites, Hunt and Cobbett. Within twenty years, the Luddites were to have votes, and Hunt and Cobbett seats. According to Dickens, one of the questions put to the great Mr. Gregsbury was, "Did you not promise, if returned, to play the devil with everything and everybody? And have you played the devil with everything and everybody?" This question would have played the Dickens with Hunt and Cobbett.

H. C. R. was the person whose earliest brief was characterized by Charles Lamb as, "Thou first great cause, least understood." Before quoting this and something else, we will say that we always took a well-known story to have been a corruption of what happened to the great Dr. Busby. His study was invaded by cherubs, whom he threatened to whip if they did not leave him alone. "Il n'y a pas de quoi, Monsieur!" shouted the intruders. But we find our notion was in some sort forestalled.

"We talked of puns, wit, &c. Lamb has no respect for any wit which turns on a serious thought. He positively declared that he thought his joke about my 'great first cause, least understood,' a bad one. On the other hand, he said, 'If you will quote any of my jokes, quote this, which is really a good one. Hume and his wife and several of their children were with me. Hume repeated the old saying, 'One fool makes many.' 'Ay, Mr. Hume,' said I, pointing to the company, 'you have a fine family.' Neither Talfourd nor I could see the excellence of this. However, he related a piece of wit by Coleridge which we all held to be capital. Lamb had written to Coleridge about one of their old Christ's Hospital masters, who had been a severe disciplinarian, intimating that he hoped Coleridge had forgiven all injuries. Coleridge replied that he certainly had; he hoped his soul was in heaven, and that when he went there he was borne by a host of cherubs, all face and wing, and without anything to excite his whipping propensities!'"†

* II. 5.

† II. 36.

H. C. R. gives some account of Hone's three victories, the importance of which, coming when they did, can hardly be overrated. The hypocritical meanness of charging blasphemous intent, when all the world knew that the intent *and offence* were both entirely political, never deceived the jury one moment. In the second trial the libel was charged both as blasphemous *and seditious*: and it took the jury 105 minutes to arrive at Not Guilty, though 15 minutes sufficed in the other two cases. We doubt if the significance of this supposed 0 has ever been noticed.

"Well, Robinson, you are a Queenite," I hope, said Coleridge, in 1820.—"Indeed I am not."—"How is that possible?"—"I am only an anti-Kingite."—"That's just what I mean."—Lord Buchan, Erskine's brother, wrote to him that if he would decline the Chancellorship, the family estate should be settled on his eldest son: but the letter arrived too late. After the Act repealing the penalties for denial of the Trinity, a defendant asked whether he might not say that Christ was not God without being punished for it; to which Judge Best replied, that notwithstanding the Act it was a crime to say of the Saviour that he was—and here he checked an absurdity in mid-volley and ended with—other than he declared himself to be.

By the old law a convicted felon was incompetent to give evidence unless he had been imprisoned *and* fined or whipped. H. C. R. took an objection to the evidence of a felon who had been only imprisoned, and though his clients were convicted on this evidence, the Judge refusing to allow the objection, he procured their discharge by threatening an appeal to the Secretary of State. The law was forthwith altered. Perhaps some of our readers will remember that a few years ago a convict got damages against the governor of a gaol who had forgotten to give the whipping which was part of his sentence. In former time the omission might perhaps have left the poor unwhipped an incompetent witness.

We cannot manage to give any account of the tour in Ireland in 1826, rendered amusing by H. C. R.'s intercourse with O'Connell, whom he describes as the pet of the judges, the bar, and the people. We pass on to the description of Macaulay, whom he met at James Stephen's. It must have been pleasant to fall into cultivated society after consort-

ing with Protestant ministers who groaned at the name of Jeremy Taylor, of whom they had not heard, and whom they took for John Taylor, of Norwich, the Unitarian! Sydney Smith said of the Norwich Taylors, that they reversed the proverb of its taking nine tailors to make a man.

"I had a most interesting companion in young Macaulay, one of the most promising of the rising generation I have seen for a long time. He is the author of several much admired articles in the *Edinburgh Review*. A review of Milton's lately discovered work on Christian Doctrine, and of his political and poetical character, is by him. I prefer the political to the critical remarks. In a paper of his on the new London University, his low estimate of the advantages of our University education, i.e. at Oxford and Cambridge, is remarkable in one who is himself so much indebted to University training. He has a good face,—not the delicate features of a man of genius and sensibility, but the strong lines and well-knit limbs of a man sturdy in body and mind. Very eloquent and cheerful. Overflowing with words, and not poor in thought. Liberal in opinion, but no radical. He seems a correct as well as a full man. He showed a minute knowledge of subjects not introduced by himself."*

In 1829, being free of the bar, H. C. R. attended at the Society of Antiquaries to be admitted F.S.A., and afterwards attended a meeting of the Royal Society. He used to tell a story of a friend of his who never could understand why the Archbishop of York is the Primate of England, and of Canterbury the Primate of all England. At last he attended the two Societies above, and declared that he saw the distinction between the dullest society in England and the dullest society in all England.

In a German tour in 1829, H.C.R. met again with Paulus. In his account of what was said about the life of Christ in a German criticism, the feeding of the 5000 was a picnic, and the turning water into wine was done by essence of punch. This proves that the German critics saw the way things were going. Goethe spoke of Ossian with contempt: H. C. R. told him that he was the cause of the taste for Ossian; it was Werter that set the fashion. "That's partly true," said Goethe; "but it was never perceived by the critics that Werter praised *Homer* while he retained his

senses, and Ossian when he was going mad. But reviewers do not notice such things."

At Florence, in 1830, H. C. R. became acquainted with W. Savage Landor, for whom he contracted a great liking. He says that Landor is the *Boythorn* of Bleak House, but whether he means that Dickens intended a portrait is not clear. The initiated seem to have known the portrait from the beginning: but it has received little or no attention from the world at large. Perhaps H. C. R. would have been the first expounder, if Foster's *Life of Landor*, published a very little while before the *Diary*, had not contained a statement, and which is evidently authorized by Mr. Dickens himself. An epigram of Landor is given, which is very little known, upon Kett, a Cambridge tutor of the last century, whose visage was so very equine, that he was called *Horse Kett*. Of this man it was known that his friends, on being asked to recommend a portrait-painter, sent him to a celebrated horse-painter, who saw the joke in a moment, and gravely asked if he would be taken in harness; to which Kett, who thought "academicals" were alluded to, as gravely replied, "Certainly." The following is Landor's joke:

The Centaur is not fabulous, said Young:
Had Young known Kett,
He had said, Behold one put together wrong;
The head is horseish; but, what yet
Was never seen in man or beast,
The rest is human; or at least
Is Kett.

H. C. R. was in possession of a copy of the lampoon written by Byron upon Rogers; a thing so frightfully bitter, that, if Rogers were all he was painted, we should call it the comment of the rattlesnake upon the cobra. This effusion has been printed—we forget where—but it has entirely subsided, though we have no doubt it will be revived; but not by us. H. C. R. got his copy from Lady Blessington, who got it from Byron himself, with an anecdote which was also told by Landor. Byron had just finished the lampoon when Rogers himself was announced; so the obnoxious paper was stuffed under the sofa-cushion on which Rogers sat down. He went away, and Lady Blessington was then announced. Byron drew out his paper, and read it, with a

delighted account of the amusement with which he had seen Rogers sitting on the combustible.

The following is from the Marchesa Sacratì, a witness on the trial of Queen Caroline :

"Something led me to ask whether she had been in England, when she smiled and said, 'You will not think better of me when I tell you that I went as a witness for your Queen.'—'But you were not summoned?'—'Oh, no! I could say nothing that was of use to her. All I could say was that, when I saw her in Italy, she was always in the society that suited her rank; and that I saw nothing then that was objectionable. She requested me to go, and she was so unhappy that I could not refuse her.'—'You saw, then, her *Procureur-Général*, Monsieur Brougham.'—'Oh, yes! That Monsieur Brog-gam was a *grand coquin*.'—'Take care, Madame, what you say; he is now Chancellor.'—'N'importe; c'est un grand coquin.'—'What makes you use such strong language?'—'Because, to answer the purposes of his ambition, he forced the Queen to come to England.'—'Indeed?'—'The Queen told me so; and Lady Hamilton confirmed it. I said to her, when I first saw her, 'Why are you here?' She said, 'My lawyer made me come. I saw him at St Omer, and I asked him whether I should go to England. He said, If you are conscious of your innocence, you *must* go. If you are aware of weaknesses, keep away.' The Marchioness raised her voice and said, 'Monsieur, quelle femme, même du bas peuple, avouera à son avocat qu'elle a des faiblesses? C'étoit un traître ce Monsieur Brog-gam.'"

* * * * *

"I also asked her whether she knew the other lawyer, Monsieur Denman. The change in her tone was very remarkable, and gave credibility to all she said. She clasped her hands, and exclaimed, in a tone of admiration, 'O, c'étoit un ange, ce Monsieur Denman. Il n'a jamais douté de l'innocence de la Reine.'"

Brougham's advice is well known to have been to the effect, that her Majesty ought to come over if she were innocent, and stay away if she were guilty. And what advice but this could he have given? It appears that the Marchesa was convinced of Queen's Caroline's innocence, and thought Brougham a traitor for not advising on the supposition of her guilt.

The following is a very satirical, but exceedingly unjust, epigram on Dr. Parr, found among Malone's letters :

* II. 503, 504.

A RECIPE.

To half of Busby's skill in mood and tense,
 Add Bentley's pedantry without his sense :
 Of Warburton take all the spleen you find,
 And leave his genius and his wit behind :
 Squeeze Churchill's rancour from the verse it flows in,
 And knead it stiff with Johnson's heavy prosing :
 Add all the piety of St. Voltaire :
 Mix the gross compound—*Fiat* Dr. Parr.

"This is the first time I ever was complimented for beauty," said Madame de Staël, when some one said, "Me voilà entre la beauté et l'esprit!" as he seated himself between her and Madame Récamier, who was famed for beauty and for want of *esprit*. This was killing two birds with one stone.

H. C. R. made one little contribution to etymology: it concerned the word *mass*. This was supposed to be derived from the concluding word of the service, "*Ite missa est*." But it was made more probable that it was of the same stock as *mess*, and meant a feast.

We give one long extract, the history of his religious opinions. We recommend the remarks made by the editor in the Preface.

"I have read your work* with mixed feelings of satisfaction and uneasiness, but in which the agreeable largely predominates. I have never attempted to conceal from you that my mind is very unsettled on the great points of religion, and that I am still what the Quakers call a seeker. I was very ill-educated, or rather I had no regular instruction, but heard what are called orthodox notions preached in my childhood, when I, like other children, believed all that I heard uncontradicted. But before I was twenty years old, I met with anti-religious books and had nothing to oppose to sceptical arguments. I sprang at once from one extreme to another, and from believing everything I believed nothing. My German studies afterwards made me sensible of the shallowness of the whole class of writers whom I before respected—and one good effect they wrought on me; they made me conscious of my own ignorance, and inclined me to a favourable study of religious doctrines. After this, your conversation awakened my mind to this very important and salutary doubt.

* "Probably 'Der Brief Pauli an die Römer erläutert von Wilhelm Benecke.' Heidelberg, 1831.

It occurred to me that it might possibly be, that certain notions which I had rejected as absolute falsehoods were rather ill-stated, erroneously stated, and misunderstood truths, than falsehoods. Or rather, that possibly there might be most important truths hidden, as it were, behind these misrepresentations. Now this impression has been greatly advanced and improved by your book, and I am in consequence most anxious to pursue this inquiry,—in which I flatter myself that you will kindly give me your aid,—and for that purpose I mean, if you will permit it, to come over and take up my residence for the summer in Heidelberg.

“I will, however, advert to one or two of the main points, both in the history of my own mind, and of your book. Having originally heard the popular doctrines concerning the fall of man—the sin of Adam—justification by faith—and the eternal damnation of all mankind except a few believers, merely on account of their belief, stated in the most gross way, the moment the inherent absurdity of such notions was made palpable to my mind, I rejected them without hesitation. Now it has been a great consolation to me, the finding in your work such a statement of the real import of the doctrines of the gospel as is entirely free from all those rational objections by which I was so strongly influenced in my youth, and the effect of which still remains. Your views concerning the fall of man *may be true*; the popular doctrine *must be false*. Your view concerning the ultimate purpose of the scheme of redemption is worthy the purest conceptions of the Divine nature. The popular doctrine of heaven and hell is Manicheism, with this worst of additions, that the evil spirit is more powerful than the good spirit; for only a few are to be saved, after all. Not less satisfactory to me is your explanation of the nature of faith—as expressive of a purification of the heart (*Reinigung der Gesinnung*). The vulgar notion really represents the Supreme Being as actuated by feelings not very different from the pique and resentment of vain people, who punish those who disbelieve what they say. In a word, there is no one topic which as treated by you is repugnant to my feelings and wishes.

“The one doctrine which forms at present an insurmountable stumbling-block is that of the atonement—the doctrine of justification through the merits of Jesus Christ. Now, I am not without hopes that I shall hereafter receive from you explanations as reasonable as on other points; and that I shall find here, too, that though you talk with the vulgar, you do not think with them. But do not mistake my object in writing this. I do not ask you to write me a book. And it is not in a letter that such

a subject can be treated ; but whenever I take my residence for a time near you, I shall request your aid in not merely this matter, but generally in the study of the great Christian scheme in all its bearings, about which I have been talking—and talking very idly, and sometimes very lightly—all my life, without ever studying it as I ought. I am anxious, as I said before, to remove this reproach from me ; for, whether true or false, it is sheer folly on my part to have given it so little attention, or rather to have attended to it in so desultory a way. I ought to add that I find no impediment in the common notion of the Divine nature of Jesus Christ, as I am conscious of being both Soul and Body and yet *One*. I can see nothing incredible even in the notion of the Divine and human nature of the Redeemer, as he is called ; but in what does that redemption consist ? That is the great difficulty. Here, again, the vulgar doctrine expressed in such phrases as ‘the precious blood’ of Christ—his infinite sufferings—the atoning sacrifice—&c. &c.—these, like the doctrines which you have so well explained, excite nothing but disgust for the present. My wish and hope are, that you may be able to throw light on these also.”*

Bishop Blomfield related that the Queen, at her accession, received the Bishops with all possible dignity, and then retired. She passed through a glass door, and, forgetting its transparency, ran off like a light-hearted girl.

The pamphlet written against the Wilberforces in defence of the claims of Clarkson (1838), was, if we remember right, the only separate publication by H. C. R., except a rejoinder on the same subject in 1840. It is now a dead quarrel ; but it will not be forgotten by those who write the history of the abolition. Clarkson was depreciated in the *Life of Wilberforce*, and was charged by Sir James Stephen in the *Edinburgh Review* with having been paid for his advocacy of the slaves. The reviewer, in his “collected edition,” completely satisfied H. C. R. by his alterations and omissions. This very common practice of altering reprints is to us objectionable ; it spoils history. Retraction and explanation to any amount ; but no alteration.

About Southey :

“When pressed to write something in an album. There were on one side of the paper several names ; the precise individuals I do not know. One was Dan O’Connell. Southey wrote on

the other side, to this effect. I cannot answer for the precise words,—

Birds of a feather
Flock together,
Vide the opposite page;
But do not thence gather
That I'm of like feather

With all the brave birds in this cage, &c. &c.*

"Surely good-humour and gentle satire, which can offend no one, were never more gracefully brought together. This reminds me of another story. It is worth putting down. A lady once said to me, 'Southey made a poem for me, and you shall hear it. I was, I believe, about three years old, and used to say, 'I are.' He took me on his knee, fondled me, and would not let me go till I had learned and repeated these lines,—

'A cow's daughter is called a calf,
And a sheep's child, a lamb.
Little children must not say *I are*,
But should always say *I am*.'

"Now a dunce or a common man would not throw off, even for children, such graceful levities. I repeated this poem to Southey. He laughed and said, 'When my children were infants, I used to make such things daily. There have been hundreds such forgotten.'†

Hear about H. C. R.'s queer little dinner-party. He wanted some friends to meet Mr. Faber, and having no connections among "the apostles of religious persecution or the Anglo-papistical Church," he substituted the Revds. W. Harness and Joseph Hunter, John Kenyon and Sir Charles Fellows; and with success. He describes his guests as follows:

"1. A clergyman with Oxford propensities, and a worshipper of the heathen Muses as well as the Christian graces—[Harness].

"2. A Unitarian Puseyite, an odd combination, but a reality notwithstanding—[Hunter].

"3. A layman whose life is spent in making people happy, and whose orthodoxy is therefore a just matter of suspicion; but he has no antipathies to make him insensible to the worth of such a man as Faber—[Kenyon].

* "H. C. R. often told this story, with the concluding line, —

'Or sing when I'm caught in a cage.'

The point was Southey's unwillingness to write at all in an Album.

† III. 189, 190.

"And, 4. A traveller in the East, who professes that among the best *practical* Christians he has met with are the followers of Mahomet—[Follows]."*

1844 was the year of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, in the agitation of which H. C. R. had a prominent place. He used to say that he had never been of any use except in this, in the founding of University Hall in Gordon Square, which was built in commemoration of it, and in the establishment of the Flaxman Gallery under the dome of University College.

We are glad that the editor has inserted the anecdotes of Robert Robinson, of Cambridge (i.e. the Baptist minister at Cambridge), which H. C. R. contributed to the *Christian Reformer*. Most of them are little known: but the retort which was made to a person who had heard that R. R. did not believe in the existence of a devil is always worth repeating. "Don't you believe in the Devil?"—"Oh dear, no! I believe in God; don't you?"

Foreign puns often do not bite, because we are not used to the common meanings. A German professor said that the *serviles* "*sehr viel haben*" (have a great deal), but the *liberales* "*lieber alles*" (rather everything). We see more, even of fun, in the answer to a remark that the Mahometans' heaven is quite material; "So is the Christians' hell."

The zealous admirers of Wordsworth, says H. C. R., are Unitarians and High-church: Evangelicals and Scotch rationalists are his despisers. Macaulay affirmed in company, that when Henry Wilberforce went over, his brother, the Bishop, wrote to his Archbishop (Howley) to know how he should behave towards his brother. "*Like a brother*," answered the Archbishop. Oh that episcopal utterance were always of as much truth and as few words! The Flaxman Gallery was opened in 1850. H. C. R. was the great agent in arranging matters with Miss Denman, Flaxman's executor. And the name of the late Mr. Charles Atkinson, the secretary of the College, should not be forgotten, as second, within the College, of the efficient promoters.

H. C. R. became acquainted with Lady Noel Byron in 1853. To the world at large she is simply Lady Byron:

* III. 212, 213.

but, not relishing the title of Dowager, she procured the royal permission to use the prefix of *Noël*. We quote a remarkable passage from one of her letters to H. C. R. (June 31, 1855).

"Not merely from casual expressions, but from the whole tenor of Lord Byron's feelings, I could not but conclude he was a believer in the inspiration of the Bible, and had the gloomiest Calvinistic tenets. To that unhappy view of the relation of the creature to the Creator, I have always ascribed the misery of his life. . . . It is enough for me to remember, that he who thinks his transgressions beyond *forgiveness* (and such was his own deepest feeling), *has* righteousness beyond that of the self-satisfied sinner; or, perhaps, of the half-awakened. It was impossible for me to doubt that, could he have been at once assured of pardon, his living faith in a moral duty and love of virtue ('I love the virtues which I cannot claim') would have conquered every temptation. Judge, then, how I must hate the creed which made him see God as an Avenger, not a Father. My own impressions were just the reverse, but could have little weight, and it was in vain to seek to turn his thoughts for long from that *idée fixe*, with which he connected his physical peculiarity as a stamp. Instead of being made happier by any apparent good, he felt convinced that every blessing would be 'turned into a curse' to him. Who, possessed by such ideas, could lead a life of love and service to God or man? They must in a measure realize themselves. 'The worst of it is, I *do* believe,' he said. I, like all connected with him, was broken against the rock of Predestination. I may be pardoned for referring to his frequent expression of the sentiment that I was only sent to show him the happiness he was forbidden to enjoy. You will now better understand why 'The Deformed Transformed' is too painful to me for discussion."*

We quote the following because it comes under our eye just after hearing of the death of its excellent subject:

"Oct 5 [1859].—I called on Mr. J. J. Tayler, and had a very cheering chat with him. He is the man who always comforts; he unites hopefulness with a benignant interpretation of all doubtful matters."

After Mr. Madge's retirement, H. C. R. attended the ministrations of J. J. Tayler and James Martineau, until his deafness prevented him. H. C. R. resigned the Vice-

Presidentship of the Senate of University College in 1866, at the age of 91. The diary goes on until 1867 (January 31 ; he died Feb. 5), and ends thus :

... "He (a writer on criticism) thinks of Germany as he ought, and of Goethe with great admiration. On this point I can possibly give him assistance, which he will gladly—but I feel incapable to go on."

With him expired a little publication in which he made sixty-four years of memoranda. He calls it "the old Ipswich Pocket-book." On sending for the number of 1867, he found the publication had expired.

In the Appendix is an account of some points of character written by Mr. De Morgan, whose opportunities of observation, thrown over thirty years, were very extensive in the last years of life. The habit of self-depreciation seems carried to satirical exaggeration in the description of it: but there is much confirmation in the anecdotes of the diary, of which Mr. De Morgan had not seen one word when he wrote. Sept. 30, 1863, being then 88 years old, H. C. R. dined at the Athenæum Club-house, a favourite haunt of his, and took a nap in the drawing-room. He thought (i. e. dreamt) that the room was a court of quarter sessions, and on some one waking him by speaking to him, he asked where he was. This he calls a "loss of memory of a very alarming kind. . . . There is no doctoring for a case like this; nor can the patient minister to himself." Did ever man reach five-and-twenty without exclaiming, "Where am I?" when suddenly awaked out of a dream taken in a chair? The bed, we know, is an instantaneous giver of information. It appears that H. C. R.'s waking revival of externals must have been very rapid and very sure: the first exception takes place at 88, and gives alarm.

We may have more to say if discussions should arise: but if we now write our last sentence, let it be that we owe great thanks to the author and editor both, and especially to the *bis dat*, &c., of the editor. Two years and a half is a small time in which to do so heavy a work of selection and print three volumes of results.

A. DE M.

VI.—MR. BINNEY'S SERMONS.

Sermons preached in the King's Weigh-house Chapel, London, 1829—1869. By T. Binney. 1 Vol. 8vo. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

IN its theological aspects, this is a volume of doctrinal suppositions. An implication of the orthodox creed is suggested as required to give meaning to the most characteristic teachings of Christ. Its method, not generally, but in this particular direction, is provokingly verbal. It is wholly uncritical. All parts of the New Testament are regarded as homogeneous, without perspective or development. The utterings of Christ or of Paul, the reports of the first Gospel and of the fourth, the conceptions of St. Matthew and of St. John of the Apocalypse, are all used indiscriminately for theological architecture, as materials of equal value and of the same import. The architecture is in this fashion: some passage of deep spiritual significance is presented; its words are examined, and turned over in every possible outward way, in order to shew that they convey no substantive meaning without a resort to something else which themselves do not contain,—that they are of the nature of an enigma; if an utterance of Christ, awaiting its solution from something that has yet to take place,—if an utterance of Paul, having its solution in some external underlying fact, of achievement or atonement, that is said to be implied. And if a passage from the fourth Gospel is not sufficient for the insertion of what is called an underlying foundation of doctrine, a passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews is unhesitatingly tacked to it, as all of a piece, to make the suggestiveness complete. The declarations of our Lord in the Gospels respecting himself, viewed by their own light, by the only light that was possible to his hearers at the time they were spoken, are made out to be all riddles: the orthodox hypothesis is the universal Sphinx. It supplies the key that turns in all wards: it is the lay figure on which all strange garments and vestures, of unknown use, when it is inserted within them, hang fittingly and exhibit their design. Yet no attempt is made to elucidate or justify the hypothesis itself, on its own merits, or even to give it any clear statement. It is an objective revelation not in-

tended to be subjectively intelligible. No spiritual intuition will receive it: no spiritual philosophy will undertake to establish or expound it. But it affords an explanation to otherwise mysterious words of Christ and the apostles, and therefore must be received. It is an hypothesis of objective acts that underlies words which else would point to nothing real, and be purely baseless. Christianity, according to our author, consists in objective redemptive acts, and the inspirations of God are given to us only in the words of Scripture, which are meaningless until they find their place in the accomplished system to which they refer. In Christ, what he *did* was more to us than what he *was*; his death more precious than his life. The book is out of time. It is too late in the day for this kind of thing. This is a view of revelation and a defence of orthodoxy that, skilfully and vigorously put, as it is, might have made a name for its author as a champion of the faith, thirty or forty years ago. Criticism, and the growth of a higher conception of Christianity, in its essence and in its method, have alike made it obsolete.

The first sermon is a good specimen of the style of theological argument described. "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me." This is said to be an enigma which, "*unless light is thrown upon it from without,*" can only occasion painful perplexity as to the character of Jesus himself. The perplexing peculiarities are said to be these: 1st, that he makes *himself* an obtruding personality as no other prophet ever did; that "I say unto you" takes the place of "Thus saith the Lord:" 2nd, that he does not speak of himself as revealing Truth by oral teaching, but by living embodiment: 3rd, that he appears as a man, and yet separates himself from men by supplying them with a way to God which they need and he does not need, or which he can supply from himself and they without him could not have: 4th, that Jesus actually limits union between God and the souls that were made to be His by interposing a condition, by shutting up all access to the Father *except by him*. And the inference is, that no defensible interpretation can be given of these pretensions, "but that which is furnished by the doctrinal statements of the orthodox creed." And it is plainly asserted that if these claims of Jesus are taken in a sense that does not require

these doctrinal underlying assumptions, Christianity must be abandoned as a substantive revelation. If our author has made a mistake in his inferential interpretation of some very figurative words, Christianity is not worth having and is nought! This is an unpromising mood of mind in which to approach a vast spiritual inquiry. Is it true that Christianity ceases to be a substantive and an objective Revelation, unless it is admitted that what Christ *did* in the economy of God, is more and better to us than what Christ *was* simply as holy child and image of the Father?

We admit the existence of these personal claims of Jesus, only excepting to the rhetorical statement of them shaped to a foregone conclusion. There is nothing so painful in this book as occasionally the too vivid presentment of the actual speaker, hammering at the scriptural phrases, turning them round in every variety of attitude, and making them ring in each possible phase, to shew that there is no more meaning in them than the one that he has got out of them. The book is once or twice as metallic in its effects upon mind and eye, as a triumphant verbal logician with appropriate voice on mind, eye and ear. We have never heard of our author but as a most engaging preacher, and therefore speak without offence. But could anything but an utter exhaustion of mind, a desire to escape, such as is experienced by one who passes through the street of the Coppersmiths at Naples when they are all at work in the open air, be produced by such a ringing of words as this?

"If the dead rise not, Christ is not risen; but if Christ is not risen, then *there is no Christ*; there is neither a Christ nor a Gospel in the world! 'The Gospel which I preached unto you, which ye received, and by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you,' is this,—that Christ, the Sent and Anointed of God, 'died for our sins,' and, having done this, 'rose again from the dead.' It was not simply that he rose from the dead, but that he rose *in connection with* his dying for our sins. The two things are inseparable. We taught both. Each was shewn to be 'according to the Scriptures.' The two are one, or are the parts or sides of one primary, central truth. If one falls, the other falls. If Christ did not rise 'according to the Scriptures,' he did not die 'according to the Scriptures;' then he did not die 'for our sins;' then there is no Christ,—no Redeemer and no redemption,—no Gospel to be 'received' or 'preached'! There never has been a gracious Divine interposi-

tion to save the world ; to secure through a Personal Mediator, the death and resurrection of a Christ, the forgiveness of sin. The doctrine we revealed as enshrined in the fact vanishes if the fact itself disappears. If 'the dead rise not, Christ is not risen ;' but if Christ did not rise,—rise to ascend up on high, and 'to appear in the presence of God for us,'—then he did not die 'to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.' If so, 'then is our preaching vain, and your faith vain,' *in another sense* ; not only as being concerned with a non-entity, but as being *ineffectual*,—ineffectual for any ultimate spiritual purpose. Therefore 'ye are yet in your sins.' Your faith is powerless to deliver you from them, because no Christ could be set forth on whom it might terminate, and the benefit of whose intervention it might secure. If Christ did not rise, 'to open the kingdom of heaven to all believers,' then He did not die to come in between the sins of believers and their necessary consequences," &c.*

To return from this unprofitable, and somewhat ungracious, digression, to the theological argument from the personal claims of Jesus. It is true that Christ did not come as a prophet, but as a Son. It is true that Christianity is a revelation only as it is a life, a living way to God, the life of God in the soul of man. It is true that Christ was not ignorant of his unique relations to Man and God. Yet when he speaks of himself, he never speaks *from* himself. "The words that I speak, I speak not of myself: the Father that dwelleth in me, He doeth the works." And so he could be humble, and yet not ignorant of the Father's will in him and for him. It is true that there is no way to the Father but *his* way, even for those who did not learn it from him, the way of personal communion and life in God, though he bars the way to none, but only shews it more perfectly. But these admissions do not excuse the assertion, we had hoped of an extinct type among men of Mr. Binney's rank, that there is only one possible doctrinal hypothesis that can save the words of Jesus from being "arrogant or blasphemous." Certainly the claims of Jesus, in the first Gospel as well as in the fourth, have always seemed to us to involve an incarnation of the will of God for man in the person of an actual man. But why it should be declared a thing impossible for God to have an understanding and obedient child in human nature, why it should

* Pp. 354, 355.

be a thing impossible for the image in which we were made ever to have a harmonious development according to the will and law of our Maker and continual Inspirer, we are unable to see. On the contrary, we hold this to be the radical infidelity of almost the whole Christian world,—unbelief in the natural relations of the soul to God. And we have no hope that Christianity will impress the image of God on a world lying in wickedness, as long as Christians teach that righteousness is an unnatural life, and that God is not the Father of our spirits in any real, natural and unchanging sense. Mr. Binney makes it conclusive proof that Jesus was the incarnation of God, that *he* shewed the way of life to man, and that there was no man to shew it to *him*. How then did *he* find it? How had he no need of a help of which all other men have need? How is he the Saviour, and other men only the saved? Is it impossible then for God to be the Saviour of a man's soul? Must God, not spiritually but bodily, mingle His life with a mortal, in order to imprint His image on the soul of His child, and to renew and sustain it constantly? Is it impossible for obedience to come to perfection in a human heart? Then what is meant by all the infamy that is heaped upon Adam for falling from righteousness, if to continue in it was a thing impossible? Mr. Binney himself, in another place, speaks of a divine life as that "of which, as the Master taught, man was capable, and for which he was made." Was not Christ's whole life a *striving* after the way that God had shewn him, the image of the Father in his soul? His need was the same as our need, to live in the Spirit—though his human help was less. God was *his* Saviour, and there is no other Saviour, even when we are saved by or through Christ. "Whatsoever the Son seeth the Father do, these things doeth the Son likewise." Orthodoxy assumes that the first man who walked in the Spirit must also be God himself. Mr. Binney thinks that when Jesus said, "I am the way," the words *possessed* no meaning at the time, that they could be "redeemed from presumption and absurdity" only by an anticipation, and that they afterwards *acquired* their meaning in the redemptive act of dying. On the other hand, we believe that, though Christ's death and resurrection were the divine and necessary ways of bringing his personal power into communication with the hearts of men,

only in this secondary sense did he save the world by dying—and that he redeemed us by *living* as the child of God.

It is not a little curious that the death and resurrection of our Lord, which were the means of rescuing the apostles themselves from Jewish conceptions of a Messiah, which broke down the wall of partition, placing Jew and Gentile in equal relations towards a Forerunner from whom all earthly relations had fallen away, are set forth by Mr. Binney as the final cause of his existence. That which served to make him known, in his spiritual essence and in his universal relations to mankind, is confounded with that in him which made it good for him to be known. "Other men are born to live, to act, to do; He was born to *die*." It would perhaps be impossible in the same number of words more effectually to misrepresent the characteristic power of Christianity, which is the "spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Mr. Binney does not shrink from the logical consequence, that without the doctrinal insertions which could not be supplied until after the death of Christ, his living words and his living sonship would be of little or no value. "I would not depreciate the instructions of Jesus, but I do say that, with the exception of those sayings of His which are dimly anticipative of suffering and sacrifice, I regard most of His practical lessons as intended to have their place after we have learned to trust in His atonement, or as tests and demands to shew us its necessity. The apostolic Epistles lead us to Christ, and then we listen to His moral teaching and all His preceptive laws." We do not know how this is to be reconciled with what is said in the next sermon of the spiritual gains which the disciples derived from their personal intercourse with him before his death brought in the apostolic commentaries: "They had a deep consciousness that they had heard from Christ 'the words of eternal life;' that they had learnt from him something about that, the great subject of human speculation and of religious anxiety—something pregnant, forcible, clear; and something, too, which they had never heard, or could expect to hear, from any one else. Whatever there might be of the startling and mysterious in some of the wonderful words that fell from Him, however they might feel themselves amazed and perplexed as they listened to these, they felt perfectly sure and certain of this, that He had thrown such light on

'eternal life' as enabled them so to apprehend the subject, that it became to them a distinct and positive object of faith." Still more we wonder how it can be reconciled with the following really fine passage, in which we recognize the more natural movements of Mr. Binney's religious genius :

"In relation to these two things,—the possibility of living a divine life here, and the prospect of its becoming eternal in respect to its endless duration, the disciples of Jesus had them constantly before their eyes in what they saw in himself. They witnessed what He was. They knew of His habitual devotion and intimate communion with God. They beheld his daily life—so holy, loving, beneficent, pure ; so spiritual and unspotted ; so far transcending anything that could be seen in others ; so Divine and seraphic, though He lived among the familiarities of ordinary society, and sometimes sat with publicans and sinners. He affected no austerities ; He went into company, and ate and drank like other men, and yet He always maintained such a spiritual supremacy, that He seemed to move in a sphere that was not of this world. And all this, from his confidential conversations, and occasionally from his addresses to the multitude, they knew to be connected in him with the prospect of returning to the Father, and of entering on an exalted and endless life, in which his disciples were ultimately to share. In this way it was that they felt He had 'the words of eternal life'—a life Divine in its nature, that might be enjoyed here, and endless in its duration, to be possessed in Heaven and spent with God. They could not doubt this. What they heard from the lips, and saw in the habits and experience of Jesus, kept the truth before them as an ever-present and palpable reality. Whatever might be mysterious in some of the sayings or discourses of the Lord, there was no doubt or uncertainty about this. It took the form in their minds of a clearly defined, grand, central, regal thought. They clung to it with a sort of sacred tenacity. When asked if they would go away and abandon Him of whom they had learnt it, they felt it to be impossible ; and they expressed that impossibility in a way that combined the simplicity of children with the understanding of men : 'Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life.'"^{*}

Our author is too broad and human to be insensible to the resistance offered to the doctrinal statements of the "orthodox creed" by plain precepts of Scripture and spiritual intuitions of the mind, and the manner in which the recon-

^{*} Pp. 35, 36.

ciliation is effected shews how artificial the system is, and how artificial difficulties are created by it. The doctrine that we are placed in a state of salvation by faith in the redemptive sacrifice of Christ, a state admitting of no degrees because conferred gratuitously, has to be harmonized with the necessity notwithstanding of working out our own salvation with fear and trembling. Orthodoxy first creates a difficulty as to justification by distorting the natural relations of God to man, then removes it by atonement, and then, under the reflex disadvantage of the original misconception of God, occupies just the same ground, as to the necessity of ever renewed life in Him and going on unto perfection, with those Christians who began upon that ground, having no preparatory difficulty to remove, referring everything from first to last to the grace of the Spirit, and the answers of the heart, the very answers of the heart not being our own, but derived from and fed by God in those who wait upon Him. While all are considered safe who are on the foundation of faith in Christ crucified, the plain facts of character compel the admission that upon the day of the Lord some will have their whole superstructure burnt up, as wood, hay, stubble, whilst some will have reared upon it a spiritual frame of being, adorned and enlarged as a living temple for the fulness of God's abode. What is to become of the first, if all who are on the foundation are safe, and yet the fire, or the searching light of God's presence, has shrivelled up everything that was theirs, and left them only the barren foundation on which they have built nothing? Are there permanent differences in the measures of salvation? Are there barren believers saved from everlasting fire, but flung aside in a joyless immortality, with Dante's brand of scorn as "those who never were alive"? Or, is there to be growth in heaven from a germ of faith that bore no fruit on earth? Or, does some unknown purgatorial process accomplish the work of a whole life of saintliness in effacing unworthiness and developing spiritual attainments? This last, under some modification of it not defined, would seem to be Mr. Binney's belief. The mass of the orthodox world, it appears, will keep their theologians to their first principles; they were originally by nature outside the pale of salvation, and now by an act of faith they are at least within it, and safely

inside of heaven they are well off, and need not trouble themselves much about the more or less. This, we are told, is the state of many, the condition to which the creed gravitates. Justification by faith, unspiritually adopted, drains of its practical power a judgment by works, and on the side of self-sacrificing fruits makes Protestantism contrast unfavourably with Catholicism. It is admitted that many who are on the foundation, and therefore safe, have yet built nothing upon it, or nothing of a like nature, nothing but what our author calls "a lath and plaster embodiment of the Divine." "What," he asks, "is to be done with such people?" They are safe in a sense, and yet "it is no use their going to heaven as they are." All that is their own is only fit to be destroyed, and when it is destroyed, though they are saved as having the root of the matter in them, they are utterly destitute of the wedding garment, having no personal meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light. Mr. Binney adopts the idea of a purgatory, not as a third state between Heaven and Hell, but as a process of enlightening and purifying suffering to be undergone by those of "Christ's people" who are not Christians except that they are on the foundation, either "in a very brief space of time" on the actual day of the Lord, or some time before dissolution. "I do not see how many Christians are to get into heaven, or how they could enjoy themselves in it if they did, without undergoing *some* time, and *some* where, such a process as the purgatorial idea embodies and represents. Even at the last day, when Christ is revealed, and when some of His people are 'ashamed before Him,' in a very brief space of time, in 'the twinkling of an eye,' in accordance with the rapidity of some mental processes, it *may* be that they shall have such a sight of the past, and suffer so much, and be so corrected in their views and feelings by the revelations and the experience of that moment, as to be *thus* relieved from 'the wood, hay and stubble' that are in them, and find themselves 'saved,' though it may be 'as by fire.'"

Or, the divine interposition to qualify those Christians on the foundation who could not enjoy heaven, being themselves altogether earthly, may take place before death, or in the moments of dying.

* P. 177.

"Now it is not to be denied that this Divine interposition may be deferred till near the close of life. The purgative 'judgment' may not be designed to send the man back into the world again, that he may there shew, by 'the beauties of holiness,' how God has 'purely purged away his dross and taken away all his alloy,' but be just intended to secure his safety, *that he may not be 'condemned'* with the lost. Many a proud, secular, self-willed, ill-regulated Christian, is suffered to go through an outwardly prosperous career, and to get towards the end of it, without having suffered what might humble and purify him. But it may come at last. There is many a one amongst us respecting whom the wise and thoughtful will sometimes say, 'If that man be what I believe he is,—one with 'the root of the matter in him,' then, if there be truth in the Bible, or a God in heaven, he will not be suffered to die, till by some terrible purgation he is freed from the sins that have disfigured his course, and have so long darkened his Christian profession; till by the blazing up of some internal fire that shall consume the rubbish he has been gathering for years, he get such an astounding revelation of himself as shall operate upon him like a second conversion, and fit him for the society of the upper world—in which world, as a publicly recognized member of Christ, he must learn to be something very different from what he has been here.' And this it has often been. In a single week—in a few hours, it may be—men have gone through a little eternity of anguish! Light has penetrated the mind, and fire has fallen on the heart. The 'hay and stubble' have been burnt up. The process has been exceedingly dreadful; but it has had its effect. The man has been reduced to his proper dimensions, and been made to see and to know himself. He has had to groan for a time amid smoke and darkness, preyed upon by remorse and agitated by terror. Things have at length cleared about him; he has ventured to hope—and has died hoping, but nothing more—in some cases hardly that! He has been 'saved'—but 'so as by fire.' Partial relatives and inexperienced observers have been scandalized or astonished at what has been seen. Wiser men have looked on without surprise, even thankful and glad, accepting the judgment as a sign of sonship, and feeling that the real wonder would have been if the erring man had been *suffered to die* without experiencing all that he endured."*

Those who believe that there are no conversions in the world to which we go, have to look for comfort, in doubtful or terrible cases, to what is their *all* of hope, death-bed repent-

* Pp. 179, 180.

ances and the manifestations of God in the twinkling of an eye, though even these, which *we* freely accept as possible for all, shut out from orthodox hope all who are not in some sense, however barren, on the right foundation of belief before the mortal hour. We are not to suppose, however, that our author believes that heavenly distinctions could be conferred even by Omnipotence in any other way than by heavenly dispositions becoming congenial to the blessed. Mr. Binney feels the spiritual difficulty, and in attempting to deal with it satisfactorily within the conditions of his creed, seems to believe, that all are saved who are on the foundation at death, *and none else*; but that of these some, without spiritual qualities and accomplishments within themselves kindred to the foundation, are only pitifully and contemptuously exempted from external penal tortures, whilst others are blessed in various degrees, relatively fixed and unchangeable, according to the measure of their fellowship with God in heart and in achievement when the day of opportunity ends. Mr. Binney is naturally a man of a large heart, in whom the spirit of Christ would freely flower if it had not to conform to "the doctrinal statements of the orthodox creed;" but there is a very painful passage which makes it a "large demand on charitable sympathies" to believe that a poor Catholic girl, being on the foundation, though busied in works that are not of it, may yet, because of justification by faith, have a measure of salvation:

"Look at that poor Catholic girl there; doing her penance, and counting her beads; repeating her 'aves,' and saying her 'pater nosters,' lighting a candle to this saint, or carrying her votive offering to another; wending her way in the dark wet morning to early mass; conscientiously abstaining from flesh on a Friday; or shutting herself up in conventual sanctity, devoting her life to joyless solitude and bodily mortifications! She is imagining, perhaps, that she is piling up by all this a vast fabric of meritorious deeds, or at least of acceptable Christian virtue. She may expect on account of it to hear from the lips of her heavenly Bridegroom, 'Well done, good and faithful' one; 'enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' 'Thou shalt walk with me in white, for thou art worthy.' *We*, however, believe that 'she labours in vain and spends her strength for nought;' that she is building with 'wood, hay and stubble;' and that the first beam of the light of eternity will set fire to her worthless structure, and reduce to ashes the labours and sacrifices of her whole life!

Be it so. Her '*works* may be burnt ;' she may '*suffer loss* ;' but *she herself* may be mercifully '*saved*.' In the midst of all that mistaken devotedness to the gathering and amassing of mere lumber as materials for building up a divine life, even in connection with the strange fire of an erring devotion flaming up towards Saints and Madonnas, there may be in her soul a central trust in the sacrifice and intercession of the '*One Mediator*,' which shall secure the salvation of the superstitious devotee, at the very moment that she witnesses the destruction of her works. The illustration is an extreme one. I purposely select it because it is so. The greater includes the less ; and this large demand on your charitable sympathies, if you respond to it, will be felt and acknowledged to involve a principle applicable to inferior degrees of error,—to other forms of mistaken zeal, of uninstructed religiousness, of ritual infatuation, and even of defective practical behaviour."*

And so, the possible salvation of a poor Catholic girl, living purely and devotedly according to her faith, is the utmost stretch of the robe of charity to include those who are not to be finally lost. If it can include her unspirituality, it will have no difficulty in including the inferior degrees of error, "even in the form of defective practical behaviour." Now, in what is the poor Catholic girl in a worse internal condition than the Protestant Christian who is on the foundation, but who does not walk, or does not walk altogether, in the spirit? Is the devotion of a Catholic girl shewn to be insincere or worthless by calling it, '*saying her pater-nosters*'? May she not pray effectually through the Lord's Prayer, and the prayers of all the Saints? Mr. Binney is favourable to Liturgies, and therefore this cannot be a Congregationalist leaning towards the likelier salvability of those who use only unwritten prayers. Every heart very near to God will certainly cry to Him out of its own need, face to face, and with no mediator *at all* between ; but what is the difference between the poor Catholic girl in her habit of devotion, and that of a good orthodox Churchman making habitual use of, and perhaps confining himself to the use of, the Book of Common Prayer? And why is a simple-hearted girl going to early mass in the dark hours of a bleak winter morning, in a less Christian condition than an Evangelical maiden who slops through the wet streets of a winter night

* P. 189.

to hear the doctrine of the atoning sacrifice, to which the mass points, set forth in the coarse, carnal language of a juridical argument, emphasizing the shedding of blood, as by Mr. Binney himself in this book, as the essential part of the arrangement, and expounding sacred mysteries with a revolting boldness of open speech more material, less susceptible of spiritual interpretation or suggestiveness, than the silent symbols? Or, how is her little asceticism of fastings and abstinences less spiritual or respectable, than puritanical Sabbatarianism, or than sanctimonious distinctions between the church and the world, or than the abstinence of ministers of religion from theatres, and other places of public amusement, except when they go from home? There is, indeed, a vast deal that is unreal, unsuitable to their foundation principles, in the lives and characters of nearly all Christians; but why is the poor Catholic girl exhibited as the extreme instance of the "lath and plaster Christians" who yet may be saved?

A short course of five sermons intended to form a connected treatise on the all-embracing subject of the Divine Life in Man, affords a favourable opportunity of collecting Mr. Binney's essential conception of religion. It is this: the animal life is natural and begins with the first sensation; the spirit life is unnatural and begins, not by development of a spiritually constituted being gradually awakening under natural Divine influences to the hidden meaning of things, but by a *regeneration*; whilst both, alike, require a daily renewal of strength from fresh supplies of their kindred aliment. But a time comes when no bodily nourishment will repair the bodily waste, and the outward man begins to perish; on the contrary, no such time need come to the spiritual life, and the divine normal condition of the inward man is for ever to be renewed day by day. The outward man may die out, exhausted by the waste of years, at the very time that the inward man is daily advancing into a fulness of life unattained before. The law of the one is inevitable decay after a season: the law of the other is perpetual growth. This is the preliminary statement of the subject, and it is profound and satisfying, if we except the postulate that the life of the spirit is not as natural, though of a higher order of God's action, as the life of the body. Mr. Binney accepts the fact of Divine

influence, the work of the Spirit of God in man, but he always speaks of it as an "interposition," an "interference" on our behalf, and through the "economy of redemption," our belief in it resting not on spiritual consciousness, but "on the ground of competent authority" in "the express declarations of Holy Writ." In our view, the first essential for a Divine Life in Man is the possession of a spiritual *nature* receptive of God, not a nature alien and unregenerate until it is initiated by objective teaching into the economy of Redemption, but filial by divine law and constitution, as God is ever and absolutely the Father of human spirits framed in His image. Mr. Binney speaks as if man had no Divine life until "the word of truth," externally presented and supernaturally impressed, "unveils to him, himself, sin, God, Christ, mercy, the way to the Father, the welcome awaiting him, the grace promised, the power of the Cross, the Advocate on high, and so on." We desire in full justice to own that his natural spirituality is constantly contradicting his doctrinal rigidity, but it is impossible to mistake a statement so definite as this: "The Spirit of God in His regenerating and sanctifying action on the soul, reveals or imparts no new Truth,—impresses on the reason no idea that is not already in the written Word; nor does He employ any that is there apart from the instrumentality of that Word heard or read." The theory is, that "the written Word" is the instrument of the Spirit to convey objective, or doctrinal, Truth,—and that the doctrinal Truth then awakens "the subjective results" suitable to the doctrine "of love to God and Man." *Inspiration* is taken to be "the conveyance to the intellect, immediately and directly, of that truth by which it is to be enlightened," and therefore, as "partaking of the nature of force," to be "inconsistent with our constitution as rational and voluntary agents." It is strange that our author does not perceive that this renders *inspiration*, in his sense of it, impossible to any man, as being of the nature of a violation and degradation of our spiritual constitution. This is a just consequence from the definition of "inspiration" as the presentation, or suggestion, of intellectual truth: but the limitation of the Spirit's access to our souls and minds except through "the instrumentality of the written Word" is destructive of the natural religiousness of man, and in the struggle

between his spiritual instincts and "the doctrinal statements of the orthodox creed," places Mr. Binney in a continual tangle of unreconciled beliefs. By *Truth*, Christ meant spiritual realities, the spirit of man personally touched by the living God, and through direct consciousness resting and building upon the eternal Rock: by *Truth*, Mr. Binney means doctrinal teaching, through which alone and always coming "first" regeneration is effected, "the influence or work of the Holy Spirit being that movement which gives truth its regal and penetrating power, and kindles through it the fire of the affections." This is repeated so often, that we cannot doubt that Mr. Binney's theory of Religion is, that there is no personal contact and communication of God's Spirit and man's, no mingling of His life with ours, in any saving sense, independent of the written Word as a medium. Of course we agree with Mr. Binney that God does not directly communicate intellectual, or dogmatic, truths to our minds: but he affirms that only by instrumentally using the truths expressed in Scripture does the Holy Spirit enlighten and quicken our being; and, "this being the case, that Word needs to be heard or read, or a knowledge of the truth it contains acquired through ordinary means, that it may thus become available,—able to be used by the Divine Agent for the effectuating of his ultimate (*sic*) purpose. The material, so to speak, on which we specially concentrate the action of the mysterious force in this subjective process, is *the truth*; it is that by which the Spirit is made to penetrate as light into the intellect, revealing the objective to faith; and to purify and change the current of the affections, directing them towards all that is comprehended in duty." What is meant by *the truth*, is left in no doubt: "As by the truth we mean, in scriptural language, 'the things which have been freely given to us of God,' the spiritual discoveries and communications of Holy Writ,—what has been 'made known to us' by 'holy men, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,'—made known for the express purpose of being employed by the Spirit in His actings on the inward life of man;—we are of course to be understood as recommending you to keep your minds in close contact with all that the Bible reveals to faith." If this is a universal exposition of the Divine Life in Man, how was the Truth made known in

the first place to the prophetic spirits through whom we have it in Scripture? How did *they* receive it, if we can receive it only from 'holy writ'? How did God enlighten *them*, if He can enlighten us only by instrumentally using their words in the Bible? It will not serve to say, that to them the spoken words of Christ, to whom the knowledge came not as to a man, did the work of the written word to us, and that so the tradition of life was carried on,—for surely it will not be denied that God had enlightened and quickened the souls of men with saving Truth, with the knowledge of eternal Realities, long before the Word of Christ, in utterance or in embodiment, was given to mankind, except as that towards which the inward inspiration of prophetic souls dimly tended.

It is a great relief to shew Mr. Binney speaking from his own spiritual consciousness and reflection in the following fine passage, which is perhaps the freshest in the volume :

"While the body is constructed to last for years,—so formed that, properly used, it may go on in strength and activity for a long time,—it is *not* meant to be eternal; it carries within itself the source and principle of its own decay. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that man should be liable to the workings and outbreaks of this principle, and that, with all his power to preserve health and keep himself alive, there should be limits to that power, and, consequently, that he may become feeble and relaxed, sick and diseased, without blame. The fundamental law inherently belonging to natural life provides for this; but the fundamental law of the spiritual life is the opposite to this. In spite of all that can be done for the 'outward man,' he 'perishes' and must perish; nothing could prevent it but a direct miracle. The contrary to this, however, is the law of the life of the 'inward man.' That life is graciously intended to be *im*-perishable; it is capable of growth and renewal to the last; the light in which it 'moves and has its being' is to keep increasing to the 'perfect day;' the source of it is a fountain whence it is to gush forth and spring up everlastingly; its seed is incorruptible, and is essentially and inherently antagonist to death. Now, this being the law, and this the nature of the spiritual life, infirmity and disease are not intended naturally to belong to it; they have not the same part to act, the same purpose to serve, that physical disorders have in relation to that which is given to be recalled."
 * * * "In respect to a life meant for incorruption, intended for immortality, given with a view to its becoming an everlasting

inheritance, there is not the same scope for the sovereign infliction of disease as there is in relation to that inferior life, which is subject from the first to the law of death, and to death itself as to what is inevitable. The principle, then, on which spiritual life is conferred being that of perpetuity, it is therefore that of health; and hence, if ever it is found to be debilitated and diseased, we may be quite sure that, as this is inconsistent with the will of the Donor and the law of the gift, the cause must be looked for not in the sovereignty of God, but in the sinfulness of man.”*

Mr. Binney professes a distaste for all systematic expositions of the work of Christ, and neither to the spiritual conscience, nor to the scriptural interpreter, do “the doctrinal statements of the orthodox creed” come with any fresh recommendation from his hands. His own view of the scheme of salvation is our old acquaintance without a new face, except perhaps in so far as the monstrous principle that the redemptive act of Christ, the possibility of forgiveness to God, consists essentially in the annihilation of natural moral consequences, is exhibited with an unusual distinctness as the very stone of the system.

“The fundamental principle and general import of the whole scheme may be thus briefly put. All have sinned. Sin is the violation of law. Law, taking its course, works out for the sinner, by way of natural consequence, death.” [It is sin, not law, that worketh death: all law worketh against sin and therefore against death.] “Future punishment is not an infliction, but a result; not a thing *added* to sin by external power, but flowing out of it by inevitable necessity. The pardon of sin, therefore, is not merely oblivion of offence, but annihilation of consequences. It requires a direct and positive interference with the great system of fixed law. If law is *not* to take its course, and still more, if a result is to be brought about directly the reverse of what would be *natural*, something must be *done*, and done in the form of what is *super-natural*. This something *was* done, by ‘God sending forth His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for a sin-offering.’ The redemptive work of the Christ,—a miraculous interference with the system of natural law, but one so conducted as to be essentially in harmony with the principles and spirit of that system itself,—*this* introduced such a new action into God’s moral government, that ‘whosoever believeth in Him,’ hath ‘everlasting life.’”†

* Pp. 229, 230.

† P. 272.

The hypothetical, or supposititious, character of Mr. Binney's theological reasonings is curiously shewn in his acceptance of the deity of Christ as an escape from alleged scriptural difficulties,—difficulties arising out of a supposed reverential feeling towards Christ of the apostles and early Church beyond what would be legitimate, or wholesome, towards a man.

"There is no denying that isolated texts present great difficulties on both sides ; but *the general aspect* of the New Testament,—its usual tone and current phraseology,—are perfectly astounding on the supposition, or hypothesis, that He was merely one of the human race ; *one*, however illustrious and distinguished, in the general aggregate of the souls of men. If that were the case, it would not be inappropriate or profane to say that Christianity became, in the age of the apostles and *by their means*, and that it appears *throughout their writings*, as a mere system of hero-worship. It is trust in, love to, adoration of—*Saint Jesus* ; which, if He were nothing *but* a saint, is just as offensive to right feeling, and as much sinfulness and idolatry, as the worship of the *Virgin*." * * * "There are many difficulties connected with the idea of the divinity of the Christ ; but great as they are, that idea is a positive relief—a welcome refuge from the mere Saint-worship which, without it, Christianity becomes. I am willing to accept it, with all its mysteriousness, as it saves me from attributing to the primitive Church, and saves me from seeing in the Church in heaven, what, without it, I can only regard as of a piece with the prostration of apostate Christendom before the shrines of the Virgin and the Saints."*

Here is a reason for believing in the Trinity, as a relief, an escape, a refuge, from the worship of the Virgin or the Saints on scriptural authorization ! Mr. Binney should have asked himself whether any reverential feeling of the early Church towards Christ, *supposing* it to be what he *assumes* it to be, would of itself be sufficient to carry such a consequence. Secondly, *granting* him his own principle, or rather habits, of scriptural interpretation, when, from the Apocalypse, he represents Christ *on* the throne, and the Church *before* it,—he should have remembered that Christ himself is represented as assigning to the twelve—and one of them was a traitor—a place *on* the throne with him,—and that the Apocalypse has the words, " See thou do it not :

* Pp. 336—338.

for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets." And, thirdly, he should have called to mind that if the Romanists exalt the Virgin without believing in her deity, no exaltation of Christ by the early Church, short of the definite language of the Athanasian Creed, will imply their belief in *his* deity.

The exceptions to the prevailingly doctrinal tone of this volume are mainly in the two concluding sermons, "An Old Year Meditation," and "Buying and Selling: a Week Day Homily." They are vigorous specimens of practical admonition, but surely not such sermons as a great Preacher would wish to present as the only memorials of this kind of a ministry of forty years. We select perhaps the most telling passage, which a man under the temptation of a susceptible audience, and of his own enjoyment in the exercise of a special talent, might speak; but it is not so easy to understand why he should desire to have it permanently preserved in such grave company.

"As to house fixtures, every one knows that they must, for the most part, be surrendered at a sacrifice; and even furniture, 'as good as new,' if obliged to be parted with, must often be let go for 'next to nothing.' In the case of horses, again, it is singular how, in the case of men professionally concerned with them, nobody seems to expect anything approaching to ordinary uprightness. Blindness to or depreciation of the best points of an animal, denial or concealment of its defects, as the case may be, seem to be assumed as matters of course; so that, in two senses, there may be 'boasting' of a bargain—in the one, at getting a perfect beauty, or a strong roadster, at a ridiculously low figure; in the other, at having so managed as to get rid—and at a capital price—of an old screw. It is told of the son of a horse-dealer, a sharp lad, that, when once unexpectedly called by his father to mount a horse, and exhibit his paces, the little fellow whispered the question, in order to regulate how he should ride, 'Are you buying or selling?'"*

We grieve that we have not been in fuller sympathy with this book. It has been a real pain to us in any way to speak disrespectfully of it. We were prepared to learn from it how the new lights of religious knowledge, the more fundamental place assigned to the inspirations of the heart in the determination of religious questions, the altered values of the

* P. 391.

words and records in relation to the self-justifying power of spiritual truth, were leavening the more distinguished leaders, and gradually, if silently, transforming the rigid types of doctrinal Dissent. The *British Quarterly Review* claims for Mr. Binney a place by the side of Julius Charles Hare. We find in him no attempt at a nobler exposition of the theory of orthodoxy, but rather a substantial adherence to its old details, along with a refusal to give it definite statement, or by systematic elucidation to justify it before the reason, the conscience and the soul, as a credible revelation of God. We find no sign that the growth of critical knowledge, the introduction of juster methods of historical interpretation, have sensibly affected his treatment of alleged biblical proofs. We find no fresh spring of religious feeling or touch of quickening life,—no deep sense of the inspiration of God in the individual soul as the common light of natural and of revealed religion. But we find everywhere force, vigour of stroke, argumentative vivacity, rhetorical ability of the unimaginative order, effective handling of the materials with which he deals. Mr. Binney belongs to the large class of men who stir interest and gain a name, not so much by the value of their work, as by the energy with which they do it.

J. H. T.

VII.—JOHN JAMES TAYLER. IN MEMORIAM.

THE death of the Rev. JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B.A., Principal and Professor of Biblical and Historical Theology in Manchester New College, London, which took place at his house at Hampstead on the 28th of May, is an event which cannot be suffered to pass without notice in the pages of the *Theological Review*. For Mr. Tayler was one of the original projectors of the *Review*, and not only gave it the benefit of his counsel as a Director from the date of its foundation to the time of his death, but has constantly supported it by literary help of remarkable variety and worth. Our first number contained his article on Mr. Kenrick's "*Biblical Essays*;" the present one preserves his

last contribution to New Testament criticism in his paper on "The Canon of Muratori." Between these, the reader who has followed our progress with friendly interest, will recollect his most thoughtful reviews of Strauss's new "*Leben Jesu*" and Lowndes' "*Philosophy of Primary Beliefs*;" his learned estimates of Dr. Davidson's "Introduction to the New Testament" and Tischendorf's edition of "*The Apocryphal Gospels*;" his graphic reports of his visits to the Remonstrants of Holland and the Unitarians of Transylvania. No editor could have a more able or a more kindly fellow-worker, nor could any literary enterprise suffer a greater loss than the Theological Review suffers in his death.

The facts of Mr. Tayler's life and labours will doubtless receive due record at a fit time and place; but in order that the peculiar quality of his character and activity may be fully understood, they are briefly recapitulated here. He was born in London on the 15th of August, 1797, and was consequently far advanced in his 72nd year at the time of his death. His father, the Rev. James Tayler, was a Presbyterian minister, who in 1802 removed to Nottingham, a town with which the recollections of Mr. Tayler's youth were closely associated, and to which he manifested throughout life a strong attachment. His first training was given to him by his father, who, like many other Presbyterian ministers of that time, kept a school for the sons of the wealthy Nonconformist laymen. In 1814, he was sent, as a student for the ministry, to Manchester College, York, an institution which he regarded as embodying the true principle of scientific theological training, and which it was his happiness to serve in various capacities, but with undeviating faithfulness, for fifty years. Thence, in 1816, he proceeded to the University of Glasgow, where he took the degree of B.A., returning to York in 1819, to undertake for one year the duties of Assistant Classical Tutor, in the absence of Mr. Kenrick upon the continent. His ministerial life began in 1820, when he became the pastor of a congregation assembling first in Mosley Street and afterwards in Upper Brook Street, Manchester,—a connection which lasted, with a singular love and trust between minister and people, till Mr. Tayler's removal to London in 1853. During the first twenty years of this time, his connection

with Manchester College was chiefly administrative: for seventeen years he discharged the duties of Secretary; for six, those of Public Examiner. But when the College, which had been originally founded in Manchester, was in 1840 brought back thither, and re-established on a new and enlarged basis, Mr. Tayler was invited to fill the Chair of Ecclesiastical History. This work he united for thirteen years with the pastoral office, until, in 1853, the College once more changed its locality and was transferred to London, when he accompanied it as Principal. The duties of this office, as well as those of a Theological Professorship, he continued to perform till the time of his death. With this persevering devotion to the task of Christian instruction, either from the Pulpit or the Professor's Chair, he united a constant literary activity. In addition to being a frequent contributor to periodical literature, he was for some years one of the editors of the *Prospective*, afterwards developed into the *National Review*. An admirable and very characteristic volume on the Religious Life of England, a volume of Sermons on "Christian Faith and Duty," and an *Essay on the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, of which at the time of his death he was preparing a second edition, were his chief independent works.

So active and yet so quiet a life affords to the pencil of the biographer neither salient outlines nor sharp contrasts; and the chief interest of the tale, whenever it comes to be fully told, will be found, except in the case of those for whom it re-touches and brightens the picture which personal affection has already painted, in the self-revelation of a very sweet and noble character. There was a certain peacefulness about Mr. Tayler's goodness which suggested that it had grown up in an air unvexed by storms. And, indeed, the external environments of his life seemed made for him and he for them. It would have been very difficult to fancy him other than he was, a student and a teacher of theology. His was not a profession from the demands of which he turned aside to other pursuits for needful rest and relaxation, but a life-work, which at once taxed all his powers and satisfied all his desires. If at times he had recourse to other studies, it was only because his intellectual sympathies were too wide to permit of his isolation in any one science, and he felt that to the true theologian nothing human could be alien. But

he always came back to his researches into the origin and history of Christianity as to his mind's true home, nor was he ever more eager and more joyous than in his daily work. Perhaps it was from this constant familiarity and daily conversation with Christ and Christianity, that his character and personal influence acquired the tone which was so easy to recognize, yet is so hard to describe. For while the effect of close contact with sacred things is to make a hard and coarse nature harder and coarser still, it may interfuse reverence with a more solemn awe, and add a stiller depth to love, and give to dutifulness a more steadfast energy.

Mr. Tayler's natural qualifications for the life of a student were very great; for to fine powers he added a retentive memory and a conscientious industry. But his most remarkable intellectual characteristic was a singular breadth of view, which was not only width of mental grasp, but even more a richness and versatility of moral sympathy. Few men were so able as he to put himself in the point of view of an opponent, and to appreciate the real strength of a position which he did not himself hold. Partly this may have been the result of his deep conviction that no complete conception of the infinite realities, about which his thoughts chiefly hovered, was possible; that some adulteration of error was inseparable from his own truth, some wholesome salt of truth contained in whatever seemed to be another's error. But it sprang still more from a natural gift of fellow-feeling, made broader and richer by long culture and study. On the intellectual side alone, he was indeed no dogmatist; the width, the complexity, the many-sidedness, the mysteriousness, which characterize religious truths, were ideas ever present to his mind, and he felt the uncertainty necessarily inherent in all theological affirmations but the simplest. But this philosophical conviction, while it affords an adequate negative safeguard against dogmatism, cannot give the variety of appreciation, the versatility of insight, which spring only from moral sympathy. To understand all the conflicting manifestations of religious sentiment *from the inside*, demands a large heart even more than a clear and comprehensive intellect. "Pectus est quod facit theologum," was the motto of a great theologian, A. W. Neander; it might also have been Mr. Tayler's; for if it have a truth upon the general field of Theology, it is truer still upon the narrower domain of Church History.

Perhaps this universality of insight, this recognition of the many aspects of the central Truth, this willingness to concede something to an opponent's view while vindicating his own, may be the reason why very young men, though regarding Mr. Tayler with almost boundless love and veneration, were sometimes half dissatisfied with his teaching. In the heat and confidence natural to their age, they were disposed to crave something more exclusive, more definite, more incisive. And yet as the very same men grew older, and, coming into personal contact with difficulties which they had before known only through the intervention of a teacher, rose to wider conceptions of the relation of the human mind to truth, they learned to honour more and more the breadth of view which they had at first failed to comprehend, and to admire as a serene and too rare wisdom, what they had once been disposed to blame as weakness and uncertainty of mental grasp.

Nothing, indeed, could be more harmoniously beautiful than the whole of Mr. Tayler's moral attitude towards the objects of his intellectual activity. To speak, to those who knew him, of his absolute devotion to Truth, cannot be needful: for him to see Truth, was to follow the divine vision with absolute and unquestioning allegiance. As must happen to really thoughtful and studious men who live in an age of dissolving and transitional belief, he was often compelled to give up, as unfounded, convictions which had lain very near his heart. But in his case it would be difficult to conceive of a mental change as accompanied by a prolonged or severe moral struggle. Dishonest dogmatism might terrify him, but never honest doubt; and he rose above the temptation, which besets too many theologians, of identifying Truth with his own opinions or the dicta of a church, and then conceiving that the idol thus set up may be lawfully defended with any weapons. To say that he was willing to receive light from any quarter of the theological heavens, would be little: he had the rarer faculty of constantly recollecting the relation of his own to all other sciences and the general fabric of human knowledge: he was free from the desire of making his own acquirements and conclusions despotic in the world of intellect, and kept himself well abreast with the universal progress of search and specula-

tion. Yet a knowledge which to the last grew in width and richness was accompanied by an ever sweeter humility ; and it was a very touching thing to note how fully he appreciated the achievement of others, at the same time that he seemed either to underrate, or far more often to forget, his own. For his was not the humility which, by calling attention to itself, seems to challenge its own self-estimate, but that sacred simplicity which rarely thinks of itself at all, and when it speaks, utters only the fulness of the heart.

To love Truth perfectly, is to love it always and to the end. And it is a great happiness of the student's life that all its characteristic activity, all its highest pleasures, are capable of being prolonged to the very verge of the grave ; and that its ruling motive, its habitual aspirations, must, upon any worthy theory of a future life, be conceived of as suffering only a momentary interruption by death, to renew themselves with fresh force and under happier conditions. And when, in the case of the friend whom we commemorate, we think of the last gift of God in a timely death coming to crown a long and peaceful life—the unimpaired powers, the uninterrupted industry, the still fresh interest in his daily work, the still eager aspiration after wider knowledge and more certain truth—we call to mind the lines in which Antoine Arnauld, a student of like devotion though of stormier fortunes, was apostrophized when death had brought him an end of trouble :

Sancte senex, pleno qui nunc de flumine verum
Ipsam illud, quod sic terris peregrinus amasti,
Ore avido bibis——

But the aptness of the quotation ends here, and the conclusion of the verse, “*atque odiorum obliviam potas*,” though too true to the fate of the great Jansenist scholar, has no meaning as applied to Mr. Tayler. For not only had he no hatreds to forget, but few men pass away amid so universal a manifestation of love and sorrow. He had his controversies too, and some of them, the most trying of all, controversies with friends. His search for truth brought him into collision with the cherished beliefs of others, and he never hesitated to express convictions which he had deliberately formed in clear and forcible language. There was even a sense in which he might be said to have been for many years one of the leaders of a religious party, and responsible

for a certain line of public policy. But he neither breathed the spirit nor incurred the penalties of party. Those who worked against, loved him little, if at all, less than those who worked with him. Even to give momentary utterance against *him* to any of the imputations which are the common weapons of party warfare, and which pass away with the exigencies which produce them, was a sufficient sign of a narrow mind and a coarse nature. In regard to him it was natural to follow, not an intellectual, but a moral law of classification: in spite of temporary difference of opinion, he was always on the side of the honest, the pure and the good, and they on his.

Notwithstanding Mr. Tayler's great learning and the ease and mastery of his intellectual grasp, the first and prevailing impression which he made upon those who knew him was not intellectual, but moral; not of fine powers and a richly-furnished mind, but of a very pure and tender heart, and a spirit in constant communion with heavenly things. And this arose from no weakness in the former, but from the wonderful force and sweetness of the latter element in his character. His unselfishness rose into absolute, self-forgetfulness: there were conjunctures of his life at which his friends had almost to remind him that he had personal interests, which other men would have been sufficiently ready to remember. His kindness, which was never found wanting upon great occasions, shone forth in the ordinary intercourses of society in a thoughtful and graceful courtesy, always ready to pass, in the case of those whom he loved, into a most touching tenderness. The deep religiousness of his spirit will in the minds of many be associated with the occasions (too rare in the latter years of his life) on which he led the public worship of God; with the clear and sweet, yet somewhat feeble voice, which expressed so awful a reverence; with the subdued earnestness of mien, which shewed how completely he was possessed by the convictions to which he gave so persuasive an utterance. But, strange as it may seem to say so, there were others who were never so forcibly impressed with his rare heavenly-mindedness as in the least restrained moments of friendly converse. When—perhaps at the end of his year's work, and in joyous prospect of a holiday, more industrious and richer in fruit than most men's working-time—he gave free

play to the gaiety which was a part of his nature, and took his share in the mimic warfare of raillery, never enjoying a kindly jest so much as when it told, or seemed to tell, against himself, there was an innocence, almost a sanctity, in his cheerfulness, which is a rarer thing than the sanctity of conscious devotion. He passed from gay to grave, from earth to heaven, and neither he nor those who listened to him were conscious of any violence or discord in the transition. And it was only when the happy hour was ended, that his friends began to remember how many deep and true things he had said, and that they had been in converse not only with a very kindly and pure spirit, but with a man of great and varied learning and the profoundest religious insight.

There is only one more characteristic of Mr. Tayler's activity for which we would gladly find a place in this brief tribute of affectionate respect. He has done much—and would have done far more, had it not been for the social prejudices which in England limit the influence of the Nonconformist and especially the Unitarian minister—to restore the character and to vindicate the function of the Christian Theologian. For one great reproach upon the religious life of England is, that, from the scientific point of view, Theology cannot be safely entrusted to the hands of theologians, whose object for the most part seems to be, to invent new arguments in defence of foregone conclusions; to try how little they can yield to the fresh knowledge and insight of the age; to defend the fortress of the Creeds against any assailants, even though among the besieging host should appear the divine form of Truth herself. In reaction against this danger, which is as wide-spread as the existence of a clerical class, have grown up, at least in Germany, an habitual study and teaching of theology by lay professors, men who accept and treat the materials of theological in the same way as they would those of any other science, and pursue their processes of inquiry with an impartial indifference to results. And although it cannot be denied that, both here and on the continent, some of the most important contributions to theology have of late years been made by laymen, it is, we think, greatly to be deprecated, on more accounts than one, that those who are formally and voluntarily bound to the service of the Christian

Church, should shew themselves careless or incapable of the successful investigation of Christian truth. The function of the scholar is, indeed, not the same as that of the prophet, and they are often necessarily severed. But it is a great thing that sometimes, as in the case of Mr. Tayler, they should be united. He was at once faithful to the utmost demands of religious truth, and stayed upon the deepest trusts of the religious life. He could investigate the title-deeds of Christianity, without ever withdrawing his upward gaze of reverent affection from the face of Christ. He could bravely and even sternly cut away the factitious supports of traditional religion, for the very reason that he lived and moved and had his being in God.

But we stay our hand, lest we should seem to be guilty of the impertinence of praising whom all our attempt is to describe. A beautiful life has been closed by a timely death; and though love will not be prevented from trying to utter an immense regret, a great thankfulness and joy are subtly mixed with sorrow. Not without a divine significance was it, that upon his open grave the unclouded heavens looked down, that the solemn words of hope and prayer were broken by the song of happy birds, and that its only darkness was the chequered shadow of rustling leaves. We lay our humble wreath of love and gratitude at its head, and pass on,—with a fresh insight into the holiness of God, and a deeper sense of the beauty of a faithful life.

CHARLES BEARD.

VIII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *The Jesus of History*. 8vo. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

It is gradually coming to be understood that between the actual facts of the life of Jesus and the conception of that life preserved and taught in the Christian churches, there exists the widest difference. And viewing the matter in a purely literary aspect, quite apart from any theological bear-

ing it may possess, it becomes a work of the deepest interest to separate the chief probabilities of the history from additions which either contradict them, or are held and passed on from generation to generation without being based on any sufficient evidence. It is, of course, possible that the true thought we should arrive at after such an inquiry, might possess less of religious value than the Christian ideal which has taken the place of historical fact: but there is not necessarily a contradiction between the two. An ideal may be of many different kinds; but we may rest assured that if the one we are concerned about be of a kind which can be hurt, or put out of countenance, by the naked facts, it is a false and poverty-stricken fancy, and one which we were better without. We welcome, therefore, any attempt, whether it comes in the shape of Strauss's destructive criticism, or Renan's constructive ingenuity, or the cold, grave weighing of evidence and probabilities in the book before us, to regain, and place apart, the leading facts of the life of Jesus. The Englishman's work is marked by qualities which may prevent the book from ever becoming popular; but it ought to find acceptance with those who demand a clear statement and an unimpassioned judgment. It preserves throughout a calm, judicial tone, all expression of feeling being kept carefully, at times almost with visible pain, under restraint. We shall best serve our readers by giving them a sketch of the method and results of the book.

In all such inquiries there is inevitably demanded at the outset an examination into the sources of the history. In the case of Jesus, this portion of the inquiry is confined within very narrow limits; and the subject is receiving such close and continued attention amongst scholars and theologians, that we may hope to have before long the questions which stand at present under vexatious dispute, practically settled by a general concurrence of opinion. We think there are signs of this especially with respect to the question of the historical value of the fourth Gospel. Our author sums up the argument, presupposing here, as in some other parts of his work, a considerable acquaintance on the part of his reader with the subject, and puts the Gospel aside, as being wholly without historical reliableness, whatever its value theologically or for edification may be. Thus, at the first step, just as in one other no less important point, of which

we shall have occasion presently to speak, he diverges from the track chosen by M. Renan. With respect to the remaining Gospels, he gives in a very interesting chapter his reasons for distrusting the Gospel of Luke as a source of reliable historical details, excepting where it repeats or confirms the first Gospel; and he falls back, therefore, upon the two first Gospels, and mainly the first, to furnish the materials for a picture of the life and teachings of Jesus. Matthew's narrative he assumes, on grounds collated with the care which marks all this portion of the work, to represent the tradition about Jesus as it existed in Jerusalem thirty years after his death, from which it is possible to recover in some measure "the image of Jesus as a prophet and martyr, as it may have been conceived in the memory and report of those who had known him during the brief period of his public life." Born of obscure parentage in Galilee, Jesus does not become a historical personage until he is found amongst the disciples of John the Baptist. The imprisonment of John seems to have roused the dormant powers and aspirations of Jesus into activity, and he determined, or thought it was his gift, to continue the work begun by John, of preparing the people for the expected kingdom of the Messiah. An interval of solitude and meditation was the natural preparation for assuming the office of prophet and herald of the kingdom. Thenceforward his life was passed in public; its duration was probably short. The point that is of chief interest to us is, that it divides into two well-marked portions. In the first, he is the preacher of righteousness among the people of Galilee: his doctrines, preserved to us chiefly in the form of the Sermon on the Mount, are of the highest morality: he spiritualizes the Mosiac law without destroying its authority, for he is always a Jew speaking to Jews: he exalts the gentler virtues; and lifts the thoughts of his hearers to noble and generous views of duty and of God. In Galilee he finds a few trusty and loving friends, who become his companions; but this period of his life ends in failure. Nothing comes of the movement among the Galilean people: sometimes they hear him gladly, sometimes they reject him: the promised Messiah does not make his appearance; the kingdom of heaven does not come. His preaching has awakened fear and opposition in high quarters, and he retreats, with one or two friends, to the Gentile districts to the north of Galilee.

There is little to be told of the interval between this retreat to the North and the final resolve to stake all and cast himself upon Jerusalem. But it is clear that, whatever surmises Jesus may himself have had in Galilee, or whatever hopes his friends may have been cherishing, it was at length openly in the character of the long-awaited Messiah that he began the brief second portion of his public career. This transition from herald of the kingdom to assumption of the Messiahship was the critical moment of his life; but while announcing himself as the Messiah, he was at the same time prepared for failure and death; and the perfect good faith of Jesus, and his singleness of purpose, are borne witness to at every turn of the story, and eventually by the closing tragedy. As he failed in Galilee, so he failed in Jerusalem. The triumph of the entry into the city, his lordly cleansing of the temple from them that defiled it with traffic, his favour with the people, were the exultation of a day or two; but at every step he met priestly ritual, or Pharisaic puritanism, or Roman military rule; and all three were equally opposed to the establishment of the kingdom of heaven. Forsaking then his former tone, no longer with the words of blessing on his tongue, he uttered those lofty denunciations against hypocrisy and ritualism and shams, which it is difficult even at this distance of time to read quite calmly. If at that moment in his career it was the intention of Jesus, as is probable,* to retire from Jerusalem, and wait in silence, or resign himself to failure, the plan was thwarted by his arrest. The purpose of the Jewish rulers may have been simply to silence him while the city was crowded during the Passover; but once having laid hands upon him, and finding that he boldly claimed in some sense to be the King of the Jews, they handed him over to the Roman governor. Then, with the calm dignity and faith in God which the Christian memory has in all ages so tenderly cherished, Jesus met his mortal fate; nor can the Christian remembrance be made less tender, nor the event itself less sublime, if we return to the naked truth, and can understand the gloom of failure and disappointment in which the cross was shrouded.

This is, in briefest outline, a sketch of the results to which our author attains. Many critical points of interest

* The reference is to the last verse of Matthew xxiii.

by the way are taken up and handled, as we think, carefully and wisely, if not always convincingly. He maintains everywhere the cold, deliberative attitude, which, we think, marks his true reverence for the subject, and to which, in truth, we have found it not easy to attain even in drawing up the faint outline of the great life he discusses. We must, moreover, notice two leading characteristics of the writer of this book, which run through his work, and give it, apart from any critical results he arrives at, a peculiar value. The first is a profound appreciation of the beauty and truthfulness of the character of Jesus. This sympathy with Jesus, scarcely avowed in words, but silently underlying the whole criticism of the book, never permits the writer to choose out of two conflicting probabilities the one, whatever its claims otherwise may be, which would contradict his moral estimate of Jesus. Thus, in his discussion of the question of miracles, he specifies the conclusions from which we have to choose: first, belief in the miracle, in the popular sense of the words belief and miracle; second, disbelief, but guarded so as to preserve the integrity of Jesus; third, disbelief, with an explanation assuming the connivance of Jesus in a fraud. When he is forced into the acceptance of one of the last two of these conclusions, it is invariably, in spite of the difficulties which may attend it, the first that he adopts. It will be observed that in this respect also he departs essentially from the method and conception of Renan. And we believe that in doing so he is not only in harmony with the instincts and habits of English thought, but is in fact true to the psychological requirements of the case.

The second point we wish especially to notice is the strong line the writer draws between Jesus and Christianity. Jesus was a Jew, and his purpose was a Jewish one; his career was marked by failure, and it ended in disaster and death.

"One thing was hidden from him, which had he known, would have added to the bitterness of the hour. He could not have foreseen that the hopes he had contributed to excite would lead, not to the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, but to the destruction of the Jewish nationality, and almost to the extinction of the Jewish people; nor that, in his name and for his sake, the seed of Abraham, for whom through life he had laboured, and

for whom he was then ready to die, would during long ages be subject to every form of persecution and ignominy."*

Our author accepts, therefore, the doctrine that the real founder of Christianity was Paul,—in the name, however, of Jesus; and to this conclusion, as being a true statement of the case, we think all modern criticism tends with overwhelming force.

The book covers a wide field of inquiry, and as it begins with a sketch of Jewish history previous to the Christian era, so it ends with a sketch of the probable way in which Christianity sprang from Judaism, and Christian dogma formed itself. No attempt is made to unfold the steps by which the belief in the resurrection of Jesus originated and became prevalent. The belief, with its strong influence over the first disciples, and especially Paul, is accepted as a fact of history. Not the least interesting portion of the book is the account of the divergence between the church at Jerusalem and the Pauline churches, and the comparative failure of the former. The peculiarities of Paul's views of the nature and work of Jesus, the influence of contemporary philosophy in Paul's mind, the reaction of Greek thought and culture upon early Christian doctrine when it took root among the Greek populations of the cities, and finally the necessity out of which sprang into existence the fourth Gospel, with its novel conception of Jesus, and its independence of primitive tradition, are worked out, though less in detail, yet with the same care and integrity, which mark the more special subject of the book. We have far too keen an appreciation of the value of this work to be willing to pick out imperfections, nor are we attempting to pass judgment upon it, excepting in so far as we say that it is clear and unimpassioned and worthy of its subject. Its chief fault, to our mind, is that it is published anonymously. In the position in which Christianity finds itself in our land to-day, we believe it is good and proper for all who can so successfully lay aside prepossessions, reason so acutely, and state processes and results so judiciously, as does the author of this work, to throw in their personal weight, such as it may be, with their opinions.

E. S. H.

* P. 280.

2. *History and Principles of the Church Polity of England.*
Longmans and Co. 1869.

Mr. Mountfield has made an opportune contribution to public opinion on ecclesiastical matters, in his "*History and Principles of the Church Polity of England.*" It contains a vigorous protest against the reviving sacerdotalism of our day, and is conceived in a thoroughly liberal and Christian spirit. The author commences with a sketch of the transition from the universal priesthood of the primitive church, to the rise of a sacerdotal caste; and defends it as the fundamental principle of the Christian Church, that "the people are its legislators, and the clergy, its rulers, officers and ministers, subordinate to the whole body." He traces the course of imperial supremacy, and justly pleads that "National Churches were the inevitable result of the progress of Christianity." The history of the ecclesiastical legislation of this country is succinctly reviewed; and the adverse influences are described under which the identity of Church and State, the natural consequence of the conversion of a nation, which prevailed in Anglo-Saxon times, gave way under the Norman kings to the hierarchical system, which was gradually established after the Conquest, and lasted till the Reformation: the successive changes in church polity are rapidly narrated, by which it was attempted, now under Mary and James II. to restore the Papal supremacy, and now under Cromwell to construct a truly comprehensive and national church on a non-episcopal basis: and, lastly, our author recounts the effect of the Revolution upon the Church Establishment, when all legislative power, ecclesiastical and civil alike, was left solely in the hands of Parliament, and the function of the Sovereign was limited to the execution of the laws, as the fountain of justice and the supreme head of church and commonwealth.

The object of this brief narrative of the growth of the English church polity, is to vindicate historically the principles which, in the second part of his book, Mr. Mountfield proceeds to defend on other grounds. His plea for the abstract right of the nation to legislate for itself in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs, by means of its appointed representatives, appears to us to be sufficiently conclusive. He

defines the National Church, as "that church which receives its laws concerning ecclesiastical matters from the nation, the duties of its ministers and the rights of its congregations being defined in the laws of the realm."* If the principle of Jeremy Taylor be admitted, that "the Church is not a distinct state and order of men, but the commonwealth turned Christian," then the theory, at any rate, even of the Anglican Establishment, rests on a solid and comprehensive basis; and our author is successful in shewing that the greater part of the existing church polity proceeds naturally from it. It is true, he not unfrequently seems to us quite unwarrantably to resolve individual and irresponsible action into state and representative action; and we are surprised, for example, to be told that the system of patronage really secures for the nation the right of appointing clergymen; and that "it is not seemly or expedient that when the nation has placed in a parish a man who has been deemed fit to be the clergyman of that place, it should be in the power of the congregation or parishioners to remove him. The nation has placed him there; it is for the nation, not for a fraction of it, to remove him." Nevertheless, so important are the services which the Church has performed, that we can readily sympathize with the moral which our author draws from the history of the Establishment, as he contemplates a possible time when "the National Church, having done its work, must pass away,"—viz. that "from it men will learn that laymen can reform a corrupt church and govern a reformed one; that they can abolish the supremacy of a sacerdotal caste without abasing the clergy; that whilst retaining in their own hands the supreme control over the church, they can preserve to the clergy the honour due to their office."†

The fact is, that Mr. Mountfield appears to have an under-consciousness that the National Church realizes but very poorly, after all, the great ideal set before it at the Reformation; less, however, from any intrinsic fault than in its own polity, than from the impossibility of its foreseeing the various diversities to which new intellectual developments inevitably give rise, and from its entire inability to adapt itself to them as they successively present themselves. He admits that "the

* P. 120.

† P. 252.

theory on which our Church is founded, that the commonwealth and the church are the same society under different names, is no longer true;”* and he does not deny that whatever it may be historically, practically at this day the “Church of England is a sect, one of many other religious communities in the country, from which it is distinguished by certain doctrines or forms of government, enjoying certain privileges, honours and endowments, conferred upon it by the State.”† But when theory and practice are so hopelessly irreconcilable, it is surely an intellectual perversity to vindicate the practice of to-day on the ground that there was once a time when the theory was not false. Nor is any defence set up for the exclusion from the Church of those who at least would bring with them no greater divergences of thought from received standards than are already to be found within the limits of the Church itself. There can be little harmony in an Establishment, on the cessation of which “there would be at least two bodies, both claiming to be successors of a church which can have no successors.”‡ And “the high unsectarian purposes for which the nation maintains a clergy,”§ cannot certainly be said to have been fairly carried out, when in one parish you may hear the doctrine of the atonement proclaimed in its most acidulated form, in the next have it frittered away altogether, and in a third find it subordinated to the mediatorial power of the priesthood. Mr. Mountfield altogether ignores the difficulty of stretching the creeds of the fourth century to cover the faith of the nineteenth. Intellectually speaking, we are much further removed from the Reformation, than the Reformation was from the Council of Nicæa. Until the Anglican Church can recognize and provide for this, she can never be in any sense national. That she never will recognize it, still more provide for it, her past history and her present condition—whatever be our regrets—alike forbid us to believe.

J. E. C.

3. *A Manual of Christian Evidence, &c.* By John R. Beard, D.D. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

No careful observer of the religious movements of the present day can fail to perceive how the older forms both

* P. 124.

† P. 93.

‡ P. 251.

§ P. 242.

of orthodoxy and scepticism are losing their hold of the thoughtful and educated classes of society. The unreasoning acceptance of ancient creeds is defended by very few of the writers and preachers who lay any claim to leadership among us, while the dry rationalism of the last century meets with as little favour as the scoffing unbelief of the sceptical school who dreamed they could rival Voltaire or Gibbon by borrowing their incisive wit to render palatable the wearisome attacks upon all religion in which they indulged. There is a moderation in the newer school of Christian apologists which renders their writings all the more effective, and a tone of reverence in the more critical assailants of the older dogmas which bids us hope that the day is not very far distant when faith and criticism will have won for man a religious belief that will satisfy the yearning aspirations of humanity for true communion with God, without demanding the sacrifice of intellectual freedom and activity as a necessary preliminary to membership in the kingdom of God. The increased fruitfulness of theological literature which has been manifested since Schleiermacher successfully attempted to revivify the results of modern scholarship and critical research by reverent and loving dependence upon the present spirit of an immanent Deity, is an undeniable proof of our hopefulness not being visionary. The merely destructive task of criticism seems almost to have been accomplished, and even those authors whose names are most dreaded by the upholders of orthodoxy, men like the late F. C. Baur of Tübingen, and the still living leaders of what English theologians regard as the vanguard of neologianism, Renan and Strauss, have described with undeniable earnestness facts and principles which their keenest criticism has been unable to resolve either into myth or legend.

It is therefore not possible for the writer of this notice to regard the influence of M. Renan upon religious thought with anything like the dread with which it evidently inspires Dr. Beard. Men who have received a theological training will not be misled by the romantic colouring with which M. Renan covers his uncritical methods of dealing with the New Testament writers. They will be able to reap the fruits of the undoubted learning with which he has treated some of the many subjects on which he has written, while they cannot

help regretting the strange inconsistencies of his logic, and the, at times, curious misdirection of his criticisms. Upon general readers in England his power will be very limited indeed. The tone of his mind is essentially French, and distasteful to ordinary English feeling. On this side of the Channel there is in all classes a dislike to mere sentiment, and so much love of plain dealing, that there seems very little danger of men being led to admire the romantic description of Christ's career which Renan has invented, or to allow the want of ethical clearness in their author to hide from them the dishonest truckling which he ascribes to Christ, and almost defends in him, and which he certainly does praise in the practice of the clergy of modern days. On the continent of Europe, however, his writings are not without their positive religious value. In most Catholic countries, the natural reaction against the ultramontanist of modern days has driven intellectual men into absolute unbelief. Trained from earliest childhood to confound all religion with the dogmas inculcated by the priesthood, most thinking men have with the faith in Catholicism lost all interest in religion. The fierce condemnation with which the *Vie de Jésus* was received, the prayers offered up in every Catholic church to appease the God supposed to be offended by this impious publication, made the opponents of the priesthood read for the first time a work which, though it may seem heretical even to liberal theologians like Dr. Beard, is conservative to many a highly cultivated Frenchman or Italian; and the purity and nobility of Christ, even as Renan describes, could not fail to reawaken religious aspirations seemingly dead in many a heart.

Dr. Beard has evidently devoted much thought and careful study to the writings of M. Renan, and the work which suggests these thoughts is devoted to a defence of Christian truth by an elaborate criticism and refutation of the principles contained in them. I share the surprise with which Dr. Beard regards Renan's conception of Christ and Christianity. How any one who professes so much admiration for Jesus, who so frequently expresses such sympathy for the high lessons which he taught, could think him capable of conniving at deception, it is utterly impossible for me to understand; nor am I able, any more than Dr. Beard, to comprehend how a writer of such undoubted power as Renan

could bring himself to believe that the faith which has regenerated mankind, and has been the source of all modern culture and civilization, should have been founded, as he describes it, in the hallucinations and fancied visions of an hysterical woman. With very much of Dr. Beard's criticism I am altogether agreed, and think his strictures so just, that I cannot help feeling he has devoted too much space to their defence. But in his zeal for his own lofty estimate of Christ, it appears to me that he defends as essential to Christianity much that is unnecessary and more than doubtful. I always regret to see the power of Christianity made to depend upon the acceptance of the miraculous element in the evangelical story. Miracles, however explained—and Dr. Beard's explanation of them as the manifestations of a higher law not yet known or understood by us, seem to me very nearly akin to a denial of their ordinarily accepted meaning—can never prove to me that I am to accept the teaching of the miracle-worker as divine. The presence in the New Testament of narratives ascribing miracles to Jesus and his first followers, seems to me only the natural fruit of the uncritical character of the age; but to insist upon our acceptance of their credibility now, is raising, as it seems to me, a needless difficulty to our faith in the religion which Jesus proclaimed, and which, in its lofty simplicity, its tender majesty and sublime purity, carries with it its best, because self-evidencing sanction. Dr. Beard himself, by the beautiful examples which he gives of Christian life, does more to prove the truth and power of the faith he loves, than by the elaborate defence which he raises for the credibility of the supernatural incidents in the evangelical story. No one can read his description of the martyrs' enthusiastic patience, the ship-carpenter's loving life, the cobbler's benevolent hut, the collier's earnest searching after truth, without recognizing the living Spirit of God, "the mind which was also in Christ Jesus;" and whatever may be our opinion as to the historical accuracy of the feeding of the five thousand or the walking on the sea, we cannot doubt but that in the Gospel there is a power to feed the soul with imperishable food, and to preserve men from sinking beneath the temptations to sin which beset us in our earthly life.

Dr. Beard never writes without making his readers feel

the presence of a deeply devout mind, and letting them find in his pages the suggestive thoughts of a scholar whose researches cover a more than ordinarily extensive range. While reading his "Manual of Christian Evidence," I have perhaps differed more frequently than I have been accustomed to do from his critical judgments ; but I have recognized his great and varied scholarship, and have rejoiced in the true appreciation he displays of the imperishable principles of true religion in its multiform manifestations among all races of mankind.

S. A. S.

THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST: THE ATONEMENT CONTROVERSY.

1. *The Work of Christ: Sermons* by Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A. 1860.
2. *Tracts for Priests and People*. No. III. *The Atonement as a Fact and as a Theory*. By Rev. Francis Garden, Sub-Dean of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal. 1861.
3. *Aids to Faith*. Edited by William Thompson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (now Archbishop of York). Essay VIII. *The Death of Christ*. By the Editor. Fourth Edition. 1863.
4. *Tracts for Priests and People, Second Series*. No. XIII. *A Review of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol's Essay in "Aids to Faith."* By Rev. J. L. Davies, M.A., and Rev. F. Garden.
5. *Ecce Deus: Essays on the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ, with Controversial Notes on 'Ecce Homo'*. By Joseph Parker, D.D. Third Edition. 1868.

THE connection between the death of Christ and the forgiveness of sin, so often and so variously mentioned in the New Testament, has been the subject of frequent discussion and controversy among theologians. If we may judge from the works named above, the results attained by recent inquirers have not been satisfactory or harmonious, even in the case of those who may be classed together as nominally holding certain popular forms of Christian belief. How this has arisen will perhaps appear in the course of the present article, in which also we hope to recall attention to a fair

historical interpretation of the expressions on which the inquiry chiefly turns,—an interpretation not drawn from any theory of the “Atonement,” whether of this church or of that, but founded simply on a due regard to the circumstances and feelings of the times from which the expressions referred to come down to us. And in this connection a remark of Mr. Liddon’s* on a kindred subject is worthy of especial remembrance. He speaks of “writers who carry into their interpretation of the Gospels ideas which have been gained from a study of the Platonic dialogues or of the recent history of France.” Similarly, we have no doubt, it could be shewn that theological writers have carried into the discussion of our present subject ideas gained, not from the New Testament, but from Lutheran or Calvinistic Confessions and Institutes, as well as from various other still older, or also more recent, non-scriptural sources. This error, however, let us here carefully endeavour to avoid.

The language in which the death of Christ is spoken of in the New Testament is richly varied in its forms. Him, says St. Paul, “God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood.” “Ye were not redeemed,” writes another apostle, “with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.” And so the First Epistle of John: “The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.”† Expressions like these might be multiplied; but these are sufficient to enable us to state, in one of its principal forms, the doctrine which has been founded on this language.

The human race, we are told, was guilty of manifold sin before God, both as being descended from Adam and partaking of his guilt, and also on account of actual transgression; “As it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one.” All men were thus guilty and deserving of punishment. The wrath of God was aroused against them, and would in due time have fallen upon them, in the form of eternal damnation. It would now also be impending over all of us, without any chance of escape, if Jesus Christ, by

* Bampton Lectures, 1866 (small edition), p. 100.

† Rom. iii. 25; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19; 1 John i. 7.

suffering and dying, had not borne it for us. Thus, by his death, he appeased, propitiated, or made "satisfaction" to, the wrath of the Almighty Father, enduring the punishment which must else have been inflicted on men. From that punishment he has therefore redeemed us; by his stripes we are healed; or, in other words, we have redemption through his blood. Thus God, it is further said, forgives us our sins. He manifests His love to the world in giving and accepting Christ as our substitute. At the same time He manifests His justice, because He does not pardon sin without punishing for it. The sovereignty of the Divine Law is vindicated; man does not sin with impunity; for, though *he* may escape the penalties he has incurred, yet these fall upon an all-sufficient substitute, and the requirements of justice are satisfied.

In giving an account of the doctrines of others, there is some danger of over-stating or under-stating what they teach—a fault which ought always to be guarded against. The doctrine of Atonement and its subsidiary doctrines have been variously laid down by different writers, of older and more recent date. In the above statement we have sought to express fairly the substance of prevailing ideas of the forgiveness of sin, and the connection of that forgiveness with the death of Christ. Probably few persons familiar with modern evangelical preaching, whether among the clergy or the Methodists and other Nonconformist sects, would say that there is any over-statement in the brief summary just given. But that this may further appear, we will quote a few sentences from one of the works classed together at the head of this article. This may reasonably be accepted as representing a widely-received form of the common doctrine, seeing that it comes before us with all the authority of one of the Heads of the Church. Speaking of the death of Christ, the Archbishop of York writes as follows:

"How came this exhibition of Divine *love* to be needed? Because wrath had already gone out against man. The clouds of God's anger gathered thick over the whole human race; they discharged themselves on Jesus only. God has made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin; He is made 'a curse' (a thing accursed) for us, that the curse that hangs over us may be removed. He bore our sins in His own body on the tree. There

are those who would see on the page of the Bible only the sunshine of the Divine love ; but the muttering thunders of Divine wrath against sin are heard there also ; and He who alone was no child of wrath meets the shock of the thunderstorm, becomes a curse for us and a vessel of wrath ; and the rays of wrath break out of that thunder-gloom and shine on the bowed head of Him who hangs on the cross, dead for our sins."

In another page, the Archbishop says of Christ :

"He came to reconcile men and God by dying on the cross for them and bearing their punishment in their stead. He is 'a propitiation through faith in his blood.'* . . . He is the ransom, or price paid, for the redemption of man from all iniquity. The wrath of God was against man, but it did not fall on man. God made His Son 'to be sin for us,' though He knew no sin ; and Jesus suffered, though men had sinned. By this act God and man were reconciled."

Once more, the Archbishop describes a main part of 'this mysterious transaction' in the following words :

"God the Father laid upon His Son the weight of the sins of the whole world, so that He bore in His own body the wrath which men must else have borne, because there was no other way of escape for them ; and thus the Atonement was a manifestation of Divine justice."†

It is evident that the writer of these passages holds the doctrine of Atonement in no undecided form. He does not, however, tell us the nature of the punishment impending over man ; but there can be little doubt as to what is meant. It is easy to see that the Archbishop, if he had spoken more fully on that point, would have said, with many before him, that the "terrible wrath" of God could only have been appeased, or found "satisfaction,"‡ by and in sinful man's endurance of endless suffering in hell.

What, however, this eminent expositor of the Church's doctrine fails to explain for us on the point in question, we may find very fully set forth in other quarters. It may be well too, in order that we may not seem to pass over and neglect more popular statements, to take the following from one of the Methodist Catechisms. Referring to the Fall, question and answer run thus :

* Rom. iii. 25—but, we are persuaded, a misreading of the words.

† *Aids to Faith*, pp. 332, 336-7.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 350-1.

"Wherein consists the misery of that state into which man fell?—The misery of the state into which man fell consists in this, that all mankind, being born in sin, and following the devices and desires of their own corrupt hearts, are under the wrath and curse of God, and so are made liable to the miseries of this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell hereafter."

After pointing out that Christ, by his death upon the cross, "offered a full satisfaction and atonement to Divine Justice, for the sins of the whole world," the Catechism proceeds:

"How did the death of Christ satisfy Divine Justice?—The death of Christ satisfied Divine Justice, in that our sins deserved death; but Christ being both God and man, and perfectly righteous, there was an infinite value and merit in his death,—which being undergone for our sakes and in our stead, Almighty God exercises His mercy in the forgiveness of sins, consistently with His justice and holiness."*

There is evidently a very substantial agreement between the Archbishop and the Methodist Catechism; while yet the latter is the more explicit of the two in regard to the punishment from which man has been delivered. The "Declaration of Faith" issued by the Congregational Union is in harmony with both, and it may be cited here as shewing us what is no doubt the usual doctrine of a large and important section of English Nonconformists. It will be observed, however, that there is a certain vagueness in this document. It does not speak of the "wrath of God," nor tell us at all definitely what mankind has been redeemed from, nor even state that Christ suffered and died in our stead, as our substitute. It is, in short, altogether less decided than either the Archbishop or the Wesleyan Catechism,—as if the writers of the Declaration had been especially careful to keep close to the phraseology of Scripture, and commit themselves to no idea which had not at least an apparent sanction in its statements. But nevertheless it may safely be assumed that the doctrine intended by the writers, and now generally received in the denomination, is little different from that contained in our previous quotations. The Congregational churches, then, we are told, believe "that Jesus Christ, the Son of God,

* Wesleyan Catechism, No. II. (published by the Conference), pp 10—13.

revealed, either personally in His own ministry, or by the Holy Spirit in the ministry of His Apostles, the whole mind of God for our salvation; and that by His obedience to the Divine law while He lived, and by His sufferings unto death, He meritoriously 'obtained eternal redemption for us,' having thereby vindicated and illustrated Divine justice, 'magnified the law,' and 'brought in everlasting righteousness.'*

This, it must be confessed, is a little indefinite, and might almost be read as if it did not contain any such doctrine as that of the two previously cited authorities. If, however, it be interpreted by the doctrinal Schedule annexed to the model Trust-deed of the Independents, there can be no question as to what is meant. That Schedule speaks plainly of "the fall and depravity of man," of Christ's "sacrificial death for the sins of mankind," and of "everlasting punishment."

In whatever form the popular doctrine may be stated, we suppose it would, by very many of those who hold it, be thought but a light consideration to urge in reference to it, that it is in opposition to the dictates of reason, and to that sense of right which God Himself has given to be the guide of man in the ordinary affairs of human life.† Such persons may say, and have said, that human reason is only depraved, and unfit to be the judge of any question of right or wrong in the dealings of God. But surely, on the other hand, if what is believed to be divine revelation is to have weight and influence among men, it is of very great importance that its principal teachings shall not be in opposition to man's cultivated sense of right, or out of harmony with his rational nature. In the interest, therefore, of Christianity itself, it may properly be asked of the doctrine above stated, Is it in accordance with those sentiments of reason and justice on which men usually act in their ordinary conduct? Can it be right to inflict an infinitely terrible punishment upon an innocent Christ for

* Congregational Manual, p. 104.

† The author of *Ecce Deus*, for example, thus wonderfully writes: "With regard, first of all, to natural reason, it may be enough to remind ourselves that the whole history of Jesus Christ removes itself as far as possible from the court in which natural reason presides."—Chap. XVI., "On the Cross of Christ," p. 268.

the guilt of others, even with his own consent? But, indeed, in this case it can scarcely be said to have been inflicted with his own consent; for we are told how he prayed and said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" although it is true he immediately added the words, "not as I will, but as Thou wilt"—a consent certainly, but one of submission and resignation, rather than of eager acceptance, as required by the creeds. How, again, does it vindicate or "magnify" the Divine law to let the guilty escape, and put their punishment on another who has done no sin? This seems only to make God indifferent to justice. Provided punishment falls somewhere, it would appear that He does not care who it is that suffers. Moreover, if such be really the Divine proceeding and idea of right, how can man feel assured that some terrible punishment for his sins shall not hereafter fall upon him? May not One who can punish the innocent instead of the guilty, be thought likely, on second thoughts, to punish the guilty, nevertheless, according to their just deserts?

That the last inquiry is perfectly apposite, appears from a remarkable passage in the Archbishop's Essay,* in which he explains how Christ bore the curse for us. "The curse under which man labours shews itself," we are told, "in his social relations, in his relation to nature, and in his relation to God;" and then the writer goes on to speak of some of the inconveniences and miseries of human life, the evil habits, the weakness and sins of men, in which it is exemplified. He proceeds to explain how Christ partook of these. He was poor; his life was spent among "lepers and lunatics," with men afflicted and possessed. After a career, in which "all the sufferings of our social state . . . were brought around Him," he was betrayed by a disciple, and crucified, while "His disciples fled in terror from His side." "He shared our curse in tasting the bitterness of death." There is more to the same effect, upon which we refrain from entering; but we venture to add the expression of our amazement that the writer should have failed to note that if Christ thus, indeed, bore "the curse" and "the wrath of God" for us, he has yet by no means released the human race from the enumerated evils. Do they not

* *Aids to Faith*, p. 357, seq.

all press upon our lot much as before? Social suffering, selfishness, indolence, passion, the bitterness of death, the fear of death, manifold wickedness and sin—these, alas! are all here in our human life, just as of old. How, then, has Christ borne them in “our stead,” or redeemed us from them, or, by taking them from us, changed the earthly state into a heavenly paradise? No such effects have followed, and so far as this world is concerned, it is evident that they are non-existent, the merest dreams of our theological system-makers. Shall we, then, be told that the Almighty Ruler *has* changed his mind!—and even though it be that Christ bore our punishment, “the just for the unjust,” that the incomprehensible One, nevertheless, still inflicts upon men the dread consequences of their sins!

The only refuge from this alternative is evidently in the proposition that the whole efficacy of the Atonement belongs to the *next world*, for truly it is little to be traced in this. It is from eternal misery that man is saved by the “sacrifice” of Christ, if from anything at all. The Archbishop, however, does not tell us that any suffering equivalent to the eternal misery of the whole human race was inflicted upon Jesus Christ; that he was made a curse for us; and bore our sins, in that sense. This he does not say, and we do not wonder at his reticence. But, nevertheless, even this, and nothing else, is what a consistent development of his theory required him to say. For, if Christ has not borne the future punishment of sin due to a guilty world, and so redeemed man from bearing it, what else is it that he has done or suffered “in our stead”? In what other way has he, as our substitute, released or shielded us from “the wrath of God”?*

But such inquiries as these have been often made. Natural or unavoidable as to some minds they may be, to many others they will appear as the mere dictates of carnal and unsanctified reason. They will be deemed, therefore, wholly superfluous and uncalled for; as well as inconsistent

* The old reformers were less scrupulous than the Archbishop. Flavel says, “To wrath, to the wrath of an infinite God without mixture, to the very torments of hell, was Christ delivered, and that by the hand of his own Father.” (Quoted in *Six Lectures on the Atonement*, by R. L. Carpenter, B.A., 1860.) So, without any hesitation, and with fearless consistency, Luther, Calvin, Beza and others, in various and dreadful terms.

with the reverence due whether to Holy Scripture or the teaching of "the Church." The one question with the numerous religionists of this class will be simply this: What is the doctrine of the New Testament respecting the death of Christ, and its connection with the forgiveness of sin? Let, therefore, even this be now the great question to be considered in the remainder of this paper.

And let us begin with a remark which might be expected to surprise those who are accustomed only to the ordinary evangelical teaching. When the New Testament is carefully read with a view to learning what it says on this subject, we nowhere find it *stating* that men are under the wrath and curse of God in consequence of the transgression of the first pair: we nowhere find it stating that Jesus Christ "suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to *reconcile his Father to us*, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men." Such is the proposition of the second Article of the English Church; and such, we know, was the belief of the sixteenth century; but it cannot be found, nor anything really like it, in the New Testament.* Nor do we find it anywhere declared in the New Testament that Jesus Christ, being God as well as man, was therefore able to bear the infinite amount of suffering required to "satisfy" the claims of Divine justice, to "appease" the wrath of the Almighty Father against the human race, on account of their inherited or their actual sins; or that he suffered, "the just for the unjust," the innocent for the guilty, in order to redeem the world from hell-fire. Nothing of this kind can be found in the Christian teachings. Such statements are only the human theory, devised by speculative theologians to explain and harmonize certain expressions which it was thought, and is still thought by many, can only be interpreted in that way—expressions, nevertheless, which are capable of an interpretation far more simple and rational, as well as infinitely more in harmony with the Christian idea of God as the Heavenly Father.

What we have just said as to the absence from the New Testament of some of the most essential ideas involved in

* Comp. 2 Cor. v. 18—20. It is clear that the "reconciliation" (atone-ment) of St. Paul is that of man to God, and not the reverse.

the popular doctrine, has been said in recent years by those whom, *a priori*, we should little expect to find saying it. We allude to that section of the national clergy which, for want of a better name, we may here designate, by their well-known appellation, as the Broad-Church party. Some of the writers of this party have spoken out on the subject with a freedom and boldness of language which it is pleasant to see. They tell us, very explicitly, that there can be nothing meritorious in mere suffering; that punishment, in the form of physical or mental agony, cannot be thought peculiarly acceptable to God. The sufferings and death of Christ, therefore, are not to be regarded as that which pleased or satisfied the all-merciful Father; nor did our Saviour, in short, suffer and die (as the Article says) "to reconcile his Father to us." It was not *this* which constituted the propitiatory efficacy of the Atonement by Christ, but rather his voluntary obedience and humiliation, his perfect submission even unto death, his renunciation of his own and acceptance of his Father's will. This moral element it was, in the final hours of Christ's life, which made his death an acceptable sacrifice, one upon which the Almighty looked down with grace and satisfaction. "In the whole of the two Testaments (we are told) there is not a single passage which states unambiguously the doctrine that Christ received at God's hands the punishment decreed to our sins, and thus enabled God to forgive us."*

In these representations, we need scarcely add, we largely concur. We have been a little surprised by them, nevertheless. Not that they are anything *new*; for similar views have long been familiar in certain quarters—among those, however, who have usually been reputed the merest heretics, if admitted to be within the pale of Christianity at all. Long years before the Broad-Church party was ever heard of, before even its oldest living writers had gained the public ear, a similar denial that the efficacy of the Atonement consisted in the sufferings of Christ, or in his bearing the

* The Work of Christ, Pref. p. xxv.; Garden, Tract III. pp. 16—18; see also a Sermon on Hebrews vii. 24, preached in York Minster, 1868, by the Rev. Canon Robinson. From this (p. 8) we take the following: "No, the essence of the sacrifice of our Lord lies in the life-long surrender of His will to God, in the way in which the whole current of His being set towards His Father, in that absolute and unwearied obedience of which His death was but the consummation and the crown."

punishment of the sins of others, was both preached in many a Unitarian pulpit, and also published in the form of tracts and lectures.*

To shew this, we quote a few words from the tract mentioned below :

"It is nowhere declared that the death of Christ . . . enabled God to forgive ; that God could not forgive sins without a satisfaction by the vicarious punishment of an innocent person. It is nowhere declared that the sufferings of Christ were a punishment at all . . . It is nowhere declared that the death of Christ appeased the wrath of God, rendered Him propitious, made Him merciful, or disposed Him to forgive. Every form of the Satisfaction scheme . . . is either directly opposed, or at least quite unsupported, by the declarations of Revelation."

Thus it is plain that the Broad-Church theory, in its more material negative positions, is new only as regards the quarter from whence it proceeds. Those who have assented to and subscribed the second Article could hardly have been expected to be its authors, or rather its defenders. That part of the theory which may appear to have somewhat of novelty, we are bound to say, affords no adequate key to the numerous passages in which the death of Christ is spoken of. It does not give any real solution of the difficulties of the case ; although, we readily admit, it has much the advantage of the Archbishop's scheme, in being at least rational, and not out of harmony with the higher Christian conceptions of the character of God. The two modes of explanation appear, however, to be about equally far from being founded, as they ought to be, in the historical circumstances of the primitive Christian times. The two parties are almost equally open to the objection of bringing a theory to Scripture, and putting it into Scripture expressions, rather than gathering the meaning of these by any legitimate process of interpretation. And the same very serious objection is equally to be urged, so far as we can judge, against other forms of the Atonement doctrine as held by the more important sects and sections of English Christendom, in the Church and out of it.

* For example : the Rev. James Martineau's Lecture, "The Scheme of Vicarious Redemption," in the *Liverpool Controversy* (1839) ; the Rev. Edward Higginson's "Sacrifice of Christ" (1833) ; and a tract, "The Scripture Doctrine of Redemption," from the pen of the late Dr. Lant Carpenter (1837).

To illustrate these statements:—We are told by the writers now referred to that the essence of the Atonement lay in the satisfaction, complacency, delight, with which the Almighty beheld the beloved Son give up his own will to the will of his Heavenly Father. By this it was that He was propitiated; and Christ offered himself as a *sacrifice* and propitiation in this sense alone. But now, how does this explain for us the various expressions of the New Testament?—as when, for instance, we read of the Ephesians, “Now in Christ Jesus ye who sometime were afar off are made nigh by the blood of Christ: for he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby;” or when Peter writes, “Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree by whose stripes ye were healed;” or when John writes that God “sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.”* We are unable to see how any full or reasonable interpretation of such language as this is given by the doctrine that the atoning work of Christ consisted simply in the perfect surrender of his own will to that of God’s, even though it be added to the teaching of Scripture (for where is it stated there?) that Christ was “the head and root of all mankind,” and that therefore “mankind now stand accepted before God, and every sharer in the kind (*sic*) may plead and occupy the righteous position which has been won for it by the accepted sacrifice of its great representative.”†

Surely, then, the Broad-Church theory fails strangely by defect, as that of the Archbishop, in common with the popular beliefs, by excess. And, indeed, it is only fair to note that both the Archbishop and his criticisers express their strong sense of the difficulty of explanation, and of the obscurity or mystery of the whole subject. “In a matter like this,” observes Mr. Garden, “we have still much to learn.” The same author quotes with approval the words of Bishop Butler: “How and in what particular way it (Christ’s sacrifice) had this efficacy, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain; but I do not find that the

* Ephes. ii. 18—16; 1 Pet. ii. 24; 1 John iv. 10.

† Garden, iii. p. 18.

Scripture has explained it ;" and for himself he remarks, on another page, "Our Lord's redemptive act is indeed deeply mysterious." In similar terms the Archbishop speaks of "this mysterious transaction ;" and the same epithet, "these mysteries," is used by Mr. Llewelyn Davies.* Thus it really appears as if the repeated discussions of these eminent and learned writers did not avail to clear away the obscurity in which the whole subject is evidently to their minds involved.

We take the liberty of suggesting that this unsatisfactory result really arises from a very simple cause—the neglect of those historical considerations to which we have before alluded. How can it be expected that any one should succeed in obtaining from the Epistles the meaning of their varied expressions respecting Christ's death, while he passes over and takes no notice of the circumstances, the feelings, the prejudices, of the early Christian times, to which those expressions have their original, native application? The usual writers in this controversy, as we presume to think, have involved themselves and their subject in helpless perplexity, simply from not observing the conditions on which alone it can be settled. Starting from some received doctrine of this nineteenth century, applying some already constructed theory to the ancient language of the Christian books, seeking to obtain from these a meaning in harmony with their several preconceptions, no wonder that they differ from each other, and fail to find any common ground on which to stand together, accusing each other even of teaching "heathenism in its most terrible form."† No such common ground is attainable, except by a careful consideration of the primitive state of belief and feeling among Jews and Judaizing Christians in connection with which the expressions in question are first used. If such consideration be duly given, preconceived ideas being put away, whether it be the crude speculations of various Fathers, the legal phraseology of an Anselm, or the "masterly dissertation"‡ of an eloquent theorizer like Coleridge,—to say nothing of the different established formularies of modern churches,—

* Garden, xiii. p. 72, iii. pp. 8, 10; Aids to Faith, p. 337; Davies, Tract xiii. p. 51.

† Words of the Rev. Newman Hall, quoted in Garden, xiii. p. 5.

‡ Ibid. iii. p. 11.

this question of the atonement by the death of Christ is no more a "mystery," or a "mysterious transaction," than any other historico-theological question arising within the limits of the New Testament.

It would seem to be going back to the merest elements of biblical learning, to speak of the necessity of interpreting the apostolical writings by the light of contemporary circumstances, so far as these are historically known to us, or can be gathered from their own pages. Let us, therefore, dismiss this part of our subject, with the citation of a few words from two eminent writers of very different ways of thinking in theology, whose authority, nevertheless, on such a point as this, no person of adequate knowledge can think of calling in question. "Illustrate" (says Bishop Ellicott), "wherever possible, by reference to history, topography and antiquities;" and, again, the same author sums up the four rules of interpretation which he gives under this "one general canon:" "Interpret grammatically, historically, contextually and minutely." Still more perhaps to our purpose are the following words of Professor Jowett: "Of what has been said this is the sum,—that Scripture, like other books, has one meaning, which is to be gathered from itself, without reference to the adaptations of Fathers or Divines, and without regard to *a-priori* notions about its nature and origin. It is to be interpreted like other books, with attention to the character of its authors and the prevailing state of civilization and knowledge, with allowance for peculiarities of style and language, and modes of thought and figures of speech."*

Now, we venture to add, these obvious and undeniable rules have been strangely forgotten by modern writers on the subject before us, and they have been especially overlooked in the works named at the head of this article. Instead of searching for the sacred meaning in the Scripture itself, and with a due reference to historical and other kindred considerations, those works virtually put into the words of Scripture a meaning drawn from extra-scriptural, purely speculative, sometimes metaphysical, sources. Hence their disagreement with each other. Of course, as Mr.

* Ellicott in *Aids to Faith*, pp. 430, 439; Jowett in *Essays and Reviews*, p. 404.

Jowett observes, Scripture has "*one meaning*," though Bishop Ellicott, it would appear, has not yet made up his mind to the fact.* But we may see, in the writings of these controversialists, when compared with one another, it has *not* one meaning, or two meanings, or even three,†—a fact which, alone, is enough to prove that they are largely wrong in their modes of proceeding, and their doctrinal inferences and statements. Hence also the irrational or inconsistent views on the subject which are too often met with in writers and preachers of a certain type, and against which such men as Mr. Newman Hall feel themselves called upon at times to utter their loud and indignant protest.

A strange and marvellous sight it must be to the non-Christian observer of these differences, and one which can do little service to the cause of Christianity, that the most prominent professional advocates and preachers of our common religion cannot agree among themselves as to a doctrine which yet they sometimes say constitutes its very "heart and essence,"—a right apprehension of which, some will tell us, is necessary to salvation! Surely the days are drawing nearer when these unseemly divisions in the Christian camp shall cease, and when the "unbeliever" shall no longer be able to recommend those who would convert him to agree first among themselves as to what it is that they would have him to believe.

Let us now proceed to the cognate questions, why it is that the death of Jesus Christ is so much dwelt upon in the New Testament, and what is the connection between that event and the forgiveness of sin; or, to put these two questions into one, in what way the world is or was redeemed by the "blood of Christ." In the first place, then, it was not expected by the Jews or the Christian disciples that the Messiah would die at all. We may recall the

* Aids to Faith, p. 398, seq.

† We have seen the emphasis which the Archbishop of York lays on the death of Christ as an event rendered necessary by the Divine *wrath*. The author of *Eccle Deus* has a very different theory: "So far as God the Father was concerned, what did the cross signify? It signified all that can be comprehended under the term *love*" (p. 284). "The muttering thunders of the Divine wrath" are little heard of in the pages of Dr. Parker, who affords another curious example of the speculative or fanciful method of treating this subject, apart from the historical considerations which properly belong to it. *Eccle Deus*, chapters xvi. xvii.

statement in the fourth Gospel: "The people answered him, We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever; and how sayest thou the Son of Man must be lifted up?" If this may be relied upon as shewing the belief of the contemporaries of Jesus, it is evident what was the popular idea on the point. And so, when Jesus spoke to his disciples of his going up to Jerusalem, and said that he should there be crucified and put to death, we are told, "they understood none of these things."* Various other evidences occur to the same effect, shewing us that the early disciples did not expect that their Master would die as he did; nor did they understand why he died, until their eyes were opened by the course of events.

In the second place, however, they learnt in due time why and how it was, by a little of the teaching of events and circumstances. They were brought to see that Jesus died in his mortal body in order that he might be raised again, and, "ascending up on high," might become the spiritual "Head over all things to the church;" that he might become the spiritual Christ, "a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins."† Before his death, he was a man, a Jew, "under the law," and none could be disciples of his except those of his own nation. This he sometimes recognized himself during his personal ministry. "I am not sent," he said to the Gentile woman, "except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."‡ The same thing is abundantly recognized in connection with the centurion Cornelius, who, though "a just man and one that feared God," was yet ritually "unclean," and not, as it was thought, admissible as a Christian disciple without previously adopting Judaism. Even a Peter could say to him and others, "Ye know that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation;" but God had shewed him (he added) that he must rise above this prejudice. He found it difficult, nevertheless, to do so, as we may see in what took place between him and Paul at a later period. But in this "he was to be blamed," and the Apostle of the Gentiles "withstood him to his face"§ All mankind, then, it is evident,

* John xii. 34; Matt. xvi. 21, 22; Luke xviii. 31-34.

† Ephes. iv. 8, i. 20-22; Acts v. 31.

‡ Matt. xv. 24.

§ Acts ix.; Gal. ii.

who were not Jews, were looked upon, by the latter and by Judaizing Christians, as sinners, "without God in the world," as having no part in those "covenants of promise" which had been given to Israel. They could not, therefore, in that their state "by nature," be disciples of a Hebrew Messiah.*

Of course we can see that all this was, to a large extent, mere prejudice. But, like many another prejudice, it was very powerful. And it was founded upon ancient laws and privileges enjoyed for centuries past by the chosen race. So they believed. We can see, too, that if it had prevailed, it would simply have restricted Christianity to persons of Jewish race. In other words, it would have led in a short time to the perversion, and, ultimately, the extinction of the new religion.

In time, however, the disciples began to understand that when his own people rejected the Messiah and put him to death, a mighty change had necessarily ensued in his relations towards both Jews and Gentiles. Being dead to the world, and ascended to his heavenly throne, he was no longer a mortal man, a Jew under the law. St. Paul alludes to this result in several expressions. "Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to them that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man so long as he liveth?" In a previous passage he speaks of those who are "baptized into Jesus Christ" as being "baptized into his death;" as partaking, therefore, of his death, and being "dead with Christ."† Christ's death has, therefore, in the apostle's mind, a twofold operation. It releases *him* from the law, and it releases all *others* also from the same control, and from any concern for it, that they may live now, not to the law, but "in newness of spirit," and "unto God." Hence, then, by his death, Jesus the Christ was taken away from all restraints of his position as a Hebrew. Whatever limited him as the Jewish Messiah, placed him under the law of Moses, made him the exclusive property of a single people, and disqualified the rest of the world from discipleship to him, all this he left behind him in the grave. He

* Ephes. ii. ; comp. Acts xv., where the strength and importance of the feeling in reference to the Gentiles are clearly exhibited.

† Rom. vi. 1—14, vii. 1—6.

rose to heaven a glorified, spiritual being, and there he is now, says the apostle, "far above all principality and power and might and dominion." Such was the mystery of a "crucified Christ," "the mystery which had been hid from ages and from generations." The risen and exalted Saviour now reigns over all men alike, accessible, not by Jewish rites of circumcision, or other "beggarly elements," but by simple faith.* Jew and Gentile are henceforward alike to him. "There is no difference" in God's sight or in Christ's. If they will only receive him by "faith," by accepting him as Messiah (for this was the primitive Christian faith), this will make them his disciples. God will freely forgive past sins to all, as the apostle writes; God will freely forgive past sins to all, for that faith of theirs in the risen Christ.†

Such, then, was the change of relations between the Christ and the world, which came to pass in and through his death. It has sometimes been said that without the atonement for sin (in the ordinary sense) made by Christ, there was no need to lay so much stress on *his* death. The death of Peter, or of Paul, would have been equally important to the Christian world, might have been equally spoken of and have done just as well.‡ The remark is obviously futile. Neither Peter nor Paul was the Christ. The cross of these apostles, eminent as they were, would have had no more significance or effect than the cross of any ordinary man. The "cross of Christ" was a different thing, even because through this alone, the admission of the sinful and outcast heathen peoples to Christianity was made legitimate and possible to the ideas of the first Christians.

Let us now observe how intense was the feeling of the Jews in reference to their own righteousness and the sinfulness of the Gentiles. "Sinners of the Gentiles," "dead in trespasses and sins," "by nature children of wrath," are phrases in which this feeling is expressed. But the apostle who thus speaks of Gentiles could not, on the other hand, admit the righteousness of his own people. The latter had,

* Ephes. i. 9—23; Col. i. 17—27; 1 Cor. i. 23—30; Gal. iii. 24—29, iv. 9, 10.

† Rom. iii., viii. 34, x. 9, and various other places in St. Paul's writings.

‡ See a Sermon by the late Bishop of Peterborough, "Was Paul crucified for you?" 1863. Comp. Liddon, Bampton Lectures, p. 476.

indeed, the adoption, the covenants, the law, the service of God, the promises, the fathers, and of them the Christ came. But, nevertheless, they too were "under sin" as much as the Gentiles. "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified" in God's sight; "for by the law is the knowledge of sin." But a merciful God had opened out a new way of justification, and all who would accept Jesus as His Son,* as the Christ, might be admitted to discipleship, becoming "children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." This, however, He did and allowed, "freely by His grace." It was in no way purchased of Him, or of His justice. It was not because His "wrath" was appeased or satisfied by the sufferings of an innocent substitute, but because of His own essential fatherly mercy and "great love." "It is the *gift* of God," not a thing bought from Him with any price.† Surely nothing in all the New Testament is clearer than this, and it can be only the strange exigencies of theological system which have prevented the Christian world from seeing so plain a truth.

The disqualification, therefore, caused to both Jew and Gentile by their own sins, a merciful God determined of His own free grace to overlook; giving to sinful men, on condition of their faith in the risen Christ, a justification which at once qualified them for discipleship. The barrier of the law, which would have kept Jew and Gentile apart, was broken down by Christ's death, "the enmity" abolished. This could be so, however, only by the death of the Messiah. Thus, then, he *died* for them; he died for Gentiles as well as Jews; he died for *all*. The death of the Christ operated as much for the Jew as for the despised and outcast Gentile. The former had no claim of right to an exclusive possession of the Messiah, for he was equally "concluded under sin." But the Messiah's death was for his benefit also; inasmuch as it necessarily abolished, for one that was dead, the dominion of the law, and made it possible even for those who had broken the law or who had been without the law, to become and to be Christian disciples.

We may now see, without further exposition, in what

* The words "the Son" and "the Christ" were equivalent and convertible words, certainly in the more Hebraic (or non-philosophizing) portions of the New Testament. In the fourth Gospel a different conception comes into play.

† Rom. iii. 9, 20, 24, 25; Ephes. ii. 4, 8.

sense Christ died for others, "the just for the unjust"—how he died, in fact, not only *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, but even *ἀντὶ πολλῶν*.^{*} He died for their benefit; and he may be said to have died even in their *stead*, though not in the usually received sense. For his death, admitting men to a new "justification" by faith in him risen, may easily be conceived of as saving them from the penalty due to their unrighteousness. In strict justice they ought to have suffered; but God was merciful, and allowed His Son to suffer instead—not to bear their punishment, but simply to open a new way of admission for them.† The Scripture, however, as noted below, usually speaks of Christ as dying *ὑπὲρ*, not *ἀντὶ*; and it is equally clear that it was not in their stead, as their substitute, that he died for men; not to redeem them from eternal misery; not (as the Archbishop would have it) because the clouds of God's wrath had gathered thick over the human race, and required a victim, and found that victim in Jesus only. It was simply that all men of every nation might be admissible, by a new way of justification, to the fold of the spiritual Christ, even though *they* were "sinners," and even though *he* were the Jewish Messiah, "born under the law."

This effect of the death of Christ, though nowhere described at length, is yet referred to in a great variety of language, partly literal, partly figurative. Everything which the ancient sacrifices were supposed to do, in connection with the pardon of sin, is naturally said to result equally from the death of Christ, and a great deal more. Those sacrifices were effectual only for Jews; but Christ's death is so for all the world. He is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." "He who knew no sin was made sin for us" (condemned, or treated as one guilty, for us). He "was made a curse for us;" for the law declared that every one hanged on a tree is accursed. He "his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed." "He is our peace," and

^{*} There is only a single instance in which *ἀντὶ* is used in connection with the death of Christ,—Matt. xx. 28 (parallel with Mark x. 45). In this instance, the sense of *substitution* is not at all needed. The word may be used exactly as in Matt. xvii. 27.

† Rom. iii. 21—25.

"ye who sometime were afar off are made nigh by the blood of Christ." He is "a propitiatory sacrifice set forth in his blood," and "through our Lord Jesus Christ" "we have now received the atonement" (reconciliation to God).*

In some of these passages, Gentiles only are spoken of, and language is used which is applicable only to those who had been living out of the dominion of the law, in the midst of "trespasses and sins." But "all" men by faith in the risen Christ might have admission to the privileges of the gospel, and receive the forgiveness of "sins that are past." Thus, too, dying as he did for sinful men, he was, by an easy figure, a *sacrifice* for sin; in the sense of admitting sinful men to the new justification by faith; by admitting them to be his disciples in spite of the law which excluded them so long as he himself was in life under it; in this sense, we repeat, but not in the sense of bearing a punishment due to others, nor of appeasing the Divine "wrath," or rendering God merciful; nor merely in the sense, again, of surrendering his own will to the will of God.

There is, as we have said, a great variety of phrase, literal and figurative, in which the death of Christ is thus spoken of. We cannot, within the limits at our command, attempt to verify or illustrate this statement more in detail. But, as we venture to think, there is no passage relating to this subject which will not receive a satisfactory and sufficient meaning by the use of the interpreting idea on which we have dwelt.† It was perfectly natural and inevitable that the New Testament writers, familiar as they were with the old sacrificial usages, should speak of their Master's death, the Messiah's death, and the effects which resulted from it, in phrases and figures drawn from those usages. The error of modern times is in taking so many of these expressions in the literal sense, in allowing nothing for Jewish-Christian forms of thought and feeling, and, above all, in wholly overlooking, as they manifestly do, the historical circumstances which alone can give true life and meaning to those expressions. The popular theory is largely the product, in reality,

* John i. 29; 2 Cor. v. 21; Gal. iii. 13; 1 Pet. ii. 24; Ephes. ii. 13, 14; Rom. iii. 25; v. 11.

† This was long ago pointed out, with careful detail, in the masterly Lecture to which we have before referred, Mr. Martineau's Lecture in the Liverpool Controversy.

of dark and ignorant ages ; coming down in some of its elements from Fathers who held that the redemption secured by Christ was a release from the Devil, and the ransom paid, a ransom paid to *him*. No wonder, then, that that theory, even as represented by an Archbishop, is utterly misleading, that it involves so much that is unspiritual and difficult to reconcile with the idea of a just and merciful God, so much that distorts the true meaning of Scripture, and substitutes mere human speculation for divine truth.

We are aware, however, that some readers, though by no means assenting to the common doctrine of Atonement, may yet be inclined to hesitate as to the sufficiency of the explanation we have given, when applied to all the varieties of phrase respecting Christ's death. Some may think that, after all that can be said, there *is* more or less at any rate of the expiatory idea in some of the expressions, even while admitting that many or most of these are sufficiently interpreted and accounted for by a reasonable reference to historical circumstances, such as we have appealed to.

We are not concerned to deny that there may be some degree of truth in such an objection. The expiatory idea was sure to make its appearance in a little time, as something more than figure,—as we know it did within a generation or two after the crucifixion. It occurs very probably in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and also in one or two places in the book of Revelation, but hardly, we think, except as pure figure, in any other book. If any other New Testament writer held it, so as to regard the death of Jesus Christ as really of the nature of a sacrifice, in virtue of which, or for the sake of which, God forgave the sins of men,—much as the old Greeks believed that Apollo or Jupiter could be propitiated by a hecatomb, and induced to forgive one that had offended them,—if such an idea were really held by any other New Testament writer, we believe it to occur in the Gospel and Epistles of John. Such passages as John i. 29, and 1 John ii. 2, and a few more in these writings, may possibly be best understood as conveying a real expiatory sense. There are serious difficulties, however, in the way of this admission. For example, the Gospel of John, in the account of the trial and crucifixion, contains no allusion to the death of Christ as being, in any sense, a "sacrifice," as possessed of any occult propitiatory

or expiatory efficacy—no allusion. The same is manifestly true, indeed, of the other Gospels; except only, as some may think, in the case of the words of Christ at the Supper. These, it may be said, indicate his knowledge of the mysterious value of his death. They might do this, we reply, if they were incapable of any more suitable explanation, of any explanation founded upon known circumstances and feelings of the primitive Christian community. But that they *are* so, we have abundantly shewn. All, therefore, that can be inferred from those words is, that Jesus himself anticipated the effect of his death in releasing him from the law, and throwing open the Gospel to all the world. It may well be believed that he did so; or it may even be supposed that the later course of events may have led the Evangelists, unconsciously perhaps, to colour their narrative of the Supper with ideas which were only clearly brought out at a later date.

However this may be—and we have not space to dwell upon the point—it may still be thought that, even if the writings of St. John contain the expiatory idea, they can do so only in a kind of ideal, metaphorical sense. Even in their strongest expressions, something of figure must be admitted. Jesus was not literally a “lamb,” not a victim offered upon an altar; nor was his “blood” shed or applied after the manner of the ancient sacrifices, but only drawn, in an accidental way, by the spear of the soldier, as related by the Evangelist. Everywhere there is figure;—in John as in other writers. So that the true question is, how much, or how little? If, then, the reference to historical circumstances, much as we have made it, supplies an adequate meaning to the various expressions, and suggests to us the literal truth of fact lying at their basis, we are surely bound in reason to accept the interpretation thus afforded—bound to discard, as it were, the mere figure or form of words, and penetrate down to the real sense which lies beneath it. We are bound, above all things, to guard ourselves from taking figurative language in a literal way, and so, in many a case, making the sacred writers speak sheer nonsense.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to what must be so obvious, viz. that nearly all the expressions of the Christian Scriptures respecting the death of Christ arose out of

particular feelings and circumstances of the primitive Christian times, and were used in special reference to the prejudices of Judaizing zealots on the one hand, and the desire of larger-minded converts on the other, to meet or remove their scruples and difficulties. This appears to be one of the most evident things connected with the subject. Those expressions, therefore, do not represent anything of now present, practical importance. There is little or nothing really permanent in them; except only, of course, that they imply, or set forth in a peculiar way, the essential impartiality and comprehensiveness of the Gospel. But there is nothing in the actual or natural relations of God to man, or of man to God, which can make it incumbent upon the modern disciple to return to the forms of thought which such language embodies. Its entire force and propriety belonged to, and are exhausted in connection with, circumstances, feelings, institutions, persons, that have long since passed away from the stage of mortal existence, leaving nothing behind them in which the phraseology can, in our times, have any fitting use or application. Nobody now, however "ritualistic" he may be, will doubt that a man may be a Christian without being "circumcised," or conforming in any other way to the law of Moses.* If there were a great sect among us maintaining this, then we might plead that Christ "died for us;" that he has "redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us;" that we have "redemption through his blood;" that a new "justification" has been provided for us, admitting to discipleship "without the deeds of the law." But such phrases cannot now be used with any reasonable force or sense. They belong to the past alone; and the sooner the past is left in quiet possession of them by popular teachers and preachers of every name, the better, surely, it will be for the peace of the Church and the credit of Christian learning and common sense.

G. VANCE SMITH.

* It may be a question how far this remark applies to the Congregationalists. At least they appear to find it expedient to state that "they are justified through faith in Christ" . . . and not by "the works of the Law."—*Dec. of Faith*, xiii.

II.—CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

1. *Address on India Missions.* By Norman Macleod, D.D. Blackwood and Sons. 1869.
2. *Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable.* By the Abbé Dubois. 1823.

DR. MACLEOD is a very popular preacher and writer, and he deserves his reputation. He has both eloquence and liberality of sentiment, and quite as much thought and learning as most church-goers and magazine-readers care about. He has always taken the liberal side in matters of religion, and his views on the Sunday question have procured for him some obloquy and persecution from his more strait-laced brethren. In short, he is the Scottish representative of the Broad Church, and can hold his own with most of the members of that school in England. At the same time, he has an abundant measure of Scottish canniness. He never will make a martyr of himself, and will always be careful to keep a good margin between himself and the edge of the cliff. We cannot affirm that he is not a sincere man; but we certainly think that he is wanting either in the courage or the capacity required for following out his principles to their legitimate conclusions, and that he would be a much more advanced thinker than he is if he only allowed his mind free play. Probably the active, busy life which he has led, and the Scottish passion for "getting on," have had a good deal to do with his opinions; and we suspect that, if he had been thrown out of his career by sickness or by being relegated to a station in South Africa, he would have become at least as great a heretic as Bishop Colenso. He is wanting in the genius or fervour of spirit which has enabled some religious reformers to make short cuts to truth, and the march of his logic has been impeded by the burden of his position. What he said of himself with regard to Presbyterianism, namely, that he was a Presbyterian, in the first instance at least, because he had been born one, is probably true of his opinions on more important topics than those of church govern-

ment. We suspect that he is a Christian chiefly because he was born one; and that if he had been born a Hindoo or a Mahomedan, a Hindoo or a Mahomedan he would have remained; though we are quite sure that he would have belonged to the liberal parties in these religions; that as a Hindoo he would have advocated the re-marriage of widows and the abandonment of bloody sacrifices; that as a Mahomedan he would have opposed the Puritanism of the Ferazees, and eloquently denounced the seclusion of women.

Whether it be the result of his position, or of the hesitating, line-by-line character of his mind, or, as is more probably the case, of both causes combined, we know not; but certain it is that Dr. Macleod has always set himself to remedy small abuses and to knock down the mouldering and almost deserted outworks of superstition, and never has attempted the key of the position. He is fond of playing at long balls with the enemy; and though occasionally he makes a parade of inviting the combat and of a wish to come to close quarters, yet when the hour of trial comes, as it once did at a meeting of the Glasgow Presbytery, he cries a parley, and pronounces the shibboleth of a belief in the shorter Catechism with a thoroughly orthodox intonation.

Both Dr. Macleod's excellences and defects are conspicuous in the work now under review. The Address is vigorous and well written, and it deals successfully, and to a certain extent boldly, with a number of the minor difficulties in the way of the Christianization of India. It abounds in sensible observations and contains some eloquent passages, and as a literary production is far superior to the ordinary run of missionary addresses. But it is only a superficial performance after all. It does not grapple with the real difficulties of the question, and the hopeful and encouraging tone which pervades it appears to us to be utterly misplaced. According to the Address, the prospects of India missions are good, and nearly all that is wanted for their further success is better missionaries and more money. Now such a view appears to us—and we write as having had ten years' experience of Bengal—to be entirely erroneous. So far from the prospects of India missions being better than they were, we believe that they

are yearly becoming worse and worse, and that the educated Hindoos of the present day are farther off from Christianity (as it is commonly understood)* than their ignorant ancestors were. We believe that the money spent upon India missions is nearly all thrown away, and that Dr. Macleod's appeals for more money are calculated to do harm.

To suppose, as Dr. Macleod appears to do, that Christianity, after having been preached in India without much success for some three centuries, is likely to make more rapid progress hereafter, is to entertain a notion contradicted by all historical experience. All religious movements have most success in the beginning. After a time Protestantism ceased to make converts from among the Roman Catholics, and, in like manner, the followers of Nanak and of Joseph Smith multiplied more rapidly when their religions were young than they now do. So it has been with Christianity in India. In spite of Dr. Macleod's assertions, it is quite certain that St. Francis Xavier and the early Catholic missionaries made far more converts than are made now-a-days, and the parts of India where they laboured are still the most Christianized parts of that country. So far from these missionaries labouring under more disadvantages than their successors, it is plain that they were in a far better position to make converts than the missionaries of the present day. We will not speak of them as being superior in devotion and asceticism to their successors, though every one will admit that in these respects they were at least equal to them; for, apart from such advantages, they had several others which have long since been lost. In the first place, they had a virgin soil to work upon, and of course this will account in great measure for the largeness of their crop of converts. In the second place, they were Catholics, and it will be admitted by all candid Protestants that Roman Catholicism is, from its very imperfections, likely to be more acceptable to Hindoos than Protestantism. On this point the Abbé

* It will be observed, that throughout this paper we are dealing only with the Christianity generally taught in our churches. Whether this Christianity correctly represents the teaching of Jesus Christ, is another question into which it is not necessary here to enter. It may be stated, however, that the question is one which many of the educated natives are inclined to answer in the negative. They are often attentive readers of the Bible, and they cordially admit the great value of Jesus Christ's teaching and example, but they fail to find there the Christianity of the missionaries.

Dubois speaks such good sense, that we cannot refrain from quoting him, in the hope that his thirty years' experience of India, and his known truthfulness, may outweigh the prejudice against his evidence, arising from his being a Roman Catholic.

"If any of the several modes of Christian worship," says the Abbé, "were calculated to make an impression and gain ground in the country, it is, no doubt, the Catholic form, which you Protestants call an idolatry in disguise; it has a pooja, or sacrifice (the mass is termed by the Hindoos pooja, literally sacrifice),—it has processions, images, statues, tistan or holy water, fasts, tities or feasts, and prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, &c., all which practices bear more or less resemblance to those in use among the Hindoos. Now, if even such a mode of worship is become so objectionable to the natives, can it be reasonably expected that any one of the simple Protestant sects will ever prosper among them?"

A third advantage which these early missionaries had, and one which is with justice greatly insisted upon by Abbé Dubois, is, that the European ascendancy had not at that time been established, and that therefore the natives had no hatred against Christianity on account of its being the religion of their conquerors. Neither, we may add, were they then liable to be shocked by observing the contradiction between the Christian religion and the conduct of most of its professors. Their intercourse with Europeans was then small, and if, as must often have been the case, the only European they ever saw was a self-denying and devoted missionary, they would readily conclude that he could not be wrong whose life was in the right.

The case is changed now. Europeans are spread all over the country, and so far from their presence being a strength to the missionary, it is well known that no less an authority than the late Bishop Cotton declared that the lives which Europeans led in India were one of the great obstacles to the spread of Christianity there.

Dr. Macleod says: * "It must, I think, be admitted that up to the period in which Christian education was introduced as an essential element of missionary labour among the Hindoos, every attempt to make any breach in the old

* P. 36.

fortress had failed." And then he claims credit for the Church of Scotland on account of its having (as he asserts) introduced the educational system. But surely Dr. Macleod does not mean to assert that the Church of Scotland missionaries have made more converts than the Jesuits, or even than the Baptist missionaries. Indeed, he can hardly mean this, for a little farther on he admits that the total number of converts made by Dr. Duff's missionary schools in five-and-thirty years, is only 206. And yet the tone of the passage quoted above, clearly implies a wish on the part of Dr. Macleod, that his hearers should suppose that some great improvement had been made of late in the method of making converts.

Probably his justification of such a tone would be, that he was referring to the great efforts produced by the missionary schools in weakening the influence of Hindooism. And we have no doubt that the teaching in the missionary schools has, like education elsewhere, had considerable influence in destroying a belief in the Hindoo mythology, and we look upon this as the great good that has been done by Dr. Duff and his brethren, and the best defence for their labours. But still, education is not Christianization, and we believe that the youth educated in missionary schools are, as a general rule, quite as sceptical as the scholars in government schools. In spite of Dr. Macleod's protests, we see no reason why the old test of missionary success, namely, the number of converts made, should not be applied to India; and certainly the result of the application of this test is anything but encouraging. Of course, some conversions have been made, and probably will continue to be made, partly from self-interest, partly from personal influence, and in some cases, undoubtedly, from conviction. But they have always been almost infinitesimally small in comparison with the amount of the population of India; and Dr. Macleod gives no good reason for expecting that the proportion will be changed in future. A few conversions prove nothing either one way or the other. If they did, then one might argue that there is a likelihood of England becoming Roman Catholic again; and yet we suppose that no sane Protestant, and not many sane Catholics, anticipate such a result. Probably Dr. Macleod is not aware that it is no very uncommon thing for Hindoos to

turn Mahomedans ; and it has been stated by a tolerably good authority, that in Eastern Bengal the annual number of converts to Mahomedanism exceeds the annual number of conversions made by the Christian missionaries. And yet the Mahomedans have no proselytizing machinery, nor do we hear of their cherishing any hope that these conversions will ultimately lead to the universal prevalence of their religion.

The truth is, that the time spent by Dr. Macleod in India, and the use he made of his opportunities there, though quite sufficient to enable him to prepare a telling address, and to write pleasant papers about India for *Good Words*, were totally inadequate to enable him to get a comprehensive view of his subject. He has himself told us that the Calcutta missionaries thought that at least a year would be required for his investigations. But then, what would have become of *Good Words*? And therefore we Anglo-Indians, instead of grumbling at the short visit the Doctor paid us, must be thankful that he risked himself among us at all.

One well-known Indian newspaper praised Dr. Macleod for what it called his "receptive power," and seemed to think that the possession of this quality should silence, what it is fond of calling, "the chatter about local knowledge." Now "receptive power" is apparently a new and elegant phrase for a man's capacity of being crammed ; and we have no wish to deny either the importance of such an attribute or the possession of it by Dr. Macleod. But still, cramming has its limits, and even Dr. Macleod could only take in what was put before him. But it is notorious that he was, from the circumstances of his case, almost entirely in the hands of missionaries and sympathizers with their views, from the time he arrived in India to the time he left it. He was only three months in the country, and during that time he stayed in the large towns or rushed through the country on railways. He was ignorant of the native languages, and therefore he could have little or no intercourse with Hindoos except Calcutta Baboos. We therefore cannot see how his opinions can be of much value, or how his sanguine representations can be set against Abbé Dubois' thirty-two years' experience of India. For, be it remembered, Abbé Dubois was no ignorant or indifferent

"old Indian." He was an ardent and zealous missionary, who conformed to native habits and modes of living in a way that few subsequent missionaries have been able to do. He published the results of his experience in 1823, in a series of letters, and the title of the book, "Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable," sufficiently shews what he thought of the prospects of Christianity in India. As his work is very little known now-a-days, we make no apology for giving the following extract :

"For my part, I cannot boast of my success in this holy career during a period of twenty-five years that I have laboured to promote the interests of the Christian religion. The restraints and privations under which I have lived by conforming myself to the usages of the country, embracing in many respects the prejudices of the natives, living like them, and becoming almost a Hindoo myself—in short, by 'being made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some'—all this has proved of no avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India in the occupation of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number, two-thirds were pariahs or beggars, and the rest was composed of Sudras, vagrants and outcasts of several tribes, who, being without resources, turned Christians in order to form new connections, chiefly for the purpose of marrying, or with some other interested views. Among them are to be found some also who believed themselves to be possessed by the devil, and who turned Christians from having been assured that on their receiving baptism the unclean spirits would leave them, never to return ; and I will declare it with shame and confusion, that I do not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and through quite disinterested motives. Among those new converts, many apostatised and relapsed into Paganism, finding that the Christian religion did not afford them the temporal advantages they had looked for in embracing it. I am truly ashamed that the resolution I have taken of declaring the whole truth on this subject, forces me to make the humiliating avowal, that those who continued Christians are the very worst among my flock."

Surely such testimony as this is more valuable than that of a pen-and-ink missionary ; and we may remark here in

passing that if Mr. Trevelyan had known of Abbé Dubois or read his Letters, he would probably have never written the eloquent tirade, entitled, "Let him leave all and follow me," which is to be found in his "Competition Wallah." The experiment of conformity to native usages, without sacrifice of the Christian character or religion, which he recommends, was tried long before he was born, and proved a failure.

One of the chief points on which we might have expected Dr. Macleod to have enlightened us, is the character of the Christian converts, for, after all, quality is more important than quantity; and it is well known that the persistent charge of old Indians and unbelieving natives against the missionaries is, not that they do not make converts, but that their converts are not improved by the process. But on this point, of course, Dr. Macleod was, from his short residence in the country, quite unable to give any opinion that was worth having, and therefore we are compelled to say, that as regards the great objects of their mission, he and his coadjutor might as well have remained at home. We fully admit that the Address is in some respects an excellent one; but it is not better than one Dr. Macleod could have written though he had never left Scotland and merely sat on a Committee in Edinburgh. It would have wanted some eloquent passages, perhaps; but it would have contained more facts, and the subject would have been much more thoroughly and exhaustively treated.

By way of accounting for the small success of missionary efforts, Dr. Macleod has dwelt largely upon the difficulties in the conversion of the natives arising from caste, and a good deal that he has said on this subject is marked with vigour and common sense. But we do not think that he has hit the real difficulty; and we think that if the difficulties which he has mentioned were all that stood in the way of the conversion of the Hindoos, Christianity would have made far greater progress among them than it has done. We really do not see why, if Christianity as ordinarily taught be true, it should be more difficult to convert the Hindoos than any other heathen nation. For although caste prejudices are great obstacles to change or reform, yet, on the other hand, these obstacles are, in the case of the educated Hindoos, fully counterbalanced by what we

must call their accessibility to ideas. There is, we believe, no class of men more prone to meditation and discussion on religious subjects than the educated Hindoos, or Young Bengal as they are sometimes called, and there is none which is so open to conviction or so liable to be convinced by argument. They are not like the stolid and bovine English Philistine, with whom argument goes for nothing, and custom and authority for everything. Shew them that Christianity is true, and they will believe it; and their constant complaint is that missionaries never will argue fairly with them. They always begin, they say, by begging the question. As a native once observed to us, "When we ask a missionary for his proof for some statement made by him, his only answer is, that it is in the Bible; now what we want to know is, why we should believe the Bible to be true." This is the rock on which all ordinary missionaries split in their controversies with Hindoos. They are eloquent enough on the absurdities of the Vedas, and have no difficulty in proving, though in most cases rather unnecessarily, that the sacred books of the Hindoos teach false astronomy and false geography. But when they abandon the destructive part of their argument and proceed to the constructive, they take refuge in a cloud of words, and quietly ignore the fact that the Pentateuch is in many of its statements quite as opposed to science as the Vedas.

We do not believe either that Hindoos are quite so timid about avowing their convictions, or so afraid of suffering temporal loss from a change in their faith, as some missionaries maintain. In spite of the loose talk of some so-called Anglo-Indians, who have lived all their lives in Calcutta or Bombay, and who know no more of the Hindoos than they do of the Chinese, we venture to assert that the Hindoos are not a race of mammon-worshipers, and that they are not nearly so impressed with the notion that "to get on" is the be-all and end-all of life as most Englishmen and Americans are. The Hindoo, as a rule, is a reflecting and contemplative being, and not a pushing and practical one. As Professor Max Müller has justly said, the Hindoos are a nation of philosophers. When a Hindoo chooses a career, he thinks quite as much of the "honour" of a calling or profession as of its gainfulness, and he often carries this feeling to excess. For example, every government officer

knows the difficulty, and often the impossibility, of inducing good clerks to take appointments in the Police or in the Excise, although they would thereby get a great increase of salary. Several of the most eminent writers and thinkers of the present day have lamented the aversion of practical nations from speculative subjects, and have considered that the fondness of the Englishman for getting on in the world is the great barrier to his mental improvement. He is so practical and so busy that he never can afford time to go to the root of a matter, and so in matters of belief he contents himself with makeshifts, in the hope that they will last his time. Chevalier Bunsen, Mr. Froude tells us, could not understand how the English nation came by the Reformation, and he was probably far from being the only foreigner who has felt this to be a mystery. Indeed, when one observes the immovability and pig-headedness, so to speak, of the ordinary Englishman, one is tempted to doubt the justice of Milton's splendid tribute to his countrymen, and to say that the nation is of a truth slow and dull.

We therefore think that we are justified in regarding the accessibility to ideas which characterizes the educated Hindoos, as a great facility towards the introduction of a new religion, and one which must outweigh all difficulty arising from caste, which is the only difficulty peculiar to the Hindoos. "Wisdom," says Ecclesiasticus, "cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise." As, therefore, educated Hindoos have a good deal of leisure, and do not occupy it, generally speaking, in amusements or in conversations about the price of stocks, we may reasonably infer that any religion which is or appears to be wisdom will be readily adopted by them. And we are not left to conjecture on this point. The religion of Brahmoism or Deism, which was founded by Ram-mohun Roy some fifty or sixty years ago, has made, and is still making, wonderful progress in Bengal, and it would hardly be going too far to say that every educated Hindoo is, more or less consciously, a disciple of that religion. The great majority of the deputy magistrates, moonsiffs and office clerks, and nearly every schoolboy, not to speak of their schoolmasters, are unbelievers in idol-worship. They occasionally conform outwardly, for the sake of peace and quietness, and probably also from some lingering and surely

not altogether blameable attachment to the religions of their fathers and mothers, but practically the belief in Kali or Krishna has no influence over them. If it is true that some Protestants are only religious on Sundays, when they go to church in company with their mothers and sisters, it is still more true that Young Bengal is only orthodox when he goes home to his native village for the Doorga Pooja holidays.

Dr. Macleod is quite right, therefore, in talking of the destruction of Hindooism, though we believe him to be quite mistaken in supposing that there is any likelihood of Young Bengal becoming Christian. His hopefulness on this point is well known to be opposed to the opinions of most missionaries, and would probably have disappeared if he had stayed a little longer in the country. It is also contradicted by facts; for, with the exception of "boy converts" (who not unfrequently apostatize within a few months after their conversion), there has hardly been a case of late years of an educated and intelligent Hindoo becoming a Christian. The truth is, that Keshab Chunder Sein and his followers are not men who have embraced Deism from ignorance of a better religion, but they are men for the most part who have studied and deliberately rejected Christianity as commonly presented. They are fond of quoting from the Bible, and they admit that it is one of the best books that ever were written; but they refuse to believe in miracles or in the divinity of Jesus Christ, and we confess that we see no prospect of their ever coming to believe in these dogmas.

In the course of his Address, Dr. Macleod fully admits the existence of an inquiring spirit among the Hindoos, and here is what he tells us of its results:

"And we need not be surprised," says he,* "if the first and most general—indeed, I might say, *the universal* result of this scrutiny (i.e. an investigation of Christianity and the Bible) on the part of the Hindoo, should be the impression that Christianity, as a religion whose characteristic and essential doctrines are alleged facts, is but another form of superstition, with false miracles, false science, and false everything, which professes to belong to the region of the supernatural."

We wonder if it ever occurred to Dr. Macleod that this "impression," which he describes so vigorously, might pos-

* P. 15.
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sibly be correct, and that the missionary might have as much to learn from his pupil as Bishop Colenso from his Zulu. Does Dr. Macleod suppose that if he himself had been born a Hindoo, he would ever have been led by force of argument to believe in the story of the apple, or of the speaking of Balaam's ass, or even in the doctrine of the Trinity? By his own admission, apparently his "first impression" would have been that such statements and doctrines were false, and he has not hinted at any way by which that first impression might have been got over. The truth is, that the attempt to make Young Bengal Christian is quite as hopeless as the attempt to make Christians of English Rationalists, and we all know how much success the latter attempt has met with. It is notorious that there is considerable sympathy and intercourse between these two classes of unbelievers, and we do not see how the missionaries are ever to silence the arguments of Young Bengal until they convince their own sceptical countrymen. In the words of Mr. Vaughan, of Calcutta (quoted by Mr. Trevelyan): "Perhaps the saddest feature of all which strikes us in dealing with the educated classes, is the extent to which European infidelity influences them. Newman and Parker have long been household words with them. German and English Rationalism also wonderfully strengthens their position of unbelief; and now they triumphantly point to a mitred head and cry, Behold, a Bishop of your own Church cannot believe the Bible as inspired." And, as a general rule, Indian missionaries, though excellent men in private life, are ill qualified to influence educated men. They are for the most part imperfectly educated men, who think it wrong to read the *Essays and Reviews* or Bishop Colenso, and their abilities are certainly not above the average. Their chief accomplishment is a knowledge of the native languages, and in this respect we fully admit that they are far superior to most Anglo-Indians. The places where they are most successful are half-civilized districts like Assam, or where they have to deal with hill-tribes like the Cossyahs or Santals. We gladly admit that in such places they do a considerable amount of good. Even if they do not make the hill-men Christians, they at least teach them to wash; and we have heard it said, and we believe with perfect justice, that a Christian convert can

always be recognized at Cherra Poonjee by his being clean. In districts like Nuddea and Jessore, and, speaking generally, throughout the plains of Bengal, we believe missionaries to be, as such, perfectly useless, though many of them did excellent service to the cause of humanity and justice at the time of the indigo disputes, and all of them have more or less assisted in educating the people.

We have said that Dr. Macleod makes too much of the minor difficulties in the way of the spread of Christianity, and the proof of our assertion is that Brahmoism has had precisely the same kind of difficulties to contend against, and yet it has triumphed over them. The doctrines of Rammohun Roy were, when first preached, quite as repugnant to Hindoos as those of Christianity, and their hatred against him was so strong that even his life was threatened. Yet what Mr. Gladstone has called "the irresistible force of conviction" gradually made itself felt, and Rammohun Roy's doctrines are now the creed of educated Bengal. He commenced to teach long after Christianity had been introduced into India, and he had not the assistance of a paid agency; and yet the converts made by him and his followers are far more numerous and far more distinguished than those made by the Christian missionaries. What is the reason of this difference in the success of the two missions? We confess that the only satisfactory explanation we know of is, that the tenets of the Brahma Somaj are more agreeable to reason than those taught by the missionaries. The educated Hindoos, we repeat, are peculiarly accessible to argument; and if a doctrine can be shewn to them to be reasonable, they are very ready to embrace it. Hence the success which the causes of female education, of the remarriage of widows, and even of teetotalism, have had among them.

Shew them that the Bible is inspired and that the Christian miracles are true, and the Hindoos will become Christians; but the missionaries have not done this, nor are they, we believe, able to do so; and therefore we see no likelihood of India ever becoming Christianized.

Perhaps it will be said that argument is not the only way in which Christianity can recommend itself to the Hindoos, and that they must be impressed by observing the salutary effect of its principles on the lives of professing

Christians. This was an influence which undoubtedly had a great effect on the propagation of Christianity in the early ages of its existence, and a similar influence will probably account in part for the rapid diffusion of Mahomedanism in the seventh and eighth centuries. We are afraid, however, that it is an influence which cannot be much relied on at the present day. As Mr. Mill observes, the remark, "See how these Christians love one another," is not one likely to be made now; and though Anglo-Indian society is probably superior in respect of this virtue to most other modern societies, yet we cannot say that the lives led by most Europeans in India are likely to impress the natives very favourably. We will not refer to Abbé Dubois, or even to the pages of "Oakfield," for a true picture of Anglo-Indian society, for we believe that it has greatly improved within the last fifteen years. Still, it cannot be denied, we think, that the tone of society in India is lower than that at home, and that it is not calculated to inspire the outside observer with any extraordinary amount of respect or reverence. Most people's virtue depends a good deal upon their surroundings, and a young man in India is freed from many restraints which would have exercised a beneficial influence over him at home. Conventionalities and ordinances have undoubtedly their uses; and many a man in England is kept straight by his having to go to church on Sundays, and by the society of ladies. As a matter of fact, the missionaries complain of the lives led by many Anglo-Indians as being one of the great obstacles to their success; and it is notorious that the natives think us very little, if at all, better than themselves. They admit, perhaps, that we do not lie or cheat quite as much as they do themselves, but then they account for this by our having fewer temptations to deception. Lying and fraud are the resources of the weak, and the non-employment of such weapons by a governing race is no more a proof of their exalted virtue, than the disuse of poisoned arrows and snake-pots in modern warfare proves that soldiers have become less anxious to kill their enemies. Besides, sundry revelations in Calcutta and Bombay have shewn the natives that Europeans are sometimes quite as great adepts at fraud as they themselves.

So also when natives are reproached for taking bribes,

they reply, in the first place, that the large salaries paid to European officers place them above temptation, and, in the second place, they point to the bribery at Parliamentary elections, and ask if England can be considered free from the vice. They are even so perverse as not to be persuaded of our superior impartiality in judicial matters. They admit that we are impartial when we are trying cases between natives, but so, they say, are native judges when trying cases between Europeans, and they are, we are sorry to say, very sceptical as to our impartiality when the case lies between an European and a native. And, no doubt, they have some grounds for this scepticism. No amount of argument, for instance, will ever persuade them that it was impartial justice which hung a few years ago an unfortunate village policeman who had taken part in an affray, and acquitted the European who was present there, and by whose orders he was acting.

Even when Anglo-Indians lead, as many of them do, pure and noble lives, the natives are shrewd enough to know that these men are not always sound believers, and that many a good officer or master cares little about his "girja," i.e. church. There is now quite as much scepticism among Anglo-Indians as among the educated classes at home; and this explains why, as Dr. Macleod says, the missionaries find much more sympathy from the older than from the younger civilians. Another remark made by Dr. Macleod, namely, the statement that "I have no doubt whatever myself, from all I have heard, that, except where affected by European influence, it (i.e. the moral condition of India) is, among both Hindoos and Mahomedans, as a rule, far below what is generally supposed," has evidently been derived by him from his purely Calcutta friends. We are sure that no missionary, or any other person who knew anything about the interior of India, could have told him that natives were better in places where they were affected by European influence, for all such persons declare the reverse, and say that there are no natives so bad as the inhabitants of Presidency towns, or, in other words, those who have come most in contact with Europeans. This is so much the case, that no experienced Anglo-Indian will employ a Calcutta servant if he can possibly help it. Dr. Macleod's statement, too, about the

terrible lowness of native morality, is contrary to the opinion of most men qualified to speak on the subject, such as the Abbé Dubois or the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who declares in his History that our estimate of the native character rises the more we study it. On the whole, therefore, the sentence we have above quoted is rather an unfortunate illustration of Dr. Macleod's "receptive power."

It may be asked, what is the character of the Christian converts, and does not the improvement in their lives shew the superiority of the religion they have embraced? We are afraid, however, that the latter question must be answered in the negative. We do not profess, of course, to have an intimate acquaintance with the lives of such persons, but from all we have seen and heard of them, we doubt if they are any better than their infidel neighbours. Most Anglo-Indians will say that they are worse, and the opinion their countrymen have of them may be conjectured from a rather plain-spoken remark, the gist of which is, that a native becomes a Christian by learning to drink wine. But without going so far as this, we certainly feel compelled to say that we never saw any exalted morality among the native Christians. The Madras "boys" are generally Christians, and they are the most drunken class of servants in India; and the old Catholic converts who are settled in Eastern Bengal are to the full as idolatrous, and as fond of making false complaints in court, &c., as their Hindoo and Mahomedan neighbours. We are not able to speak so positively of the Protestant converts, for they are comparatively few in number, and we have not seen much of them. We remember, however, one case which occurred about three years ago in the Dacca district, in which two Christian converts fell far below ordinary native morality. This was a case in which a husband and his wife, without being pressed by extreme want, sold their infant daughter to a prostitute in the Dacca bazaar.

There is another point which we would recommend to the care and attention of Dr. Macleod and his friends before they think of sending out more missionaries to India. This is, the necessity of their determining the kind of Christianity which the missionaries are to teach. Every one knows that there are several different kinds in vogue in England just now, and that the religion of Dean Stanley

is something very different from that of Mr. Ryle. Even Dr. Macleod must be aware that he himself is considered heterodox by many of his brethren, and that they suspect him about as much as they did the late Dr. Lee. We would therefore recommend them to hold a conference, and settle a few such points as these before they send out more missionaries: first, Is the fourth commandment binding upon Christians? Second, Is the whole of the Pentateuch historically true? Third, Do the prophecies in Isaiah refer to Jesus Christ? &c. &c. For until they do something of this kind, they never can make a simultaneous assault upon Hindooism. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?

And it must be confessed that Dean Stanley and others of the Broad Church give forth year after year a more and more uncertain sound. The public can see what they do not believe in, and they know that they disbelieve the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch and the wonderful strength of Samson, &c. But they cannot discern through the haze of words what are the dogmas in which they thoroughly believe, and still less can they conjecture how many of these dogmas will be held by them at the end of the next six months. It may therefore lead to embarrassing results if a native be first converted by a missionary of the Evangelical type, and then fall in with a missionary holding the latitudinarian views of the Broad Church party.

We are aware that Dr. Macleod and the missionaries reply to all arguments against missions, by alleging that "a mission to the heathen is the will of God;" and of course no reply could be more conclusive if the allegation could be proved. But the truth of it is by no means so apparent as they imagine. Even admitting the divine authority of the command to go and teach all nations, there is nothing in this text, as the Abbé Dubois remarks, which makes it incumbent on Christians to continue a hopeless crusade against paganism. The gospel has already been preached, says the Abbé, to the natives of India, and we are nowhere told that all nations will be evangelized. On the contrary, Christ's instructions are, continues the Abbé, that the apostles are to depart from any city which will not receive them or hear their words, and it was on the express ground of this text that the Abbé justified himself in quitting Mysore.

Before concluding this essay, we wish in a few words to bear our humble testimony to the virtues of the Indian missionaries. We have no sympathy with Sydney Smith when he treats of India missions, nor do we at all admire those Englishmen who deride missionaries as canting hypocrites. We firmly believe that missionaries are mistaken when they imagine that they will ever convert the Hindoos, but none the less do we believe them to be honest and God-fearing men, who have indirectly done a great deal of good to India. They lead pure and beneficent lives, and we have no doubt that their lives have made more converts than their arguments. Nearly all of them are excellent linguists, and by this means they have acquired an influence over natives, and a knowledge of native character, which are possessed by but few other old Indians. A proof of this is, that the two best books which have been written upon native manners and customs are the productions of missionaries, viz. Abbé Dubois's work and that by Mr. Ward. Above all, the missionaries are the only Europeans who come to India for other purposes than to make a fortune or earn a livelihood. Hence it is that they are peculiarly qualified to take impartial views of disputes between Europeans and natives; and for this and other reasons they are, as a general rule, highly respected by the latter. No doubt occasional irritation is felt against them on account of the indiscreet zeal of some missionaries, leading them to persuade and almost to kidnap boys into becoming converts; but still, as a general rule, natives like missionaries, and the native press has more than once declared them to be the only real well-wishers of India.

We should be sorry, therefore, to see missionary schools suppressed, or to see all the missionaries leaving India; for we believe that good Englishmen will always benefit India, whatever their religious views may be. But we still protest against the appointment of purely preaching missionaries, as advocated by Dr. Macleod, and against the extension of missions.

H. BEVERIDGE,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

III.—RENAN'S ST. PAUL.

Saint Paul. Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut.
Paris: Michel Levy Frères. 1869.

WHEN the "*Vie de Jesus*" appeared, it was received by the religious world with a gasp of perplexity and indignation. A new and more deadly blow than any which had gone before was struck at "the faith;" the extreme beauty of the style was "but the poisoning of the dart, too apt before to kill." But when the first paroxysm was past, and those who had been most terrified recovered themselves in some degree, they felt that "the faith" must be indeed weak if it could be slain by one assault, and therefore they resorted to a method now popular in religious warfare. This consists, not in answering attacks, but in denying their force and ability. The style was all, the arguments were nothing. The book was uncritical, said the orthodox; and forgetting their own principles, they found fault with M. Renan for his too great reliance on the fourth Gospel. Some, indeed, went so far as to say that the book would even aid a reaction which, as they fancied, was beginning against liberal thought; and a story was current, no doubt apocryphal, which put the theory in an epigrammatic form. It was to this effect.

An old gentleman in France, a free-thinker educated in the school of Strauss, or at least of those who would so far as possible get rid of the historic existence of Jesus, read on his death-bed the "*Vie de Jesus*." He laid down the book with the exclamation, "*Enfin, il était Dieu, envoyez chercher M. le Curé;*" and on the arrival of the Curé he was reconciled to the Church, dying a faithful penitent. Now though we are very far from thinking the sick man's deduction a necessary one from the premises of M. Renan, we confess to a somewhat analogous feeling, which was strong within us after the reading of the "*Vie de Jesus*," and has grown more definite with each succeeding volume. If Jesus was simply an enthusiastic young Galilean, whose character steadily deteriorated as the scope of his aims increased,—if he sanctioned, or at least did not protest against, a trick of his followers which should make it appear that he had

raised Lazarus from the dead,—if the belief in his own resurrection was the growth of no supreme conviction of his sanctity, but merely proceeded from the hysterical regret of a few sentimental and over-excited women,—the work that faith in him and in the power of his resurrection has done in the world, is even more wonderful than on the gospel and orthodox hypothesis. If, again, St. Paul was not Christianity's second founder, nor the greatest of apostles, but to be taken on his own statement as considerably their inferior,—if “the dominant trait of his character was not goodness,”—if he was proud, stiff, abrupt, standing on the defensive, violent in self-assertion, rough in speech, always believing himself in the right, obstinate and quarrelsome, neither learned nor poetical,*—if he was all this, doubly is the fact divine and miraculous, that on us Gentiles, mainly by his work, have the effects of Christianity, with all their drawbacks, been what we see them in the West. Yet we beg our readers not to think that now, more than in past days, we are unindebted or ungrateful to M. Renan. As in each of his volumes there is one grand blemish, so in each is there one positive contribution to the knowledge and understanding of the New Testament and Christianity, made by him and by him alone. However overstrained may seem to us the idyllic pictures of the Galilean life of Jesus, they have served to set in sharp outline the contrast between the two parts of his career, and the different objects he set before him during these two periods. As a workman of Galilee, Jesus would fain have been the Saviour of his country; foiled and thwarted by his kinsmen and compatriots, his aims took a wider range, and in the Judean journeys and ministries he began to be, what his cross sealed him and his apostles proclaimed him, the Saviour of the world. Those who read carefully M. Renan's first volume learn, and can never afterwards unlearn, to mark the unfolding of Jesus' character, and the way in which he was made perfect by suffering and slight; can see the growth of patriotism into an all-embracing love for humanity, written in the two drafts of the Sermon on the Mount, the very kernel of the gospel teaching, rather than mere differences in reporting by the two evangelists.

* St. Paul, pp. 567, 568.

Again, however we may reject the hypothesis by which M. Renan accounts for the narrative of the resurrection, an hypothesis which is the great blemish of his second volume, it is impossible to overrate the excellence of his sketch of the world, Jewish and Pagan, on which the doctrine of the resurrection, then the cardinal fact of Christianity, had to play so great a part. And in this third volume there is a freshness and a vividness in the description of the mode in which the apostolic journeys were conducted, which bring as never before, the very life home to us, while the light thrown on the relation of St. Paul to the other apostles reveals facts to us wholly new, but entirely irresistible when once brought before our eyes.

So far as the work has yet gone, we imagine that the verdict of that large body which reads hastily and thinks scarce at all, will be in direct contradiction with that given by those who read and re-read with pains to form a clear and honest judgment. The first volume was received, as we said, with horror; "*Les Apôtres*" was thought dangerous, but far more innocent; "*Saint Paul*" will even tend to whitewash the writer in the opinion of some of the orthodox, because of the seeming reversal of his judgment on the nature of Jesus. Had the work been written backwards, and the present been the first volume, it would have been little criticised by hasty readers and writers. To us, however, it seems that, with some exceptions, and these important ones, the character of Jesus is treated more truly and more in accordance with facts than is the character of St. Paul; and the account of the birth of Christianity is open to less grave objections than is that of its progress and passage to the West. It may seem vain to speculate on what Christianity would have been without St. Paul, though we may by and by attempt to estimate even this; but for the present we may safely say it would not have absorbed the cultivation and civilization of Greece and Rome. Anything which dwarfs the grandeur of the great apostle, so much of whose life is completely and definitely historical, is still more untrue to the history of Christianity than any amount of untenable hypothesis relative to the most holy life of Jesus, which is admitted on almost all hands to be less historical, more enveloped in the folds of that mystery which overhangs the origin

of all religions, and standing therefore in need of *some* hypothetical amplification.

These words of blame are not lightly written ; it is with a feeling of sincere pain that we differ so profoundly with M. Renan on questions not only of fact, about which we should not be deeply concerned, but of principles and morals. His spirit is a religious and poetic spirit, living in communion with God and seeking earnestly after truth, one with which it would be a pleasure and a blessing to be in harmony on all points, if truth and honesty, as they seem to us, did not stand opposing a closer union. And before we proceed to examine the book in detail, the writer shall speak for himself in a passage which shews at once his carefulness of research, his deep poetic sympathy, his courage in face of a future in which here below he expects little good. To Cornélie Scheffer he dedicates the work in these terms :

"Together have we seen Ephesus and Antioch, Philippi and Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth, Colossæ and Laodicea. On those difficult and dangerous journeys I have never heard you murmur, nor then, nor in our travels in the free pursuit of truth, have you said to me, 'Stay.'.....Our youth has seen sad days, and I fear that fate will shew us no good before death. Enormous errors draw our land to the abysses ; they to whom we point them out smile. In the day of trial, be to me what you were when we visited the seven churches of Asia, the faithful companion who withdraws not her hand from that which once it has pressed."*

Neither do we say, "Stay." Out of all search into truth, truth must come, and since truth is one, to one point must come at last all truth-seekers ; our regret is that we cannot in the search trust ourselves, as we might wish, more completely to the guidance of one whose genius is so lofty, whose investigations are so minute.

The period of time over which the present volume extends is about fifteen years, from the first missionary voyage of St. Paul in A.D. 45, to his arrival at Rome in the spring of A.D. 61, and these years stand out for us in great clearness, not only because the second part of the "Acts of the Apostles" is far more historical than the former, but also

* Dedication.

because of the authentic letters of the apostle who is the central figure of those years. The introduction, in which M. Renan discusses the thirteen Epistles attributed to Paul, is a summary of remarkable value, giving in a concise form, with a neatness to which few but Frenchmen can attain, a condensation of the results of modern criticism, together with some keen observations of the author's own. Omitting the Epistle to the Hebrews, only traditionally attributed to St. Paul, those which are in their own text ascribed to him are divisible into five classes.

"1. Indisputable and undisputed Epistles—those to the Galatians, Corinthians and Romans.

"2. Epistles certainly authentic, in spite of some objections—those to the Thessalonians and Philippians.

"3. Epistles probably authentic, in spite of grave objections—the Epistle to the Colossians, to which is added the note to Philemon.

"4. A doubtful Epistle—that called the Epistle to the Ephesians.

"5. False Epistles—those to Timothy and Titus."*

Since the first class is accepted even by the severest critics, and the second presents no serious difficulties, M. Renan passes almost at once to the third class, which he regards as authentic, though giving full, perhaps over-full, weight to the objections raised against it. The most serious is the use of terms employed in connection with the Gnostic heresies, which would seem to imply a far later date than the life of St. Paul, the language here more nearly approaching the diction of the fourth Gospel and of the Epistles of St. John. But, as we are wisely reminded, there is another side to the question, and we may quite as well suppose that the heresies in the second century took hold on these passages, and made them in some sort their foundation, or rather the foundation of the new development they then assumed. To the difference in style between this and the Epistles of the two former classes, to the fact that this letter does not fit in completely with a continued narrative of the life of St. Paul, we attach small importance. Few men when engaged in work were ever less concerned about the form in which his thoughts got themselves expressed than was the apostle.

* Pp. v, vi.

He seems scarcely to have taken the pains to re-read, certainly not to revise, what he dictated to those who perhaps imperfectly caught his meaning. It is probable he was far more careful in the enforced leisure of his prison, though what may have seemed a better style to him appears less excellent to us. And few observations have so universally occurred to the readers of posthumous correspondence, as the difficulty of reconciling that unerring testimony to what really took place with the supposed tenor of an imperfectly known life. The objection that it is difficult to fit the Epistle into the apostle's life, has really no force till we are sure that we know the whole of his life.

It is well known that the Epistle called to the Ephesians has slender MS. authority for such designation, but the critical objections to it as the work of St. Paul do not appear to us very strong in themselves, and quite insufficient to overpower M. Renan's admission, that "from a very early date it was held to be a work of Paul, and a writing of high authority. This is proved by the use made of it in the first Epistle attributed to Peter, a treatise of which the authenticity is not impossible, and which at any rate belongs to the apostolic age. Among the letters which bear the name of Paul, the Epistle to the Ephesians is perhaps that which has been the earliest cited as a composition of the apostle of the Gentiles."*

So far as we are able to see, without having had time to examine the whole subject afresh, M. Renan's argument against the Pauline authorship of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus seems irresistible. In allowing great weight to the difficulty of fitting them into the life of St. Paul, there is nothing inconsistent with what we have already said in reference to the Epistle to the Colossians, since here it arises from the contradiction of known facts, rather than the presentation of facts otherwise unknown. It is simply impossible to do justice to the closely sustained argument by which the unauthenticity of these letters is supported, and which to us is all but conclusive. There are only two arguments to set against it; one, that they are quoted by Clement of Rome and other very early writers; the other, that we have no other pastoral Epistles with which to com-

* Pp. xxii, xxiii.

pare them, and that therefore we are not able to say positively that the Church was not so developed as it would seem to have been by the testimony of these letters. But to the first of these M. Renan replies :

"The allusions which have been supposed to be found to them in the Epistles attributed to Clement of Rome, to Ignatius and to Polycarp, are doubtful. There were in the air at that period a certain number of ready-made homiletic phrases ; the presence of these phrases in a writing does not prove that an author borrowed them directly from another writing where they are also found."*

The second objection, which appears to us of very small weight, may stand for what it is worth. But in dismissing these letters as not the work of St. Paul, we are far from considering them of no value as Scripture. They are unquestionably of very early date, probably about the end of the first century, and they do not lose their value because they represent themselves as other than they are. Orthodox critics are wont to say, with reference to all ascription of writings to others than those whose names they bear,—whether Isaiah, or Daniel, or the Psalms, whether St. John's Gospel or these Epistles,—that having accused the writers of the grossest dishonesty, we then affect to trust those whom we have ourselves shewn to be untrustworthy. But this is to assume that the moral guilt of taking another author's name is the same in an utterly uncritical age and in a highly critical one with its notions of property in literature ; it is to bring the maxims of a later time to bear on one which could not in any degree have understood them. M. Renan well says :

"We need not stop for a moment at what is, according to our ideas, strange in such a false ascription of authorship. This did not cause the smallest scruple. If the pious author of the false letters to Timothy and to Titus could return and be present at the discussions of which he is the cause among us, he would not defend himself ; he would reply as did the priest of Asia, the author of the romance of Thecla, when he saw himself hard pushed : '*Convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse.*'"†

Next to the discussion of the authenticity, comes that of the integrity of the Epistles. Here M. Renan is conservative ;

* P. 21.

† P. 1.

a decided gain in times when criticism runs to excess in its dissection of documents. He is of opinion that the authentic Epistles have never been interpolated, but that in order to lose nothing of what the apostle had written, isolated texts or paragraphs of the apostle's own writing or dictation may here and there have been intercalated, with or without reference to the context. He explains the various endings of the Epistle to the Romans, which have made some able critics suppose the last two chapters apocryphal, by supposing that the bulk of the letter was a circular to be sent to various Churches, and that, to lose nothing, the whole of the conclusions were by some after editor appended to the original. The whole discussion is most interesting; we can only here give the summary.

"This is the manner in which we may suppose the four copies constructed.

"1. The copy of the Church at Rome: the first eleven chapters + the entire xv. chapter.

"2. The copy of the Church at Ephesus: the first fourteen chapters (with modifications in the first half of the first chapter) + xvi. 1—20.

"3. Copy of the Church at Thessalonica: the fourteen chapters (with modifications in the first half of the first chapter) + xvi. 21—24.

"4. Copy addressed to a Church unknown: the first fourteen chapters (with modifications in the first half of the first chapter) + xvi. 25—27 verses, which, as we have already said, follow, in many MSS., immediately after the last words of chapter xiv."*

On these documents, then, supplemented as far as possible by personal investigation in the countries traversed by St. Paul, M. Renan has based his narrative. We do not propose to follow him at length over a course where the main facts are so well known, though on those main facts he has cast much light, but to pause only on such portions as seem specially worthy of attention. The book commences with the first missionary journey of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, who had with them as companion St. Mark. In one of these journeys we see the mode of all such in the early days of Christianity; and we cannot doubt that the main features, of this pilgrim life are here correctly seized and

* P. lxxiii, note.

represented. So ingrained, however, is the force of early association, that the following words came on us with a shock of surprise: "Paul, it seems, travelled almost always on foot." Two engravings—one, we think, from a Titian—in an old Bible and a "Sunday Book" we turned over in our childhood, represented Saul at his conversion as going in great state to Damascus and falling from his horse. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson notice how the same impression has taken hold of others: "In pictures, St. Paul is represented as on horseback in this journey. Probably this is the cause why Lord Lyttelton, in his observations on St. Paul's conversion, uses the phrase, 'Those in company with him fell down from their horses together with Saul.'"^{*} It is well to find that when some illusions of childhood are abandoned, the reality is still more poetic and picturesque, appeals still more to our sympathy, and increases our estimate of the devotion of the apostolic life. The apostle travelled almost always in company with others, but with a feeling of delicacy, which would seem ordinarily to be the growth of later ages, he did not allow himself to use the offerings of those to whom he ministered, as did the other apostles, and as Jesus himself had done. He worked for his own livelihood at the manufacture of hair-cloth tents, still in use in the Levant, or of the "cilicium" or cloth itself from which they were made. But how shall we realize to ourselves a life so impossible to most of us, even had we the overmastering impulse of religious zeal which animated St. Paul? To aid such realization, the following passage is admirable, and as true as it is original:

"His outer life resembled that of an artisan sowing around him the ideas with which he is penetrated. Such a kind of life, become impossible in our modern societies for any but a workman, is easy in societies where either religious brotherhoods or commercial aristocracies form each a sort of freemasonry..... Benjamin of Tudela and the other Jewish travellers of the middle ages had a like existence, going from one Jewish society to another, entering at once into intimate relations with their host. These Jewish societies were distinct quarters, often closed by a gate, having a religious chief with an extended jurisdiction; in the centre was a common court, and usually a place of re-union and prayer. The

^{*} *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, Vol. I. p. 91, note.

relations of Jews among themselves, in our own days, offer still something of the same sort. Wherever Jewish life has remained strongly organized, the Jews travel from ghetto to ghetto with letters of recommendation. What passes at Trieste, at Constantinople, at Smyrna, is from this point of view an exact picture of what passed in the time of St. Paul at Ephesus, at Thessalonica, at Rome.....Benjamin of Tudela came to the end of the world having seen nothing but Jews; Ibn Batoutah, having seen nothing but Mussulmana."*

Again :

"These journeys must not be represented as those of a Francis Xavier or a Livingstone, upheld by rich associations. The apostles much more nearly resembled socialist workmen spreading their ideas from tavern to tavern, than the missionaries of modern times. Their trade remained for them a necessity; they were obliged to stop to exercise it, and to direct themselves according to the localities where they found work."†

Thus it was of necessity, as well as from a desire of following the exact procedure of Jesus, that the disciples first presented themselves to their countrymen on the Sabbath; and when asked, as strangers to speak, if they had aught to say, began to expound the new light in which they read the old Scriptures of their people. They did not, because they could not, preach anywhere but in the towns, nor did opposition break out at once; reflection was necessary to shew their hearers that this doctrine was not Judaism at all, nor even a development of it, but that which would destroy them, if they did not destroy it. If by an effort of the mind we can place ourselves in presence of the outward aspect of the times, nothing will seem more sordid than the close Jewish quarters, more vulgar and commonplace than the strifes of Jewish parties, of which the apostles were now and then constrained to avail themselves to escape a difficulty (Acts xxiii. 6). And if it is possible for us to enter into the emotions which moved the mind of St. Paul, we discover no modern joy in travel, no spirit of adventure for its own sake, but a passionate zeal for his Lord, an eagerness for the welfare of his fellow-men, which made him fierce and tender by turns, but which prevented anything like "gaiety" or light-heartedness. Our readers may

* P. 9.

† P. 55.

remember the sort of shock it was to them to find in the "Vie de Jesus" him whom they had been accustomed to think of as, through *all* his career, a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief, represented as in his Galilean life gay and happy, leading days like a perpetual picnic, amid comrades gay as himself. The very reference to the description jars on us, and detracts from the conception of a character of which it might have been said from the first, the "zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." It is such passages as this, as the account of Mary Magdalene in the second volume, which displease English readers, and turn them away from the many beauties and excellences of the work. We had hoped that now, escaping from the clouds into the plainer light of day, M. Renan would at least have avoided drawing thus on his fancy. But no! here is a note as falsely struck as in the former cases, though it jars less on our feelings.

"The gaiety, the youth of heart, which these evangelic odysseys breathe, were something new, original and charming. The Acts of the Apostles, expression of the first movement of Christian conscience, are a book of joy, of serene ardour. Since the Homeric poems, no work has been seen full of so fresh sensations. A breeze of the morning, a smell of the sea, if I may say so, inspiring a something of joyance and strength, penetrate the whole book and make it an excellent travelling companion, the exquisite breviary of whosoever pursues the ancient traces on the southern seas. It was the second poetry of Christianity. The lake of Tiberias and its fishing-boats had furnished the first. Now a stronger blast, aspirations towards more distant lands, waft us out into the open sea."*

The Acts of the Apostles, the lives of Jesus and St. Paul, are indeed poetic, but it is the poetry of intense realism which fills them, not the poetry of fancy; the music in them is as of the stormy roll of battle between heaven and hell, and not the whispering of the morning wind; the joy is the peace of the soul when it gives itself to God, the joy of renunciation or of hope often delayed, not the gaiety of childhood which laughs to the laughing wave. It is because we recognize so fully the service M. Renan has done to religion, that we protest with all our heart, even with vehemence, against passages such as this.

At the outset of their first mission, in Cyprus, the country

* Pp. 12, 13.

of St. Barnabas, the apostles came into relation with Sergius Paulus, the proconsul; and here M. Renan will seem to many to enter without sufficient reason into very direct conflict with the writer of the Acts of the Apostles. This last tells us that the proconsul sent for the strangers, against whom a sorcerer attached to his person was strongly opposed, and desired to hear their doctrine. On this ensued a discussion, and Elymas was struck blind, whereupon the proconsul "believed." But, says M. Renan, "the conversion of a Roman of that rank at that time is a thing absolutely inadmissible;" and he supposes, in the text, that St. Paul took for faith what were mere marks of interest; in a note, that the author of the Acts might have been led away by his ideas about the work of the apostle, to represent wherever possible a pagan as a convert. But we do not see there is any real contradiction; the word certainly need imply no more than a general interest in and protection of the apostles; there is nothing to shew that the nascent faith was followed by any practice such as baptism. That the proconsul protected St. Paul, and that the name was assumed thenceforth in compliment and as a sign of clientship, seems probable; though it remains true that the Roman name was in some sort the property of the apostle already, as the equivalent of his Hebrew name, Saul. But the circumstance deserves our attention for yet a moment more, as being the first recorded miracle of the apostle, into whose life indeed does not enter any very large share of the miraculous element. In dealing with accounts of miracles, three courses are possible—to admit them fully, however we may account for them; to say that records of such phenomena occur at the outset of all religions, and relegate inquiry into each special wonder till such time as we or some one more qualified shall search into the origin of religions; or to suppose that what took place was of the nature of a conjuring trick wrought with the intention to deceive. The last is here M. Renan's mode. He speaks of "tricks (prestiges) to which we are unfortunately forbidden to doubt that the apostles had recourse more than once."* This seems to us unsatisfactory and unphilosophical, both because it is eminently unlike the severely honest character of St. Paul and the sim-

* P. 17.

plicity of St. Barnabas, and because it slides out of a difficulty for the moment, leaving unsolved the larger question of miracles in general. No doubt, when the whole subject comes to be fully and fairly discussed, and it shall be laid down that no miracle ever did or ever can occur, there will not be found one solution by which to explain all the stories of them. And no doubt imposture will explain some accounts, though, as we think, fewer than is generally supposed. But that St. Paul will be found among the pretenders to a magic in which he did not himself believe, seems to us wholly incredible.

With the change of name, St. Paul took more and more the lead, and Barnabas, of whose character rather more is here made than appears in the record (as was also the case in "*Les Apôtres*"), is less the equal of St. Paul than one of his suite; perhaps already St. Mark was unable to bear the change, unfelt by the greater man, which placed his relation and protector in a secondary rank: in fact, the rupture between himself and the apostles took place at Perga, the first stage in their journey into Asia Minor.

At Antioch, in Pisidia, a storm which had taken a week to gather, broke on the apostles' heads. The sketch of Jewish history which, when delivered on the first sabbath, had been well received by the rulers, seemed after reflection to be wholly inadmissible. Thrust from the synagogue, "lo," said St. Paul, "we turn to the Gentiles." Here, as is well noticed, is one great secret of the success of St. Paul, the instantaneous way in which he always accepted the facts of a given situation, and turned without hesitation to each new way which seemed open to him. Yet at each step the apostles were followed by those whose rage they had excited, and getting ever further from such civilization as was found in central Asia Minor, they came to Lystra and Derbe, cities or villages of Lycaonia. It was among this savage race of wild mountaineers that we see how St. Paul's preaching could adapt itself to man as man; how, in fact, he would teach religion undogmatically when dogma, except of the most elementary kind, was scarce possible. Roused by the rumour that the apostles had cured a lame man, the people would have done service to them as gods. The *précis* of the sermon given in the Acts need not of course here be quoted, but the following passage is to the point:

"The effort of the apostles when they preached to populations

of this sort, was less to preach Jesus than to preach God ; their preaching became again purely Jewish, or rather theistic. * Jews inclined to proselytism have always felt that what in their religion can be accepted by men in general is only its monotheistic basis ; that all the rest, Mosaic institutions, Messianic ideas, &c., forms as it were a second degree of beliefs, constituting the peculiar possession of the children of Israel, a sort of family inheritance which is not transferable."†

Expelled, however, by Jewish machinations from among those who would just before have done them such high honour, the apostles remained some time at Derbe, and, the excitement having calmed down, were able to re-visit the towns which had rejected them, and establish the hearts of those who had believed their message. None of these towns were large enough to form a mother church, and the whole of Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria, part of Phrygia, and Galatia properly so called, seem to have been included in the Roman province of Galatia, and to be intended by St. Paul when afterwards he writes to the Galatians. Among these people, chiefly composed of Gentiles, hard work and the exigencies of the situation had turned St. Paul's mind away from those peculiarities of the Jewish religion to which those who stayed at home naturally clung. So soon as he returned to the debatable land between Gentiles and Jews, controversies revived, of which his great soul had long been forgetful, but which it now became necessary to decide once for all. A crowd of practical matters had been left unsettled by Jesus. His work had been to lay down principles ; it was for his followers to carry them out in detail. It must be remembered in common fairness that those who wished to impose Jewish practices on Christian converts had very much to say for themselves. If it was true that Jesus had always seemed to consider all ceremonies of religion in a second rank, he had never set them aside. If love to his Heavenly Father and to men were the chief things, it might have been urged that his words, "These ought ye to have done, *and not to leave the other undone,*" had a wider application than only to the tithe of pot-herbs ;

* M. Renan uses the word "déiste," but since this has received among us a restricted and opprobrious signification, we conceive we express his true meaning better by altering the epithet.

† P. 46.

moreover, the question could not have been decided, since no uncircumcised person had placed himself directly among Jesus' followers in his life-time. To us, it is true, the whole question may seem petty and unworthy; and few facts have given rise to more sarcasms against religious people than this, that so many controversies have turned on mere trifles, and not on the greater verities,—from this about circumcision, through disputes about an iota, which rent the Eastern Church, down to Laud and his “four surplices at All-hallows-tide,” or the cut and colour of robes in our own days. It has always, however, seemed to us that a true sentiment of piety, lying at the root of man's heart during all his fiercest strifes, has led him to fix on some more trivial point as the symbol of those greater matters which he shrinks from discussing by name; and, the lesser question once decided, the larger is taken as in a measure decided also. So the whole idea of any outward rites as necessary to union with God fell with circumcision; so the doctrine of a caste priesthood, with the sale of indulgences; so must fall or stand one view of the atonement of Christ, with allowance or disallowance of pomp in the celebration of the Eucharist. Moreover, as M. Renan points out at length, there were circumstances in the outward life of nations in those days which made circumcision a far more practical matter than in these; as also the questions of mixed marriages, of meats killed without Jewish precautions, and coming from idol temples into the shambles. All this controversy met St. Paul at his return to Antioch; it had to him an intensely personal importance; and to get the whole matter decided once for all, he and Barnabas went to Jerusalem, taking Titus his disciple, an uncircumcised man. The result of the conference was a compromise; the new converts from heathenism were to abstain from pollutions of idols, or things offered to idols,—a decision which St. Paul, on his own authority, greatly modified to the Corinthian church,—from fornication, from things strangled and from blood, restrictions which perhaps refer to the Noachian covenant as written in Genesis, but which assuredly have no higher authority than many practices abandoned. M. Renan considers that a part of the compromise was that Titus was circumcised, under protest, as *being in Jerusalem*, where the presence of an uncircumcised person in the Christian community gave

offence. We cannot agree with him that such is the force of the words, "Titus was not compelled to be circumcised." We think, with Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, that "his case was not like that of Timothy at a later period, whose circumcision was a prudential accommodation to circumstances, without endangering the truth of the Gospel."* To have yielded *now*, would have been to have sacrificed the whole advantage gained. To resist, as we believe he did, was again, in the words of the above-quoted authors, "to obtain the victory for that principle which we cannot doubt will hereafter destroy the distinctions that are connected with the institution of slavery in America, and of caste in India."† The agreement between the two parties seemed complete; the elder apostles gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, and these went on their way, St. Paul to assert with ever-increasing confidence his own high mission to the Gentiles, his own apostleship. But the feeling once excited against him revived in the hearts of the Judaizers, as we shall hereafter see; their own counsels were to some extent forgotten, and hard words passed at Antioch between St. Paul and St. Peter on matters which here had seemed so clearly decided.

From the testimony of the Epistle to the Galatians, it is clear that the two apostles, hitherto so united, were not entirely at one on these questions of Jewish observance. Barnabas also adopted what St. Paul does not hesitate to call "dissimulation,"‡ and no doubt the indignation then expressed prepared the way for the complete rupture which afterwards took place about Mark, Barnabas' nephew. St. Paul went on his second journey through Galatia with no one to bear a divided authority; and it was better so: he was emphatically among those men of one to whom it has been said, "None but thyself can be thy parallel." On this journey, besides Silas, who started with him, he was joined by Timothy and Luke, the former of whom, half Greek, half Jew by birth, he circumcised, before taking him as his

* Life and Epistles of St. Paul, Vol. I. p. 234.

† Ibid.

‡ It should be remarked, however, that M. Renan refers this dispute to a later period in the apostle's life. This is not a point of much consequence, but we think more natural to place it here. The ingenious hypothesis of the counter mission, which we shall notice hereafter, is not invalidated by the loss of this one circumstance.

fellow-labourer, in part among the Jews. As we have seen, M. Renan thinks he did the same in the case of Titus, so yielding practically while reserving his rights; others shew that there was a difference in the case between a Greek of pure blood and one half bound by Jewish lineage. It may have been also a reaction after his contests, a feeling that, after all, the Judaizing party ought to have some concessions made, which led him to this decision; but under any circumstances it was a yielding to which we look with regret, a weakness, in one so strong and so consistent, which he would scarce have made at a later period of his life. It was on this voyage, too, that one of those dreams, which seem in his case, and others of like temperament, so closely connected with ecstasies, to be at once the consequence of his waking thoughts and the cause of his waking decisions, incited him to take a wider range than he had hitherto done, and pass from Asia into Europe. In some of the towns to which he came, still preaching of necessity Christ through Judaism, he was proclaiming that of which no tidings had been heard; but in others there was a murmur of Christianity already in the air, and in many secret ways some hint of the new doctrines had stolen into the West, had penetrated even to Rome itself. Christianity was entering into another phase as well as another region, adapting itself to European thought, and being in turn modified by it. We are again reminded of the large part played by women in the spread of Christianity, and this time we have not, as in "*Les Apôtres*," to find fault with the account given of the action of Greek women on the work of St. Paul: we should reject, however, far more decidedly than does M. Renan, all notion that Lydia, the seller of purple at Philippi, became the apostle's wife. But it is true that he, so hard and stern in some aspects, had, like other stern and hard men, a singular influence over women when he chose to unbend, and especially over those of a nation and a training foreign to his own. We need not dwell on the details of this journey, or M. Renan's reading of them, further than to quote this passage, as true as it is beautiful:

"The Jewess is left behind; submissive, retiring, obedient, taking little part in worship; the Jewess was converted with difficulty. It was the woman 'fearing God,' the Greek women tired of those goddesses brandishing their lances above each acropolis,

the virtuous wife turning her back on a worn-out paganism and seeking a pure worship, who was drawn of heaven. These were the second foundresses of our faith. After the Galilean women who followed Jesus and served him, Lydia, Phœbe, the pious unknown ladies of Philippi and Thessalonica, are the true saints to whom the new faith owes its most rapid progress.”*

But when M. Renan brings us with the apostle out of Macedonia into Greece proper, when he tells us of his actions and words in Athens, we find ourselves again unhappily at issue with him. What is that mysterious difference of race and education which makes the poetic thought of a Frenchman come with a shock against the taste and feeling of an Englishman? How is it that when M. Renan will speak of the former grandeur and beauty of Greece and its present sterility, he can permit himself to say, “Il semble que quand Dieu s’est montré dans un pays, il le sèche pour jamais” †? It reminded us of that daring *mot* of M. Victor Hugo in “*Les Travailleurs de la Mer* :” “Quand Dieu veut, il excelle dans l’exécration.” How, again, can he have the false taste, to say no more, to write such a gloss as this on one of the noblest verses in the whole life of St. Paul?

“He saw all this (the beauty of Athens), and his faith was not shaken, he trembled not. The prejudices of the iconoclastic Jew, insensible to the beauties of sculpture, blinded him; he took these incomparable images for idols; ‘his spirit,’ says his biographer, ‘was stirred in him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.’ Ah, fair and chaste images, true gods and true goddesses, tremble; here is he who will raise the hammer against you. The fatal word is uttered; you are idols; the error of this ugly little Jew will be your sentence of death.”‡

We are sure that M. Renan feels at the bottom of his heart no real regret for the old, but a genuine enthusiasm for the new; he knows the Greece St. Paul looked on was not the Greece of Æschylus or of Socrates, but a most evil corruption of what was at its best corrupt, glorious in spite of, and not because of, its religion; that the poetry of Christianity, of the mere presence of that one weak man there, was grander than that of the most majestic sculpture; and he trifles with us and himself when he indulges a fancy which he knows to be mere fancy. Again, there is surely a

* P. 165.

† P. 138.

‡ P. 172.

wilfulness in his ignoring the way in which the apostle burst out in words inspired by the view and the feeling of the moment, as he stood "in the midst of Mars' Hill," when he tells us that St. Paul "grouped in his mind these traits of local colour, and sought to compose a discourse appropriate to his novel auditory, for he felt that he must here profoundly modify his preaching."* He did indeed modify it profoundly, but not with this cold calculation, not with a grouping of the traits of local colour, into "a philosophical harangue." It is true, however, whether or not we have here the apostle's own words,—and it is highly probable that we have at least the innermost spirit of them,—or a highly dramatic account as full of passion and *élan* as was his own nature, that not yet was the time ripe for an alliance between religion and philosophy. So Paul departed from them with but few converts, having sown only the seed to bear fruit at a future day.

"Before philosophy could approach the new doctrine, philosophy must needs grow weak, and the new doctrine must renounce its grand chimera of an immediate judgment, that is to say, the concrete imaginations which were the wrappings of its first formation.....The ideas of the Bible and those of philosophy aspired to unite, but to this end they would have many concessions to make; for the God in whom we live and move is very far from the Jehovah of the prophets, and from the Heavenly Father of Jesus."†

Through all the pages of the chapter on Greece we are constrained to dissent at almost every paragraph. M. Renan's power as a writer is all the more evidenced from the very strength of our difference where we do not agree. So much truth is mixed up with what seems wholly false. Take, for instance, the following true sentence: "Greece was never seriously Christian, she is not so yet."‡ But when he goes on to say that there was no chivalry in old Greece, no honour given to woman, that a Greek would have been surprised to hear a woman spoken of as an incentive to fair deeds, it seems a mere perverseness which would ignore the fact that the whole of the great Greek epic was based on a woman's frailty and a woman's wrongs, which would forget those fair creations of Antigone, Andromache, Alcestis; or,

* P. 176.

† Pp. 198, 199.

‡ P. 200.

more than all, pass by the inspiration which Socrates drew from Diotima,—a fallen woman indeed, according to our modern ideas, yet pure because of her ignorance of her evil,—naked as was Eve, yet, like her, and from the same cause, not ashamed.

In the account of St. Paul's stay at Corinth there is much for which we may feel indebted to M. Renan, and chiefly for his sketch of "*dulcis Gallio*," the high-minded, philosophical and literary "deputy of Achaia." Few men have ever been more persistently misrepresented than this excellent man, of whom the late Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, well says: "Instead of Gallio being, as the commentators made him, a sort of type of religious lukewarmness, he is really a specimen of an upright Roman magistrate."* But having laid down, as M. Renan has done, the limits of Gallio's power, having shewn that the religious disputes of the Jews were no business of his, it is idle to pass on to regret, with strange inconsistency, that Gallio did not more fully enter into the question laid before him. Though it be the business of a magistrate to administer the law, it is surely not also his business to initiate legal or religious reforms.

At Corinth, the activity of the apostle's life took a new shape. From this period dates the beginning of that series of Epistles which have not only been the foundation of so large a part of the Church's dogma, but are even more valuable as painting the heart laid open of their author. These letters stand quite alone in the literature of the world. We do not think M. Renan is correct when he says that letter-writing is as a rule disagreeable to literary men, accustomed to put forth their ideas artistically, because as a fact some of the best letters we have are true works of art, evidently intended to be published and read, the form deliberately chosen in which to write an enduring work. But it is quite true there is no art in St. Paul's letters; with him the substance was all, the form was nothing.

"At once lively, rude, polished, bitter, sarcastic, then suddenly tender, delicate, almost carelessly playful, having to the highest degree happy and fine turns of expression, clever at interspersing his style with reticences, reserves, infinite precautions, bitter

* Expository Lectures on the Epistles to the Corinthians, p. 9.

allusions, hidden ironies, he could not but excel in a kind of writing which needs above all things liveliness. Paul's style in letter-writing is the most personal there has ever been. The language is, so to speak, broken to bits; scarcely a connected sentence. It is impossible to violate with greater audacity, I do not say the genius of the Greek language, but the logic of human language; it might be called a rapid conversation taken down in short-hand, and reproduced without corrections.....He did not write with his own hand, but dictated. Sometimes when the letter was finished, he re-read it; then his impetuous spirit took possession of him; he made marginal additions, at the risk of interrupting the context, and producing as it were sentences bracketed and tethered. He sent the letter thus scratched about, careless of the innumerable repetitions of words and ideas which it contained. With his wonderful warmth of soul, Paul had a singular poverty of expression. A word takes hold of him, he introduces it into a page at every turn. This is not from sterility, but from the struggles of his spirit, and a complete carelessness about the correctness of his style.*

One hypothesis, and one alone, of which M. Renan takes no notice, seems to account at once for St. Paul's invariable habit of dictation, for his dislike of much revision, for an expression in the Epistles to the Galatians about his own writing, for his inability to distinguish the high-priest among the other white-clad dignitaries at Jerusalem, for his absolute silence at all times about the aspects of nature, for his occasional irritability of temper, and perhaps in part for his visions:—that the disease from which he suffered was some affection of the eyes, to relieve which those who loved him would fain “have plucked out their own eyes and have given them” to him, dating perhaps from his blindness, only partially cured, at the time of his conversion.

The subject of his letters brings us face to face with all the organization of, and the spiritual phenomena presented by, the churches of that time. A separate article would be needed to do justice to the many points which arise, the expectation of the immediate coming of the Lord, the doctrine of Antichrist, the gifts of the Spirit, the ritual of worship,—above all, the change which took place in the view of Christ taken by the believers. Into much of this we have no space to enter at length. Suffice it to say that,

* Pp. 231—233.

while here and there we differ emphatically from the book before us, the sketch here given is in the main one which commends itself to us as true, at any rate as of great value and importance.

Some points must not be lightly passed over. The Epistles speak also of letters of recommendation which some messengers, apparently from Jerusalem, brought to various churches, and similar documents were not possessed by St. Paul. They shew vehement self-assertion as against denial of his mission and doctrine. There are allusions to some who seemed to be dogging his steps, sowing distrust among those who at first had trusted him fully. It is to this period that M. Renan ascribes the dissimulation of Peter and Barnabas; and though, as we have said above, we differ with him about the time of the transaction, his argument is not invalidated by an alteration of its place in the narrative. The hypothesis by which he accounts for the presence of the peculiarities in the Epistles of which we have spoken, is that of so wide a breach between St. Paul and the Twelve as to result in an actual counter mission, a rival apostolate in the churches founded by him, presenting a most curious parallel—the more curious because so wholly undesigned by M. Renan—between the counter mission of Bishop Macrorie and Dean Green against the Bishop of Natal at this moment in action. He supposes that this took place in spite of the largest concessions on the part of St. Paul. He continues, against some modern commentators, to refer the vow which was ended at Cenchrea to St. Paul himself and not to Aquila,—and we think that to do so is to put the only possible meaning on the passage; but considers that, these compliances proving all in vain, the visit to Jerusalem having in no real degree reconciled the two parties, the separation which afterwards ensued was complete and final. He thinks that the counter mission was distinctly organized by James himself, and that the messengers had absolutely no bounds to their language against the doctrine taught by St. Paul, no scruple in applying to him the vilest nicknames. M. Renan supposes also that the Epistle of St. Jude was written to discredit the work of St. Paul; he it was who, according to the Judaizers, “turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, and who denied Jesus Christ; He was a Balaam or misleader of the people, a

Jezebel, a Simon Magus. Against him were directed the seven Epistles to the churches of Asia at the beginning of the Revelation. His followers were the Nicolaitans, Nicolas, or vanquisher of the people, being nearly the equivalent of Balaam.* The whole of this, in connection with the growth of legend touching St. James as the Christian high-priest, in some degree successor of the old hierarchy and holding some of its privileges, is worked out most minutely, with the aid of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, to which in this connection M. Renan attaches a high importance. The theory was wholly new to us, and at first appeared most startling, if not inadmissible; but a conviction of its truth and importance has forced itself upon us, as we believe it will on our readers, and it now stands out to our minds as the one grand contribution to biblical and historical criticism made by this volume, that for which we are and shall remain most grateful to its author, in spite of our wide divergence from him on so many points.

Against such attacks St. Paul was forced to strive eagerly, vehemently, angrily. There are some men whom no passion ruffles, to whom all faiths are equally true or untrue, who take life easily, drifting with the stream. Such men gain neither our highest respect nor esteem, though they may gain our love. Such was not St. Paul, such was not his Master, whose indignation against the Scribes and Pharisees was not exceeded by that of St. Paul against the Judaizers. It seems scarcely possible to be, in few words, more unfair to Protestantism, which surely has not been the only or the most angry of religions, to St. Paul or to Jesus, while wishing to praise him, than is the following passage:

"In all things a true ancestor of Protestantism, Paul has the faults of a Protestant. Much time and many experiences were needed to shew that no dogma is worth the trouble of strife and of the violation of charity. Paul is not Jesus. How far are we from Thee, dear Master! Where is Thy sweetness, Thy poetry? Thou, whom a flower enchanted and sent into an ecstasy, canst thou recognize for Thy disciples these disputers, these men so violent for their rights, who would have all spring from themselves? They are men, Thou wast a God. Where should we be if Thou wert only known by the rough letters of him who called himself Thine Apostle? Happily, the perfumes of Galilee

* Chap. x.

2 M.

still live in some faithful memories. Perhaps the Sermon on the Mount is already written on some secret page. The unknown disciple who bears this treasure really bears the future."^{*}

We have shewn the character of the missionary journeys at a length which dispenses with the need of dwelling on the third voyage in all its details. In one only town did circumstances, of quite another kind to any that had gone before, affect St. Paul's career. This was Ephesus. In some respects, indeed, the quarters in which he first had to work were only too like those of other large cities at that time, alike in their crowding, their dirt, and the baseness of the majority of their inhabitants, alike also in the strange opportunity they presented for the spread of Christianity; for, "like the socialism of our days, like all new ideas, Christianity sprouted in what is called the corruption of great cities. But this corruption is often a freer and a fuller life, a greater awakening of the inmost forces of humanity."[†] The church in Ephesus, however, had had a different origin to any other. Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, a man of culture far other than that of the Jews of Jerusalem, but instructed imperfectly in Christianity, having met with Aquila and Priscilla, and being in some degree further taught by them, had gathered round him a group of disciples, whom he had baptized according to the baptism of John. It was to this church, in the absence of Apollos, that St. Paul preached Christianity more fully, and with so great success that in a town given up to sorcery and divination, many men burned their books of magic, and "the word of God grew mightily and prevailed." For three months his preaching was tolerated in the synagogue, and when at last the inevitable schism took place, and the disciples were to meet in a room apart, it was the apostle who separated himself, and held his assembly in the school of one Tyrannus. He was driven eventually from Ephesus by a combination among the silversmiths, who found he was injuring their trade of making models of Diana's shrine, and not by the fury of the Jews. In Ephesus, yet more than in Athens and Corinth, Christianity was shewing itself not as one among tolerated religions, but as the religion which claimed to extinguish or absorb all others.

^{*} Pp. 327, 328.

[†] P. 334.

It was during this third mission that the apostle wrote the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans, the former at Ephesus, the latter at Corinth. From these we are able, in some considerable measure, to reconstruct the church of the apostolic age, and to formulate the faith of St. Paul. The church at Corinth was in a highly chaotic state, torn by schism, stained by immoralities not even named among the Gentiles, distracted by scruples of conscience, phenomena accounted spiritual, leading to confusion rather than to edification. And yet the very existence of such a state proves that a real organization and discipline was struggling into life; and, more than this, the course of events since those times tends to shew that all times of spiritual excitement are times of spiritual confusion. The "manifestations" of the early church must be considered in connection with the analogous phenomena in all revivals, whether among the Flagellants and the Anabaptists, or among the Irvingites and Wesleyans of our own days. Neither "miracles" nor "tongues" nor "prophecy" can prove the truth of a religion; all that they prove is excitement arising from causes which may be in themselves good or evil. In days like these, when the multitude half believe in spirit-rapping, and a vast number of cultivated people in at least some of the "gifts of the Spirit," when all but a very few would consider those irreligious who should seek a philosophical explanation for all such occurrences, it is not for us to wonder that St. Paul attributed great importance to them. Rather the wonder is, that with his impulsive nature, with his temperament, ecstatic and visionary, he yet put them in a far lower place than would in these days many more methodical and prosaic people. The wonderful chapter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians on Charity is not only above the standard of the apostle's days, but far in advance also of that of our own. He shews a most practical spirit; he allows us to guess without difficulty what he would have said had he possessed ever so little of our science in some particulars.

"Had he been versed in experimental psychology, St. Paul would have gone a little further; he would have said, 'My brethren, leave these illusions. These inarticulate stammerings, these ecstasies, these miracles, are the dreams of your childhood. That which is no chimera, that which is eternal, is what I now

have preached to you.' But then he would not have been a man of his age, then he would not have done what he has done. Is it not already enough to have indicated this primary distinction between eternal religious verities which never fail, and those which fail like the imaginations of infancy? Is it not to have done enough for immortality to have written these words, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life?' Woe to him who stops at the surface, and who, for the sake of two or three chimerical gifts, forgets that in that strange enumeration, among the *diaconia* and *charismata* of the primitive church, are found the care bestowed on those who suffer, the administration of the farthings of the poor, reciprocal assistance. Paul enumerates these functions in the last place, and as humble things. But his piercing gaze is able already here to see the truth. 'Take care,' he says; 'our least noble members are precisely those which are most honoured.' Prophets, speakers of tongues, teachers, ye pass away. Deacons, devout widows, administrators of the goods of the church, ye remain, ye are founding for eternity."^{*}

And here we affront those great problems, never perhaps more important than now, what *was* the doctrine of St. Paul, and was it indeed for eternity, so far as it was special to himself? If we formulate his faith, as we are so largely enabled to do from these letters, we shall find that, if he takes no notice of the first great difficulty to men of these days, he enormously increases the second. These difficulties are, of course, the miraculous birth and the resurrection of Jesus. The great majority of orthodox believers would, no doubt, tell us that it is impossible to be Christian at all without holding both dogmas, that both are of the most vital importance as the bases of other parts of the Christian scheme. That St. Paul inclined ever more and more to invest the idealized Christ with the nature and powers of God, is, we suppose, as plain as the day to any one who considers his writings with care and candour; but just in the same proportion did he suffer all but the last scenes in the life of Jesus to drop out of sight,—the one point in which his Lord dying conquered death, and became to him—we venture the comparison because, though insufficient, it alone can explain our meaning—what Beatrice became to Dante, was the only one on which he cared to dwell. So far as he is concerned, the early chapters of St. Matthew's

^{*} Pp. 409, 410.

and St. Luke's Gospels need never have been written; there is no word in St. Paul's writings to shew that he had even heard of the miraculous incarnation. All that he ever taught is teachable and tenable consistently with the utter rejection of the historical accuracy of that perplexing narrative. It is not so, however, with that other account, scarcely less perplexing, of the resurrection. What a plain man would understand by the narrative in the Gospels, *that* St. Paul understood by it, namely that, as the fourth Article of the Church of England says, "Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all men at the last day." No inconsistencies in the reports, no hypothesis by which, if we reject the facts, we attempt to account for the growth of legend, can shake a fair man's conviction that this is what the evangelists intended and St. Paul believed. No doubt it was quite impossible that difficulties which occur to us should have occurred to him; an unscientific age saw nothing abhorrent to it in the arrest of the phenomena of death, still less would it scruple about the immateriality of a body which had flesh and bones, or the localization of pure spirit, so that such a form might sit at God's right hand. Had these difficulties been tenfold greater than they were, they would have been set aside under the pressure of a doctrine interwoven with that of the resurrection, the second coming of the Lord, and the immediate end of the world. It seemed that if this last were not admitted, there was an end of all the teaching of Jesus; in no other way could his kingdom come, than by a second appearing and an end of the then state of things. To those who held this as eagerly as did the Christian churches, the decease of any member of the community was a scandal and an embarrassment. But St. Paul, in his direct and practical way, seizes at once on the belief in the resurrection, and makes it the solution of the difficulty. With the coming of the risen Christ, the dead shall rise as he rose, the living shall be changed as he was changed; and no doubt such faith was absolutely necessary at that date; time only could shew its partial falsehood when the partial truth in it had done its work.

"Alas, Christ came not. All died one after another. Paul, who believed he should be among those who would be living at the great appearing, died in his turn. We shall see that neither faith nor hope ceased because of this. No experience, however disheartening it may be, appears decisive to humanity, when it has to do with those sacred dogmas in which are found, not without reason, consolation and joy. It is easy for us to find, after the event, that these hopes were exaggerated; it is at least well that those who shared them were not so clear-sighted. Paul tells us frankly that if he had not counted on the resurrection, he would have led a peaceable, middle-class life, wholly occupied with ordinary pleasures. Some sages of the first rank—for instance, Marcus Aurelius, Spinoza—have gone further, and have practised the highest virtue without hope of reward. But the multitude is never heroic. There was needed a generation of men persuaded that they should not die, there was needed the attraction of an immense and immediate reward, to draw from man the enormous sum of devotion and sacrifice which founded Christianity. The grand chimera of the kingdom of God which was at hand was, as it were, the idea which gave formation and birth to the new religion."*

One of the grave problems of our days is to detach from Christianity what is local and transitory. Let it not be thought that we undervalue the teaching of St. Paul in thinking that, as he left on one side the consideration of the mode in which Jesus appeared in the world, so may after ages leave the consideration of how he departed from it. If he carried on and expanded the work of the other apostles, though taking no heed of a doctrine which they or their immediate followers considered so vital, there is a presumption that we also may, if need be, discard a doctrine which was dear to St. Paul. The essence of religion lies not in this or that fact which took place, or did not take place, in time, but in that union of the soul with God which Jesus described as his oneness with the Father, St. Paul as the winning Christ, and being found in him; that death to self which, carried out through his whole life, was summed up by Jesus in the words, "Not my will, but Thine, be done," and by St. Paul, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live." We enter into his labours, and are perchance Christians after his pattern even in ceasing to

* Pp. 415, 416.

hold many doctrines which he held, held now most fully by those with whom, as we think, he would feel small sympathy. No doubt he accepted an eschatology, accepted now by Irvingites alone with any consistency, a theory of election, perhaps also of reprobation, which is that only of extreme Calvinists. Yet not without reason does M. Renan see in him the true father of Protestantism, a Protestantism of which we see only the commencement, destined to an issue of which the reformers little dreamed. Here are words much to the point :

"The doctrine of Paul, opposed to all human reason, has really brought freedom and salvation. It has separated Christianity from Judaism ; it has separated Protestantism from Catholicism. Pious observances, persuading the devotee that he is justified by them, are the death of morality, in making the devotee believe that he has a sure and convenient means of entering into paradise in spite of God." Against this, "St. Paul brought the most energetic remedy. According to him, we are justified, not by works, but by faith ; it is faith in Jesus which saves. This is why a doctrine so little liberal in appearance has been that of all reformers,—the lever by means of which Wiclif, John Huss, Luther, Calvin, Saint Cyran, have removed a tradition of ages of routine, of weak confidence in the priest, and in a sort of external righteousness, which does not lead to change of heart."*

With the close of the Epistle to the Romans closed also St. Paul's missionary voyages. From Cenchrea, whence it was despatched, St. Paul departed for Jerusalem, himself to take a collection made through a length of time for the poor saints at Jerusalem and in Judea. We need not follow their course in detail ; scarce more can be said than is said in the short narrative of the Acts. It is clear that the voyage was in some sort a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of the faith, and events which happened at Jerusalem tend to shew that St. Paul at least went in the most conciliatory spirit, willing, wherever possible, to yield to those who were in Christ before him. Our readers may remember that M. Renan's theory of the Acts of the Apostles, as put forth in "*Les Apôtres*," was that the book was written with the view of veiling, so far as possible, the differences between St. Paul and the Twelve. And no doubt there

* Pp. 485, 486.

would appear but little discord if we had only the Acts for our guide. Yet with the Epistles also before us, with the words of St. Jude and St. John as commented on by M. Renan, we can see marks of a want of perfect understanding which meet us even where so much is lightly touched. He remarks that no names of the Twelve are mentioned as receiving their great fellow-labourer and rival. Moreover, the Judeo-Christians are presented as Paul's enemies almost to as great a degree as the Jews. The elders did not disguise from Paul that his arrival might displease them and provoke some manifestation of their dislike. Above all, scarce was the account received from him of what God had done by him, than they tell him of the rumours against him as a despiser of Moses' law, and invite him to prove, by paying the expenses and sharing the vows of certain poor Jews, that himself at least was still obedient to the law of his fathers.

"So to him who bore to them the homage of a world, these narrow minds could only answer by a mark of distrust. Paul must expiate his prodigious conquests by a mummerly. He must needs defer to their littleness of spirit. When they saw him, with four mendicants too poor to have their head shaved at their own expense, carry out a popular superstition, then only could they recognize him as their fellow. Such is the strange condition of humanity, that we must not be astonished at a sight like this. Men are too numerous for it to be possible to found anything here below without making concessions to mediocrity. To offend the scruples of the weak, one must be entirely without interest in the action or very powerful. Those whom their position obliges to take account of the multitude, are led to demand of great men who are independent singular inconsistencies. Every thought vigorously avowed is an embarrassment to the government of the world. Explanation, proselytism themselves, when they imply a little genius, are suspicious things to a conservative party. Look at those eloquent laymen who in our days have endeavoured to enlarge Catholicism, and enlist on its side the sympathies of a part of society which up till now has been closed to Christian sentiments, what have they gained but disavowal from the Church to which they brought crowds of new adherents? The successors of James have found it prudent to condemn them, even while they profited by their success. They have accepted their offering without thanks; they have said to them, as to Paul: Brethren, you see those thousands of old believers who hold things about

which you are silent when you speak to people of the world, take care, leave off these novelties which offend, and purify yourselves with us."*

And Paul gave way, great in his submission as sometimes in his resistance, becoming all things to all men, if perchance he might gain some. But all to no purpose. While the vow was yet unaccomplished, a stir arose under a false rumour that he had brought Greeks into the temple; scarcely could the Roman guard protect him from Jewish violence, and get him at last out of the city, by forced marches and by night, to Cæsarea, there to be brought before Felix, the procurator.

Not only does waning space warn us to be as brief as possible, but we have scarce a remark to make on the events of the next two years, during which St. Paul was retained at Cæsarea, or on the voyage to Rome on his appeal to the Emperor. It is impossible to condense M. Renan's admirable chapters on the Roman administration and law procedure, or on the events of the journey; nor, indeed, is there here much room for difference of opinion, which would not be important even did it exist.

And thus, since M. Renan wisely leaves the more legendary portion of St. Paul's history for another volume, we have now, with him, only to survey the work and life of the apostle as a whole. We find, at the outset of a most interesting chapter, a caution which is needed against an illusion produced on the minds of those who read the Acts, by the fact that they leave out of sight "the immense majority of heathens who had no knowledge of the faith." We are not to suppose that the work of St. Paul, at his death, had consisted in the conversion of enormous numbers; the churches were for the most part very small; the work was great in that the seeds of great results were widely sown, not in the accomplished facts. He reminds us, that if in the Acts we seem dealing only with Christians, semi-Christians and rebellious Jews, save on rare occasions, so, "in reading the voyages of Benjamin of Tudela, it would appear that in his time also the world was peopled only by Jews." But in fact "a country was considered evangelized when the name of Jesus had been pronounced there, and some ten people or

* Pp. 515—517.

so had been converted." Again, it is a most true though obvious remark, that St. Paul's name and teaching had little influence through the middle ages, the Reformation opening to him a new era of glory and authority. Many of our readers will remember the way in which the dominant sway of St. Peter's name through the middle ages is worked out in Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Apostolic Age*; it is not without significance that while the great Roman cathedral is dedicated to St. Peter, the largest Protestant church, though as yet of an imperfect and inchoate Protestantism, is dedicated to St. Paul. It is fair to M. Renan to give the end of his summary of the apostle's character, and its contrast with that of Jesus, in his own eloquent words, though we fear spoiled in the translating :

"In a word, the historical personage who has the greatest likeness to St. Paul is Luther. On one side and on the other there is the same violence in language, the same passion, the same energy, the same noble independence, the same frantic attachment to some involved thesis as though it were the absolute truth.

"I still consider, then, that in the creation of Christianity, the part of Paul must be reckoned much inferior to that of Jesus. We must even, as it seems to me, place Paul below Francis of Assisi and the author of the *Imitation*, who both saw Jesus very near them. The Son of God stands alone. To appear for a moment, to cast a gentle yet piercing light, to die very young, this is the life of a God. To strive, to dispute, to conquer, this is the life of a man. After having been for three hundred years the greatest of Christian teachers, thanks to orthodox Protestantism, Paul sees his reign draw to an end in our days; Jesus, on the contrary, is now, more than ever, living. No longer is the Epistle to the Romans the condensation of Christianity, but the Sermon on the Mount. True Christianity, which shall endure for evermore, comes from the Gospels, and not from Paul's Epistles. The writings of Paul have been a danger and a snare, the cause of the principal faults in Christian theology. Paul is the father of the subtle Augustine, of the dry Thomas Aquinas, of the sombre Calvinist, of the peevish Jansenist, of that ferocious theology which damns and predestines to damnation. Jesus is the father of all those who seek in dreams of the ideal the rest for their souls. That of Christianity which gives life is the little which we know of the word and the person of Jesus. The ideal man, the divine poet, the great artist, alone

defies time and revolutions. He only is seated at the right hand of God the Father for ever and ever.

"Humanity, thou art sometimes just, and some of thy judgments are good!"*

How far we agree and disagree with this passage may be in large measure estimated from what has been written. Nor, writing as Christians and in a Christian Review, need we be at any pains to state that as a matter of course we consider the work of Jesus immeasurably greater than that of the greatest apostle. But Jesus is not exalted by denying the work of him who made him known to the Gentile world, and fused his teaching into Western thought. It seems to us also far from true that "humanity" does in fact ratify the judgment of M. Renan. He is of course aware of the estimate of St. Paul's work held by the followers of M. Comte. In the Positivist calendar, where each month is dedicated to the name of one of the world's greatest worthies, and each day has its own peculiar saint, St. Paul has the sixth month as his own; Saint Augustine, Hildebrand, Saint Bernard and Bossuet, have each a week; Jesus has not the honour granted him of giving his name even to a day. And this, not as the same thing might be done in a similar Christian calendar, under the idea that he is the supreme Saint of all days and all time, but honestly as thinking St. Paul the greater, who threw the whole force of his great mind into Christianity, not because it was absolute truth, or because Jesus was the revelation of God and the crown of all humanity, but because it was the best religion he then could find, because had it not existed, he would have spent the same force and energy in moving the world, taking some other standpoint from which to accomplish his end.

With this also we heartily differ; but there is no doubt that it in great degree formulates the view of many who are no Positivists, but to the full as much representing the thought of their age as M. Renan himself. And does not he, in devoting as large a volume to the life of St. Paul as to the life of Jesus, unconsciously answer his own depreciatory estimate of the former? For ourselves, we think it sufficient to endeavour to imagine what Christianity would be

* Pp. 569, 570.

had he not lived : a vision of a holy and bright being flitting across the page of history, seen under the sunlight of a Judean sky, but invested with that vague mystery which hangs for an European over all the East,—the charm of words such as never man spake, but in strange contrast to all the habits, perhaps even the possibilities, of a world of work and strife, of law, inheritance, society and civilization,—a dream of the reconciliation of a world to God, but of a world which is not ours, a picture of dying observances with nothing definite arising in their place, a society shrivelling like a parched scroll, and a kingdom of God ideal in the heavens, unrealized on earth,—all this, however fair and gracious, would be little to us in these our days, would have been little to the reformers of the past, could afford small help to the reformers of the future. But to have translated the gospel life and language into those of ordinary men, was the greatest work done by any save by him who lived and spoke the great original ; no doubt some of the spirit evaporates, as it must in all translations, but enough is left to enable us to see that Christianity's second founder, greatest of all apostles, was he who in his own person bridged the gulf between Jew and Gentile, Saul of Tarsus in Syria, the St. Paul of the Western world.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

IV.—THE JEWISH MESSIAH.—I.

It is not our intention in the present paper to describe at length the rise and progress of the Messianic idea. The time of its origination, the manner of its development, its expansion and contraction under prophetic inspiration, its ebb and flow, however interesting, are not now the subject of discussion. On this account, we are not required to set forth in detail the kingly character and agency of the Messiah. These will be touched upon no farther than the investigation of his person demands. It has also been thought desirable to limit discussion to Jewish writings, because they are sufficient to give a correct view of the Jewish Messiah. Should the New Testament be associated

with the subject, complication might arise, and a wide field be opened for questions of great difficulty. The proper course is to ascertain the nature of the Messiah from Jewish writers alone. When the subject has been treated on that basis, the Christian Messiah may be viewed, as he is described by apostles and evangelists, involving a settlement of various topics, such as the manner of quoting the Old Testament in the New, the authority attaching to interpretations of the Jewish Scriptures by early Christian authors, the relation of Jesus Christ to the promised Messiah, and the fulfilment of prophecy in him.

The idea of a future restorer of the disunited kingdom naturally attached itself to the house of David, and could not originate till after the appointment of kings. When the nation was rent, the hopes and aspirations of the spiritually-minded—chiefly of the prophetic order who took a higher view than others—turned to a future in which order, righteousness and union should pervade the land. The populace, in setting up kings, had proved the correctness of Samuel's sentiments. The ideal of the regal office had degenerated in practice, and the pious were grievously disappointed. Hence inspired seers, peering into the future, conceived of a brighter period than the dark present; their wishes taking the form of promises, and gradually centering in a ruler corresponding to the true nature of the office. It was not a hazardous exercise of the faculty they possessed to anticipate a period of regeneration and happiness, though Shelley supposes it to be such in bards generally.

The freshest aspect of the Messianic idea was presented by Isaiah and Micah, the former of whom (not the elder Zechariah, his younger contemporary, as the "four friends" assert*) was the first to reveal a personal Messiah, a great king of David's house, who was to redeem Israel. But even in them the difference of form which the Messianic future assumed, is instructive; the one conceiving of the temple worship as indestructible, the other as done away under the expected Deliverer.

The later biblical writings, including the deutero-Isaiah, contain no promise of a Davidic Messiah. Those belonging

* The Psalms chronologically arranged: an Amended Version, with Historical Introductions and Explanatory Notes. 1867.

to the Babylonian captivity and the return are silent respecting him. Yet it would be illogical to conclude that the belief was then extinct. It was not quenched in the Maccabean period; though the books of the Maccabees do not present it, but express a general satisfaction with present affairs. (1 Maccab. xiv. 41.) The reason of their silence about a Messiah is, not that the belief in his coming had departed, but that their prosperity prevented the need of him being felt. Contemporary literature shews that the better part of the people still looked for a deliverer, the righteous Messiah. After the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed and the nation shattered, Messianic hopes assumed fresh vigour, so that Bar-Cochba could rally around him a multitude of followers. The idea did not necessarily include a person; and therefore many prophets depict the restoration of the ideal theocracy without regard to a Davidic king. Thus the golden age of hope is described apart from a ruler by the deutero-Isaiah, who clothes all Israel with Messianic dignity. But the desire culminated in a second and more perfect David, who should preside over the happy kingdom. This ideal ruler is never called *Messiah* (an anointed one) in the Old Testament, though the title is sometimes given to earthly kings.

The Messiah of the Old Testament, for whom prophets and poets longed, the object of the nation's hope, who was to restore its greatness and invest it with a higher splendour than before, has an interest for all; for Jews who may be still expecting his advent, and for Christians who think he came in the person of Jesus. We propose, therefore, to review the Jewish Scriptures as far as they relate to his person, dignity and character. A discussion of this kind will scarcely be thought superfluous, even after Hengstenberg's chapter on the Godhead of the Messiah, because that critic is not the best interpreter of the Bible, though he is the champion of orthodoxy in the eyes of many, undertaking to establish, against De Wette and others, a view he holds to be all-important. Let us see if it be correct.

1. Is the idea that the Messiah was to be superhuman found in the Old Testament? Did the writers conceive of him as really divine; or did they look upon him as a man of exalted powers and virtues? Was he to be God or man, or both together?

A proper answer to the question can only be got from the passages relating to his person. No *a priori* reasoning can determine it. What the sacred authors thought can be learned from their words alone.

"Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace." (Isaiah ix. 6.)

That these words refer to Messiah we have no doubt, though the Jews generally, and some Christians also, take the person intended to be Hezekiah, as if the prophet looked to that young prince as the great deliverer. This is possible, but assuredly improbable. It is possible, because we know that different prophets looked to different youthful kings as the embodiment of Messianic hopes. Thus Haggai and Zechariah (the second) saw the Messiah in Zerubbabel. But the present passage clearly shews that the prophet's mind was fixed on a different monarch from Hezekiah. No Jew could have supposed a heathen to be the Messiah.

It is a mistake to think that the earliest hope of mankind was centred in a person. It was indefinite at first. The Messianic idea is the longing for better times, as we see from Joel. It attached itself afterwards to a king of David's royal house. In the later prophets, those near, in or after the captivity, it relapsed into the general, as at first. In Daniel, the Messiah is elevated to the region of the superhuman. These are the only Messianic types recognizable in the canonical books. An alleged Mosaic type is baseless, because the Pentateuch contains no description of a personal Messiah, neither in Deuteronomy (xviii.), nor in Balaam's words (Numbers xxiv.). Indeed, the attempt to find proper *types* of the Messianic idea in the Jewish writings is delusive because of its varying forms, since it did not receive a steady, progressive development from successive authors, but receded or advanced according to the state of the people, or their own idiosyncrasy. The highest stage was reached in apocalyptic literature, where exalted epithets and superhuman attributes are applied to Messiah. There imagination took a loftier flight in depicting the great king; for though he was still human, a divine halo enveloped his person.

To speak generally, the older prophets present the *politi-*

cal aspect of the Messianic time; the later, its *moral and religious* side. According to the former, the effect of Messiah's manifestation is the outward splendour of Israel; her spiritual enlightenment, according to the latter.

The Mosaic type, which is supposed to represent the Messiah as a *prophet and teacher*, rests on a mistake, because the prophet like to Moses (Deut. xviii. 15) does not mean Messiah. The Old Testament generally, including the Pentateuch in particular, never describes Messiah as a prophet or a priest.* The former idea seems to have been of Alexandrian origin. Traces of it at least appear in the Septuagint. At the time of Christ and after, it was not uncommon (John iv. 19; Acts iii. 22, vii. 37); for David, the prototype, was then called a prophet (Acts ii. 30).

To return to Isaiah ix. 6. The passage describes the future Messiah as "wonderful," i.e. an extraordinary ruler, worthy of admiration for the qualities he possesses and the actions he performs. As a counsellor, he possesses the wisdom which leads him to take the best course in all cases

* The above statement is made with full knowledge of the opinion, that the Messiah is referred to in some passages as a *prophet* in the wider sense of that term; an inspired speaker teaching, guiding and reproving by virtue of the divine spirit that fills him, in fact as a נָבִיא. This idea is founded on Isaiah xi. 2—4. But that passage merely describes Messiah as a wise and righteous ruler. He has both knowledge and wisdom, having a right perception of all relations, counsel and efficiency, with the fear of Jehovah to regulate his decisions, judging the oppressed impartially, redressing their wrongs, and defending their right. His determinations are vigorously and immediately executed. Here he is not "the powerful preacher and moralist," but the righteous, wise and powerful ruler of his people; one who procures them justice, and punishes their enemies. In Isaiah ii. 3, 4 ("Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem"), the old prophet, whose words are borrowed both by Micah and Isaiah, does not speak of Messiah's person, but only of the Messianic time. Jehovah is the teacher, i.e. through his prophets and priests whose abode is Jerusalem. Isaiah xlii. xlix., which Koester quotes in favour of Messiah's prophetic dignity, are not Messianic.

That the Messiah was represented as both king and priest is an erroneous opinion founded on Zechariah vi. 11—13, where two persons and two crowns are spoken of. The high-priest is Joshua. The builder of the temple, the bearer of the glory, who sits and rules on his throne, is Zerubbabel, not Messiah. In the 13th verse, two thrones are mentioned, and therefore two persons must be meant, for whom the two crowns were intended. "And he shall be a priest upon his throne," we refer to Joshua, not to the Branch or Zerubbabel. It is likely that the name was originally in the text. The whole passage is obscure, and probably corrupt. It is unnecessary to mention that Psalm cx. 4, is no proof of Messiah's *priestly* as well as *kingly* office, because the poem refers to an existing ruler of Judah. Yet it is so interpreted by Venema and others; not to speak of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

of war and peace. His measures are ever conducive to the highest good. He is also styled "a mighty god," i.e. he is heroic and valiant, furnished with invincible strength. A godlike hero, he conquers all enemies. The reason why he is termed (אל) *God*, is not because he possesses a *divine nature*, but because he is a worthy representative of God. Like God, he is so exalted and powerful as to be invincible. The same word is applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezekiel xxxi. 11, "*the mighty one of the heathen*," or rather *the mighty one among the nations*; and its plural occurs in the same sense in Ezek. xxxii. 21, "*the strong among the mighty*." In Exod. xv. 11, the same plural denotes heathen gods. So, too, the cognate (אלהים) *gods*, means *kings* in Psalm lxxxii. 1, 6. Hence the phrase "mighty god" does not of itself imply a *divine nature* or *essence*. Though used of the Father in Isaiah x. 21, it may have a wider application. The Messiah is next called "everlasting father," i.e. the father of his people for ever, providing for and protecting them with paternal care. He is the eternal benefactor of his subjects. We reject the translation "father of prey," of which the original is susceptible; though it is adopted by Abarbanel, Hitzig and Knobel. "Prince of peace" expresses his purpose to found a kingdom over which peace presides. The whole passage describes a great ruler, wise in counsel, invincible in war, who provides for his people in the manner of a father, and establishes an empire of peace after subduing all enemies. His endowments and excellences are godlike, because he has received them from Jehovah in superabundant measure. The Spirit of the Lord rests upon him *fully*. The name (מִלְאֵם) *wonder*, does not indicate that he is exalted above humanity *both* as to his essential nature and actions, as Hengstenberg asserts.

"With righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth. And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked." (Isaiah xi. 4.)

There is nothing in this passage to shew that the Messiah possesses omnipotence. His word is powerful. It is the instrument of his punitive justice. The wicked are discomfited and slain by it; i.e. his commands respecting the ungodly are followed by instantaneous destruction. All this consists with the idea of his being a just and righteous

Sovereign whom the nations obey, a King who subdues his enemies without opposition. When it is said in a subsequent verse that "the Gentiles shall seek him" (verse 10), the meaning is, that they shall flock to him for counsel and judgment because regarding him with respect. Believing in his consummate wisdom, they will come to him in crowds for advice, and disclosures of the future. The verb *seek* does not mean that they come to render him worship, but rather that they look upon him as an oracle.

"But thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." (Micah v. 2.)

Here the origin or descent of the Messiah is referred to in the word translated *goings forth*. The phrase, *from everlasting* (מִימֵי עוֹלָם), is used elsewhere of time long past, as in vii. 14, "Let them feed in Bashan and Gilead as in the days of old;" and verse 20, "which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old." So, too, in Isaiah lxiii. 9, "And he bare them and carried them all the days of old;" and in Amos ix. 11, "And I will build it as in the days of old." Guided by these passages, we interpret the words before us of the Messiah's origin in the remote past. It is derived from the house of David, which the prophet, not measuring time as we do, speaks of as long past. The dynasty is represented as ancient, to enhance its glory. We know that the phrase is often quoted to prove the eternal existence of the Messiah. But that idea is foreign here. Eternity is not predicated of his origin. Should it be affirmed that the same phraseology, in Proverbs viii. 22, 23, is applied to time before the world, i.e. to eternity *a parte ante*, it may be replied, that Wisdom is a personified attribute of God whose nature defines its meaning. Messiah is nowhere else declared to be eternal, in the full and true idea of the term. The noun (מוֹצֵאֵת), *origin* or *descent*, fixes the idea of *from everlasting* (מִימֵי עוֹלָם), limiting it to time past. How could the descent of the Messiah be properly eternal? Is it not a contradiction to speak of an *eternal descent*? Should it be replied that the most learned of the Fathers contended for the *eternal generation* of the Son, we answer, that the idea of eternal generation with

relation to the Messiah is unknown to the Old Testament. No Jew could entertain it; no Jew has believed it. We cannot transfer the metaphysical distinction laid down in orthodox creeds affirming that the Son was begotten by the Father from eternity and always co-existed with Him, to the person of the Jewish Messiah. Such a distinction may be correctly derived from the New Testament; it is illogical to transfer it to the Old.

The third and fourth verses which follow corroborate the meaning now assigned to the third. "Therefore will he (Jehovah) give them up (abandon Israel to the enemy) till the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth (till Zion's children be born); then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel. And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God; and they shall abide; for now shall he be great unto the ends of the earth." The Messiah feeds the flock as Jehovah's representative, furnished by Him with full power. They dwell securely because their Shepherd's name is great, like Jehovah's, among the remotest heathen. The Messiah receives all the fulness of his power from the Lord his God. He "stands and feeds in the strength of the Lord," not in his own.

In addition to these Messianic passages, many others have been adduced to illustrate the nature of Messiah's person, at which, though irrelevant, it is necessary to glance.

"I will declare the decree; the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. . . . Kiss the Son, lest he be angry and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little." (Psalm ii. 7, 12.)

Does this psalm refer to the Messiah? Is he called the Son of God in it; and are the rebellious exhorted to seek his protection? The title *Son of God* is applicable to any Israelite king belonging to the dynasty of David, on account of his theocratic character. The representative of Jehovah is his Son. The phrase, "I have begotten thee," is figurative, expressing spiritual sonship. The meaning of it is, "I have constituted thee king by decree and anointing; I have set thee up as my spiritual vicegerent." The wrath with which enemies are threatened, and the predicate of *trust* (verse 12), refer to Jehovah, not to the king described; for the translation, "Kiss the Son," is incorrect.

Perhaps it will be thought that the universal sovereignty assigned to the king in the 8th and 9th verses suits the Messiah alone ; but the poet should not be denied his usual licence in idealizing a theocratic king. His hopes and aspirations rise beyond and above existing times. Inspired with a divine enthusiasm, he soars into the region of fancy, where the king who is the immediate object of his praise merges into a theocratic ideal never realized by Israel. There are moments of a higher inspiration, carrying the seer into an atmosphere where he communes with the invisible. The psalm does not suit the Messiah. The nations of the earth, his subjects, are hostile and rebellious. They have to be broken in pieces. Instead of being converted and becoming members of the kingdom, they must be destroyed. This is inconsistent with the prophetic idea. The entire description is evidently based on an historical present, whence the poet's aspirations soar upward into an ideal region. Probably Solomon is the subject, whom the unknown psalmist celebrates in lofty strains, at the commencement of his reign. If not, the poet glorifies the theocracy generally, conscious of the universal dominion promised it, without allusion to any king in particular. But it is more likely that a definite person determines and shapes his song ; and none suits so well as Solomon, to whose person a hyperbolical description might readily attach itself, when the theocratic kingdom was in the freshness of its youth, and the hopes of the nation were centred in a man of promise. One thing is certain, that no part of the psalm is inapplicable to a true king of David's house. As long as an inspired prophet is allowed to indulge spiritual hopes or to conceive a lofty ideal of monarchy, as long as he is *the poet*, the language of the psalm, figurative and hyperbolical as it is, approves itself to the judgment of the expositor. The Messiah is not the king whom he portrays, but an earthly potentate, who shatters hostile nations with an iron sceptre.

"Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever ; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre." (Psalm xlv. 6.)

Here, says Hengstenberg, the Messiah is called *God*. But the psalm is not a Messianic one, as the contents clearly prove. It is a love poem. The occasion which gave rise to it we are unable to tell. As the bride is said to be the

daughter of a Tyrian royal house, it may celebrate Solomon's marriage with a foreign princess. The bridegroom-monarch, whether Solomon or Ahab, is described in high strains as beautiful, valiant, dignified, attended by truth and mild righteousness. His enemies easily fall by his sharp arrows. Expressing the hope that his throne will endure for ages, the inspired poet says, "Thy God's throne is for ever and ever;" i.e. thy divine throne, thy throne constituted and supported by God. Thus the king is not addressed as God; though the LXX., contrary to the context, render, "Thy throne, O God," &c. In the seventh verse God is styled "*his* God," therefore *he* could not be God.

"The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool" (Psalm cx. 1.)

Does David here call Messiah his Lord, and does the Messiah receive the name *Adonai* (אֲדֹנָי, verse 5), which belongs to God alone? These questions are answered in the affirmative by Hengstenberg and others of the same school.

The title attributes the authorship of the psalm to David. But as it proceeds from the person who collected the last book of the Psalter, no authority attaches to it. Probably the redactor thought, not only that David was the writer, but that he described the Messiah. Be this as it may, the poet celebrates a king enthroned on Zion, a historical king whom he calls his Lord. Who he is can only be ascertained, with more or less probability, by internal grounds. The occasion of the poem seems to be the conquest of Jerusalem by David, and his transference of the tabernacle to the metropolis. By this means the monarch became the successor of that old priestly king Melchizedek, in the dignity of his twofold office, uniting in himself kingship and priesthood more fully than any other monarch of Judah; though all the kings except Saul were more or less priests, at least in the popular mind. The description is well suited to the glorious time of David's reign, and need not be put long after it. Nothing, indeed, prevents us from placing the author under that reign, though De Wette and Hupfeld see a difficulty in it. The poet—who is not David writing of himself, as R. Lipmann supposes—celebrates the kingdom of David. Taking two divine utterances for his text, viz. "Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," and "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of

Melchizedek," he applies and amplifies them, representing the kingdom as a world-sovereignty, a priestly dignity, and expressing the boldest hopes of its future. The theocracy is adorned in the manner of the second psalm, with highly poetic language. The psalmist sees the restoration of the old union of king and priest as it had been in Melchizedek; the theocracy uniting two attributes after the model of antiquity, and reflecting the divine in a harmonious blending of offices. Starting with David, he generalizes the glorious reign inaugurated by that monarch, annexing to it lofty aspirations, and painting its eternal duration in splendid colours.

The picture drawn of the king is unlike that of the Messiah. He is a warrior taking vengeance on his enemies and pursuing them to the utmost. The wide battle-field is covered with the dead bodies of the heathen. His kingdom is political rather than spiritual. He rules by power. Though he has the seat of honour as Jehovah's representative, he is a conqueror delighting in war, not converting the heathen through kindness, but establishing himself upon their total defeat. The priestly king is stern, severe and vengeful. It is impossible to adapt the description to the Messiah's person, much less to that of the Christian Messiah. The word *יהוה* in the fifth verse, refers to Jehovah, not to Messiah.

"In his days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth." (Psalm lxxii. 7.)

This verse, says Hengstenberg, ascribes eternity to the Messiah and his dominion. The psalm, however, is not a Messianic one. Proceeding from a later period than that of David or Solomon, it depicts the theocratic king in poetical language. The unknown author gives expression to his wishes and hopes. His king is largely ideal. The aspirations and promises surpass the bounds of historical reality. He sees in imagination the unlimited extent of the monarch's dominion, all nations doing him reverence, and the eternal nature of his rule. The same remarks are applicable to the psalm as those made in reference to the 2nd and 110th. The interpreters who fail to perceive the ideal character of the theocracy and convert poetry into literal prose, take it as Messianic.

Before leaving the Psalms, we may remark generally that

no personal Messiah appears in them. Short poems, commonly expressing personal feelings, have little room for that subject. A few passages in the book, breathing the expectation of an ideal future for Israel, are Messianic in the wide sense of the word; but in none is the Messiah represented as the speaker, whether uttering complaints or imprecations. The latter idea, indeed, is highly irreverent. The Messiah uttering imprecations on his enemies!

"In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth shall be excellent and comely." (Isaiah iv. 2.)

Here some interpret "the branch of the Lord" to be the Messiah, who is so called in his divine nature, and "the fruit of the earth" in his humanity. Such is Hengstenberg's erroneous interpretation. The branch of the Lord means the remnant of the people, those who survived the divine judgments and had been purified by the process. Sanctified by their affliction, they are termed *Jehovah's branch*, His regenerated children. The fruit of the earth is the produce of the ground, which will flourish again in abundance. The passage bears no allusion to the Messiah's person.

"Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," &c. (Isaiah vii. 14, &c.)

Here it is affirmed that the divine nature of Messiah is denoted by the name Immanuel, his human nature being implied in his birth from a virgin.

There is great variety of opinion respecting the person indicated in the passage. While some believe him to be the Messiah, others suppose that one in the time of Isaiah is meant. The latter opinion is preferable. The so-called virgin was Isaiah's wife, either the mother of Shear-jashub, or another whom he had recently married. Hence Immanuel is the symbolical name of Isaiah's son who was to be born. The prophet's other sons had symbolical appellations also. The name, significant of divine protection and help, *God with us*, has no reference to the nature of the person. Those who think that the child of the virgin means Messiah, have to explain the context in connection with their opinion by shewing how the land could be forsaken by the two kings of whom Ahaz was afraid, before the child would

know the distinction between good and evil, i.e. in about three or four years. The Old Testament writers never call attention to the fact of Messiah being born of a *virgin*; and if *עלמה* mean an *unmarried woman*, as it may, with what propriety could the prophet point to a particular woman (*העלמה*), whose conception and bearing of a son signified to Ahaz the immutability of his kingdom? The Messianic interpretation labours under the objection that it implies the failure of a sign given by Jehovah himself; for the anticipation that Messiah was to be born forthwith proved abortive. Let it not be said that there was a primary sense in which the prophecy was fulfilled, and a secondary Messianic one. Double senses violate the first principle of interpretation, viz. that words have but one meaning in the same place. The authors wrote in ordinary language, not in riddles. The name Immanuel has the same sense in viii. 8, where the prophet addresses his son in order to turn the attention of his countrymen from the gloomy state of their affairs to better hopes regarding the Assyrians.

"Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God and David their king." (Hosea iii. 5.)

An argument has been founded on these words in favour of such union between Jehovah and the Messiah as is implied in both being religiously sought after for grace. But the name David does not necessarily or probably signify the Messiah. Rather is it a general appellation of the Davidic dynasty. Though the verb (*שׁוּקַק*) *seek* is applied to both, it does not follow that it has exactly the same meaning. In the present case, the word is used in a general sense, not specifically of a proper religious feeling; and therefore it belongs to David's kingly posterity as well as to Jehovah.

"Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in," &c. (Malachi iii. 1.)

This passage is not Messianic. In it Jehovah says that he would send a messenger to prepare the way before him, the messenger of the covenant whom the people expected. Who this messenger is, another passage tells, Elijah the prophet (iv. 5). The authorized version gives an incorrect idea of Malachi's meaning by inserting *even* before "the

messenger of the covenant," as if *the Lord* were identical with *the messenger*. *Jehovah* will suddenly come into his temple to execute judgment; but *the forerunner* is the re-appearing Elijah whom the ancient Jews always expected; not merely some of the wise men of Israel, as Maimonides supposes, spiritualizing the gross conception, but the people generally. A right interpretation of the prophecy dissipates the idea of Messiah being styled in it *the Lord* (יהוה).

"And they shall look upon *me* whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for *him* as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him," &c. (Zech. xii. 10.)

Here the reading varies. That of the text is אֵלַי, upon *me*; many MSS., however, read אֵלָיו, upon *him*, which seems preferable on account of the sense; for the person pierced and mourned for as dead is the same, which cannot be predicated of *Jehovah*. Yet the textual reading, as the more difficult one, might be changed into the easier; and the LXX, Vulg. Targ. and Syriac have it. In either case, the passage alludes to the violent death of a prophet who had fallen a martyr to truth in Jerusalem. The penitential sorrow of the people for the wicked deed is described in emphatic language. Who he was is unknown; but it is clearly implied that he was a distinguished man who had recently fallen in the cause of God. If the textual reading be right, the messenger is identified with the Sender, the prophet with *Jehovah*, so that what is done to the one is done to the other,—an idea favoured by Hosea xi. 10. But the context has an abrupt harshness in this light.

"Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow (saith the Lord of hosts): smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." (Zechariah xiii. 7.)

The preceding context, in which false prophets are described and denounced, shews that the same order of men is the subject of the present passage. *What is prophesied* there, appears as *Jehovah's command* here. God executes his vengeance on the prophet that the sheep may be scattered; after which he looks with favour on the poor and weak of the people, whom suffering had purified. The shepherd is the prophet, described as the man of God's fellowship, because he shares in the divine counsels. This is his honourable appellation, one which the false prophet

retains, though he forfeits his claim to it. "Jehovah's fellow" is not the Messiah.

"And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me: for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? saith the Lord." (Jeremiah xxx. 21.)

Here the ruler is the Messiah, described as arising from among the people themselves, whom God causes to draw near, and who stands in close relation to him. A specific union between the Messiah and God is intimated in the words, but not one either unusual or unsuitable. The king of the ideal theocracy has access to the innermost sanctuary, and can claim special intimacy with the Most High. This is far from implying his divine nature, as Oehler inclines to believe.

"And this is his name whereby he shall be called, *the Lord our righteousness.*" (Jeremiah xxiii. 6.)

This was once a classical passage among the proofs of Messiah's divinity, but has ceased to be so; because the words are not, "the Messiah is Jehovah our righteousness," but "the Messiah bears the name, Jehovah is our righteousness," Jehovah effecting the righteousness of his people in and by him. The parallel passage (xxxiii. 16), in which Jerusalem is called "the Lord our righteousness," i.e. "the Lord is our righteousness," shews the former to have no bearing on the nature of Messiah's person. "The Messiah" of Daniel ix. 26 in the English version should be "an anointed one," meaning Seleucus IV. Philopator. The Messiah proper has no place there.

An examination of all passages that are pertinent has led to the conclusion that the Messiah is not set forth in the light of a superhuman being. He is not God, partaking of the divine essence in mysterious union with Jehovah, but a king of the house of David, introducing a new and glorious era of righteousness, reigning triumphantly on the throne of his ancestor, exalting the nation to universal sovereignty, and realizing the ideal hopes which prophets and poets entertained in moments of high inspiration. None of the sacred writers thought of him as divine otherwise than the possessor of godlike qualities. The number of Messianic passages has been arbitrarily multiplied by violating

the rules of interpretation and neglecting the context. We have discussed several which might have been unnoticed, if they were not perseveringly adduced by respectable writers like Hengstenberg and Oehler, who press them into the support of views they refuse to countenance.

The first trace of the idea that the Messiah was something above man, appears in Daniel vii. 13: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days," &c.

Notwithstanding all that Hitzig adduces to shew that the *son of man* means the Jewish people, his arguments are not convincing. The question then is, What is the sense of the words, "one like a son of man"? Though he comes with the clouds of heaven, that does not involve a divine nature, for we must interpret the phrase, "like a son of man," to imply that he was a man. The belief that the Messiah had been taken up to heaven, where he waited the appointed time of his manifestation on earth, was already entertained, and finds expression in this Maccabean book. That belief does not identify the meaning of the phrase, "like a son of man," with the divinity of his person; the comparison admits of no other sense than humanity. At the same time, the phraseology, "coming with the clouds of heaven," forms a natural and easy step to the belief of his superhumanity. It had not been applied to him before. Neither is it predicated of Elijah, whose return from heaven Malachi expected. Although, therefore, the book of Daniel contains the same view in substance of Messiah's person as the earlier ones, it presents a new trait leading to a higher conception.

The mention of Messianic hopes can scarcely be looked for in historical books like those of the Maccabees. Some, however, find two allusions to the Messiah in 1 Maccab. iv. 46 and xiv. 41, in which case Deuteron. xviii. 15—19 is the basis, though that place did not originally refer to the Messiah. These illustrations are more than doubtful.

The book of Enoch develops the germinal ideas contained in the seventh chapter of Daniel respecting Messiah. In it he is styled not only son of man, but son of woman, the anointed one, the elect, the concealed one, the righteous one, the son of God, the man. He appears for the first time as the judge of the world, the constituted judge of living

and dead, of heavenly and earthly beings. For this end he possesses righteousness and wisdom, because the Spirit is poured upon him in all its fulness. His name was already named before the Lord of spirits, before the sun, the signs, the stars of heaven were made; he was chosen and concealed before the creation of the world, and will be before the Lord from everlasting to everlasting. The angels know and praise his name. Indeed, he is their judge. His being hidden with the Father before all time implies perhaps pre-existence, if it be not an ideal representation intended to glorify his person. As the representative of God, he sits on the throne of the divine majesty, a participant of its dignity. But with all the epithets ascribed to him, including the highest, i.e. *Son of God*; notwithstanding his pre-existence and mysterious concealment with the Most High prior to his manifestation; though he sits on a throne of glory as universal judge, God's representative and fellow, he is still man, the first of men in rank and pre-eminence. His created existence is always implied. His dignity and honours are derived. He is subordinate to God who sets him on the throne, committing to him all judicial prerogatives. A divine nature is neither predicated nor presupposed. The Christology of the book is Jewish in substance, because the Messiah is not deified, nor is there a trace of the incarnation. The doctrine respecting his person, however, is carried to its highest point within the limits of Judaism. There is a manifest progress from the intimations and germs in Daniel's book to its present development, which is still below the Christian standpoint. Judaism confines the height and majesty of Messiah within the bounds of a creature. It soars in that region, portraying a being of surpassing dignity; but the human background is never obliterated. The divine is not inherent, for derivation from the Supreme, and subordination to His will, exclude the idea of proper divinity. Amid the mysterious dignity of his person, the Messiah of the Jews is always a man.

In this brief enumeration of attributes we have not included the epithet *Word* or *Logos*, because we do not suppose such to be the meaning in xiv. 24, xci. 1, cii. 1. And in xc. 38, it seems to be part of a Christian gloss, which Dillmann accounts for in a natural way.

We have assumed that the work, as it now is, belongs to a pre-Christian time, having proceeded from Palestinian Jews of the last century but one before Christ. The principal Messianic passages are in the oldest portion or groundwork of the whole, i.e. in ch. xxxvii.—lxxi.; in other parts, such as the 90th chapter, the Christology is simpler. Indeed, the progress from the Danielic view to that of xxxvii.—lxxi. is so great, that Hilgenfeld believes this portion to be of Christian origin. According to him, it was written by a Jewish Christian who lived between Saturninus and Marcion.* Plausible as are the arguments which the critic adduces on behalf of this opinion, they are hardly convincing. Internal evidence points to the time of John Hyrcanus as that in which the book of Enoch, or rather the oldest part of it, was written. The Noachian insertions are readily detected by the general unsuitableness of their places, and were probably older materials worked up by the Enoch-writers. Volkmar goes farther than Hilgenfeld, putting the whole book into the Christian period, A.D. 132, and attributing its authorship to an adherent of Bar-Cochba. This is very doubtful.† It may be thought strange that such development of the Christology of Daniel could take place within the brief space of fifty years; but a select number studied the prophetic writings with great earnestness, and supplied the want of genuine prophets by speculations wrapped in mystery. The stirring times in which they lived gave an impulse to their conceptions. Possessing no true inspiration like that of the old prophets, they had recourse to modes of description more or less artificial. Their imagination had an air of grotesque grandeur which an ingenious minuteness of description tended to obscure. Study, a substitute for that divine inspiration possessed by an Isaiah or Jeremiah, called forth ideas and forms of expression more remote from daily life. Because they were students of prophecy, prying into the future, their Messianic conceptions took an unwonted flight. Hence there is nothing improbable in the advanced Christology appearing in xxxvii.—lxxi., especially as it does not break away from a Jewish

* Die Jüdische Apokalyptik, p. 148, et seq.

† See Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Henoch, in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgen. Gesellschaft for 1860, p. 87, &c.; and Eine neu-testamentliche Entdeckung und deren Bestreitung, 1862.

basia. Messiah is not the Son of God in a metaphysical sense; and though he seems to descend from heaven, he is still a creature whose exaltation is God's act.

The third of the Sibylline books, proceeding from an Alexandrian Jew in the time of the seventh Ptolemy (170—117 B.C.), probably about 135 B.C., speaks repeatedly of Messiah's coming. But his person is not described. Hilgenfeld supposes that he is the king sent from heaven, who will judge every man in blood and fire;* but the description suits Cyrus better.† He is "the immortal one" and "the king coming from the sun;" but these phrases are indefinite. Another place, mentioning the son of the great king,‡ is interpolated; as is that about the advent of Beliar who wakes the dead.§ No light is thrown upon our subject by the oracle in question.

Ecclesiasticus never refers to a personal Messiah. On the contrary, the author views the salvation of Israel as connected with the return of Elijah, whom he expects to see. "Blessed are they who see and are adorned with love, for we shall surely survive" (xlviii. 10, 11). In li. 10, the reading is uncertain, and the translation from the Hebrew probably incorrect; but the sense is, "I called upon God my Father and Lord," both names referring to one person.

The same remark applies to the book of Wisdom, in which a description of the righteous man persecuted by free-thinkers (ii. 12—20) has no relation to the persecution and death of Messiah or Christ. But though this Alexandrian book shews no trace of belief in a personal Messiah, we know that the Jews in Egypt entertained that view. They did so, at least, when the Greek version was made. Thus in Numbers xxiv. 7, we read in the Seventy, "a man shall come forth from his seed;" and in the seventeenth verse, "a star shall rise out of Jacob, a man shall arise out of Israel." These verses contain the promise of a mighty ruler who was to appear, viz. Messiah. The reading in Genesis xlix. 10, seems to imply the same.

Philo makes no mention of a Messiah, but expects that national regeneration is to effect the people's return to their

* Book iii. vs. 286, 287. See Jüdische Apokalyptik, p. 64.

† Ibid. iii. 48, 652, &c.

‡ Ibid. v. 775.

§ Ibid. v. 63, &c. See Friedlieb's Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen, Einleit. p. xxvi.

native land, the punishment of their enemies, and the restoration of former prosperity. His golden age is unconnected with a righteous monarch.

Josephus is entirely silent about Messianic hopes. The idea of national restoration or of a better future, much more that of a great ruler, is absent from his writings. Did this arise from fear of the Romans?

It is strange that Baruch, which dilates upon the deliverance of the people and the future glory of Jerusalem, never speaks of the Messiah, but of the Eternal One, as Saviour. The book of Tobit has no Messianic allusion.

The Psalms of Solomon, eighteen or rather nineteen in number, which present the utterances of a pious soul after the Maccabean house had fallen, and when Ptolemy profanely entered the temple, have various references to Messiah.*

The preceding discussion will have shewn the reader that belief in a Messiah was not extinct in the interval between Daniel's book and the advent of Christ, as has been sometimes asserted. We may concede to B. Bauer that there was not a definite Jewish Christology, no Messianic dogmatic at the time of Christ; but he goes too far in saying that nothing but the religious reflection embodied in the Gospels developed the current Messianic belief of the first and second centuries. Doubtless Christianity affected Jewish opinion relative to the Messiah, making it more prominent in contrast with the Messiahship of Jesus; but it scarcely hardened the idea into dogma, or imbedded it in the consciousness of the people. Neither before nor after Christ was the belief in a personal Messiah a *settled doctrine* in the national heart.

The fourth book of Esdras, pre-Christian according to some, post-Christian in the opinion of others, speaks of Messiah coming forth from his concealment and waxing strong with the thousands of heaven, all things trembling before him. Terror and woes attend his advent (xiii. 1, &c.). His person is not particularly described. In xii. 32 (Ethiopic, xii. 37), he is said to be "of the seed of David," in the Syriac and Ethiopic, not the Latin. In vii. 28, 29, the

* See xvii. 23, 36, 42, xviii. 6—8, in Fabricius's Cod. Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test. Vol. I. p. 960 et seq.

Syriac and Ethiopic have the Messiah, where the names Jesus and Christ in the Latin (verses 28, 29) are evidently of Christian origin. After his kingdom has continued 400 years, he and all living men die, when the world reverts to its original silence for seven days. The *Most High* sits on the throne of judgment, not Messiah. The latter's pre-existence is never expressly asserted, but seems to be implied, since the book speaks of him being with the Father for a long time, till at length he is manifested to free his creatures and rule over the elect (xiii. 26, 32, &c., xii. 32, 33, Latin).^{*} The difficulty of determining the date arises from the uncertainty of the interpretation; but the book probably belongs to the year 97 A.D. In any case, the Latin bears traces of Christian interpolation.

Here the discussion might close. We have seen that the doctrine of Messiah's godhead is foreign to the Jewish Scriptures, which always pre-suppose his proper humanity. It is equally foreign to the Jewish apocryphal writings, even to such as ascribe to him the highest dignity. But the subject may be presented in a different aspect by the introduction of another topic, the consideration of which we reserve for another opportunity.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

V.—MODERN MATERIALISM AND ITS RELATION TO IMMORTALITY.

On the Physical Basis of Life. By Professor Huxley. *Fortnightly Review*, Feb. 1, 1869.

It is but rarely given to a magazine article to excite popular interest to such an extent as Professor Huxley's well-known paper "On the Physical Basis of Life" succeeded in doing in the early part of this year. That interest was no doubt partly due to the high scientific reputation of its author, but in a far greater degree to the peculiar attraction of its subject. It dealt with a problem which to the thoughtful man has always had an overpower-

^{*} See Volkmar's *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*, zweite Abtheilung, p. 359.

ing fascination. The source of that wondrous power we call Life; the relation of lower to higher organisms; the nature of the higher manifestations of human life; how far that life, *in those higher developments*, is destined to utter extinction, or to continuity of existence in another world;—such are a few of the important issues intimately bound up with Professor Huxley's theme, and which fully account for the immense interest it has excited.

Attractive, however, as the subject of the paper undoubtedly is, that attraction has been considerably enhanced by the clear and luminous treatment it has received at the hands of Mr. Huxley. For whatever opinion be entertained as to the trustworthiness of the Professor's conclusions, there can be but one opinion as to the lucidity of his style, and the happy manner in which he has contrived to adapt his argument to the capacities of a popular audience.

We must, however, enter our protest against what seems to us to be a certain sleight-of-hand treatment of a subject which, above all others, requires earnest and serious discussion. Instead of the gravity befitting a philosopher, the Professor assumes the deportment of a low conjuror or perpetrator of practical jokes. He avowedly frightens his hearers in order to shew his skill in calming their perturbed feelings. He may be compared to a man who takes a number of timid children to see a ghost which is reported to haunt a certain neighbourhood; and after preparing them for the interview by a long discourse on the probabilities of ghost-existence, suddenly brings them in sight of a certain spectral appearance having the usual form and fashion attributed to those mysterious beings, and then, while the children are speechless with terror, bursts forth—"Ha! ha! What a good joke! You thought it was a real ghost, didn't you? It's no ghost at all. It's only something which silly people have dressed up. I don't believe in ghosts." We must say that this seems to us rather a cruel method of proving the non-existence of such beings. A child's bodily senses will often prove stronger than his teacher's theories; and materialistic terminology, judiciously manipulated, will often produce a conviction which subsequent doses of Hume's philosophy will be powerless to counteract. We therefore maintain in the strongest manner, that a man who proclaims himself no materialist, who, on

the contrary, holds that "materialism involves grave philosophical error," is not justified in alarming his hearers with terrors which he believes to be perfectly unfounded. The confession of a guide, "I purposed to lead you to the materialistic slough in which you find yourselves imbedded, in order to point out the sole path by which in my judgment extrication is possible," is one hardly calculated to soothe the terrors of his followers or to inspire confidence in his guidance. Most people would prefer seeing his judgment exercised in enabling them to avoid the "slough" altogether, especially if it should happen that "the only road leading out of it" were one by which they would rather not travel.

With this complaint of recklessly playing fast and loose with a subject of which we are at the same time assured he does not underrate the importance, we pass on to the merits of Mr. Huxley's argument. This, briefly put, is, that a certain substance called protoplasm is the basis of all life; "that both as regards substance and form, a three-fold unity, viz. a unity of power or faculty, a unity of form, and a unity of substantial composition, does pervade the whole living world." This thesis he proceeds to develop by shewing that in the hair of the stinging-nettle there is a certain fluid (protoplasm) endowed with a power of contractility, and the same fluid in form, chemical composition, and possessing the same properties, is found in the rudimentary forms of algæ and fungi and in the human blood; "whence the conclusion is obvious, "taken back to its earliest state, the nettle arises as the man does, in a particle of nucleated protoplasm;" or, as the same truth is expressed in more general terms, "protoplasm simple or nucleated is the formal basis of all life." If any one wishes to go further, and ask how far these conclusions may be said to comprehend Thought, Reason, Consciousness, the Professor intimates not obscurely that they are all mere functions of the same protoplasmic substance. What then, it will be asked, hinders Mr. Huxley from avowing himself a materialist? Why, Hume's philosophy and the great doctrine of the relativity of all human knowledge. This is the metaphysical balm which he reserves for materialistic wounds *when they appear likely to become fatal*. After bringing his hearers to the verge of the precipice, and when they see no possible

escape from the abyss into which he is apparently about to plunge them, he suddenly turns round and asks, "After all, what do we know of this terrible matter, except as a name for the unknown and hypothetical cause of states of our own consciousness? What do we know of spirit, except that it is also a name for an unknown and hypothetical cause or condition of states of consciousness?" In short, the Professor waves his mystic wand, and suddenly the whole character of the scene is changed; the gulf, it is true, remains, but it is bridged over by a broad and even roadway, and we may now pursue our journey in peace.

Now we must candidly avow that this mode of escape from an unwelcome or undesirable conclusion, apart from its conjuring character, seems to us a mere technical subterfuge. If the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge is true, and we are fully prepared to grant that it is, it must be assumed to be true not only of a particular conclusion, but of every step in the argument which led to it. But this is exactly what most physical inquirers refuse to grant. For waiving for a moment the old scholastic sense of the word matter as a general imaginary substratum of groups of natural phenomena, and taking in its place some given form of material substance, say, e.g., protoplasm, is it true that of this protoplasm we know absolutely *nothing*, and would Professor Huxley concede his ignorance on the subject? The very object of his discourse is, on the contrary, to shew how much he knows of protoplasm. He recognizes, for instance, its unity of form and composition in different organisms. He knows, as "a fact beyond the reach of refinements," its chemical constituents. Indeed, he goes further, and in the name of science, i.e. human knowledge, asserts without hesitation that "the matter of life is composed of ordinary matter, differing from it only in the manner in which its atoms are aggregated." Passing over for the present the fact that this last affirmation has been called in question by one of the first living authorities on the subject,* we have here a whole string of assertions which, if

* Dr. L. Beale, who read a paper before the Microscopical Society controverting this view of Professor Huxley. A brief summary of Dr. Beale's theory may be found in Quain's *Anatomy*, I. p. xxiv, and a report of his paper in the *Brit. Med. Journal* for May 8th, 1869. This paper, we believe, is about to be published in a separate form.

they mean anything at all, must mean that a certain *knowledge* of matter is possible, at all events that a certain knowledge of *protoplasm* is possible. We therefore feel inclined to blame Mr. Huxley, not so much for his use of Hume's philosophy as an antidote to avowed materialism, as for his want of appreciation of it as a general philosophical principle. Indeed, the application of it to some of the above assertions, which he makes so dogmatically, seems to us much more justifiable than the single use to which he limits it. For our knowledge can scarcely be called "relative" when it endeavours to transcend the actual limits to which we have attained (for in that case it is not *knowledge* at all); it is only relative when it deals with truths of which we are, or seem to ourselves to be, fully certain.

More might be added on Mr. Huxley's partial and one-sided employment of the sceptical philosophy, but enough has probably been said to point out its sophistical character.

Not only, however, is Mr. Huxley's philosophy at fault, for that is a pardonable error in one whose whole life has been given to physical research, but his science also seems to us a little untrustworthy. It partakes of the fault, so characteristic of modern science, of being too dogmatic. There is no doubt a peculiar temptation to scientific teachers to hazard what may be called a prognosis of scientific progress, for the examples are not few in which similar attempts at divination have been completely successful. But it must be observed that such successes have for the most part only accompanied predictions which from their nature were capable of subsequent verification. Now nothing is more certain than that molecular science is at present in its infancy; it is probably not assuming too much to suppose that it is destined to receive considerable development; but to us it appears even more certain that this development must, sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, find its limit. We indeed believe that the limit will be encountered *before* it is capable of being applied with any great effect to the solution of physiological (not to say psychological) problems. The immense distance which lies between its application to inorganic matter and the functions of living beings, may be readily seen by comparing Professor Huxley's speculation that we may by and by be able to infer

the properties of water from its constituents, with Mr. Darwin's theory of Pangenesis. It is conceivable that the advance of molecular physics may solve the first and similar problems; but it is not, in our opinion, conceivable that we shall ever be able *experimentally* to prove the truth of the second. But until molecular science has made sufficient advance to make the solution of that and similar physiological phenomena probable, it is wholly premature to assert, as Mr. Huxley does, that the matter of life is composed of ordinary matter, "differing from it *only* in the manner in which its atoms are aggregated." As a dogmatic statement, this assertion seems to us entirely unwarranted. It assumes an acquaintance with the molecular structure of living organisms which science has confessedly not attained, and which, in the opinion of high scientific authorities, is unattainable. It is of course natural and pardonable in Mr. Huxley to anticipate that the future discoveries of biological science will harmonize with the materialistic terms which he rightly prefers to use; but it is equally open to the psychologist and philosopher, accustomed to take mental rather than physical processes into consideration, to hope and expect that any future light which may be thrown on this mysterious subject will correspond with the mental and spiritual data which he employs.

And this brings us to the main exception which may be made to Mr. Huxley's argument, and that is, it is pervaded throughout by a distinct and utterly unwarrantable animus. So much is this the case that the real point at issue is entirely ignored, the attention being directed to inferior points, which, though no doubt of great importance as subsidiary data for the solution of the problem, yet fall far short of the character they are assumed to have of being the immediate and necessary premisses whence the conclusion is to be deduced. It might, e.g., be considered almost a necessary inference from many of Mr. Huxley's statements, that all protoplasms are alike, that they consist of uniform, homogeneous matter. It is true he never asserts this in express terms, but he never asserts the well-known facts which are directly opposed to this view. It is an established truth of biology, that of all the countless forms of organic matter existing in the world, no two have been

found to exhibit complete homogeneity of structure.* But of course it is in these differences, their nature and consequences, that the real issue of the problem lies. Mr. Huxley does draw a kind of distinction between nucleate and unnucleate protoplasm (or rather what seems to him and other microscopists to be so, because it may almost be doubted whether *absolutely* unnucleate protoplasm exists), but he utterly ignores the fact that it is the nucleus and not the surrounding matter with which we have to deal.† What is that wonderful centre of forces? What are those mysterious energies bound up in a particle often so minute as to be incapable of detection by the most powerful microscope? What is that Power which moulds and arranges the "matter of life" into various tissues and organs, each endowed with specific properties and adapted to fulfil different functions? Why, moreover, does that force, or probably series of forces, stop at a given stage of structural development, and henceforward concentrate all its energies on the maintenance, at that point, of the fabric it has built? Such are some of the questions suggested by the phrase *nucleate* protoplasm. It is needless to state that anything like a satisfactory answer to these questions has never as yet been attempted. It is probably not too much to say that a complete answer to all of them is utterly impossible. But until something of the kind is forthcoming, neither Mr. Huxley nor any one else is warranted in saying or *insinuating* that vital force is alike or akin to physical or chemical forces. This illustrates, however, the unfair treatment which this subject is sure to meet with at the hand of the mere physical inquirer. Unfortunately, this unfairness is to a great extent natural and even to be expected. The eternal truth embodied in the story of the dispute concerning the different sides of the shield, finds another illustration in the necessarily conflicting pre-conceptions with which the physiologist and psychologist approach this question. Regarded solely from either of the two sides, and the conclusion is easy; unluckily, however, it is imperfect; one of

* Herbert Spencer's *Biology*, Vol. I. p. 21.

† The word protoplasm, according to Dr. Beale, has come to signify the *whole* of the cell contents, and hence are confounded under one term things totally unlike, both animate and inanimate matter. See *Brit. Med. Journal*, May 8th, 1869.

the sides of the equation is wanting. It requires an impartial and careful consideration of the data on each side, before anything like a reliable conclusion can be formed.

It appears to us, therefore, that neither Mr. Huxley and physical inquirers on the one hand, nor psychologists and mental philosophers on the other hand, have any right to draw conclusions *exclusively* from their own point of view. It may be permitted to either of them to *ignore* the results of the other, provided he be satisfied with scientifically ignoring them; in other words, refraining from drawing a conclusion *which leaves no room whatever for them*. But this is the evil of modern materialism. It is not satisfied with ignoring results out of its own province, but it proceeds to deny them. Mr. Huxley, e.g., is not satisfied with leaving mental and spiritual forces out of his calculation; he assumes that they are similar to other physical forces, and so virtually denies their existence. The unjustifiable nature of this proceeding is happily exposed in a German work* on the subject, which was quoted by Professor Rolleston in his Address on Physiology delivered last year. "Schleiden," says Professor Rolleston, "a naturalist of the very first order, compares the physical philosopher who is not content with ignoring without also denying the existence of a science based on consciousness, to a man who, on looking into his purse and finding no gold there, should not be content with saying, 'I find no gold here,' but should go further and say there is no such thing as gold either here or anywhere else."†

Summing up this part of our subject, we do not think our readers will accuse us of injustice when we class Mr. Huxley, notwithstanding his adherence to Hume's philosophy (more apparently in order to save him from the *name* than the *thing*), among materialistic writers. We are far from complaining of his employment of materialistic language; that in itself is perfectly reasonable; what we complain of is his determination, in spite of deficiency of evidence, to make living force similar in kind to physical forces, and to connect it indissolubly with the material basis by which it manifests its presence to our bodily senses. In

* "Materialismus der neueren Deutschen Naturwissenschaft," p. 48.

† Report of Prof. Rolleston's Address: Brit. Med. Journal, Aug. 15th, 1868.

this respect, he is at one with the most typical examples of materialism, from Lucretius to Büchner, Moleschott, Vogt, &c. The dictum of the Latin poet,

Ergo corpoream naturam animi esse necessest
Corporeis quoniam telis ictuque laborat,*

finds its echo in the unqualified statement of Büchner—"Experience and daily observation teach us that the spirit perishes with its material substratum;"† or of Professor Huxley, "The living protoplasm.....dies and is resolved into its mineral and lifeless constituents."

We have noticed Mr. Huxley's paper at such length, because it seems to us typical of the mode of treatment which this subject seems destined to receive at the hand of physical inquirers. To the religious thinker, however, it is not so much the question itself, as the important issues so intimately bound up with it that are of interest. For if the materialist be right, what becomes of the belief in immortality and continuity of existence, which has been the solace of so many of the noblest minds both within and without the pale of Christianity? It is in the hope of supplying some answer to this question that we have undertaken our present task.

It appears, then, to us, that notwithstanding the persistent attacks of materialists, the central truth, that on which immortality has ever been based, remains altogether untouched. That truth is, living force in itself and in its manifestations is something peculiar and *sui generis*. This is acknowledged almost universally both on psychical and physiological grounds. On the one hand, the psychologist admits that the distinction between bodily senses and mental impressions is ultimate and primordial.‡ On the other hand, the physiologist allows that nerve-force is entirely different from all known physical forces.§ Both, therefore, agree in affirming the principle on which the truth of immortality is professedly grounded. If, however, it be objected that this force cannot exist without a material

* Lucretius, ed. Munro, Bk. iii. 175.

† Kraft und Stoff, Eng. Translation, p. 197.

‡ See Mr. J. S. Mill's last utterances on this subject, in his edition of Mr. James Mill's *Analysis of the Human Mind*, I. p. 413.

§ Dr. Beale's paper quoted above. Compare Mr. H. Spencer's *Biology*, I. p. 49.

substratum or basis, the answer is obvious: We know comparatively nothing of the essential conditions of existence of any force. Even of the best known of physical forces, e.g. gravitation or magnetism, we cannot predicate anything more than their existence *in given modes*; that they are confined to the modes of which we are cognizant, it is utterly impossible to say. It is indeed remarkable that men whose employment it is to trace physical forces under all their manifestations, and who therefore might be expected to be more conscious than others of the innumerable modes and conditions under which they exist, should be so daring as to lay down absolute laws for the existence or non-existence of that very force, which of all others is least amenable to the processes they employ. It is another illustration of the truth of the remark, so often made in relation to Comte's philosophy, that the dogmatism of the theologian is nothing compared with that of the physical inquirer. Professor Huxley is therefore undeniably right in asserting materialism to be a "grave philosophical error;" not, however, because it is, in its final issue, a transgression of Hume's philosophy (and he is himself an instructive example of the little restraint it is in the power of that philosophy practically to impose), but because it involves the unscientific procedure of affirming a conclusion, the data for which are confessedly not merely incomplete, but absolutely incapable of completion.

The question, then, awaiting the solution of the religious inquirer, we conceive to be something of this kind: We recognize in the world about us a particular series of forces, parallel to the forces we call Physical, to which we give the name, Living or Vital. Starting from their very lowest manifestations, we find these vital forces to proceed through simple and rudimentary stages, until they attain in higher races a peculiar, i.e. mental or spiritual, development. Further, we discern in the laws of the world what we cannot help affirming to be manifestations of similar forces; we discern laws, operations, continually at work, which seem to point to forces similar in kind to those we recognize within ourselves. Hence each individual of the higher orders of being, each one *capable of exerting a moral or intellectual influence on the world*, may be assumed to be part, though necessarily an infinitesimally small part, of the

whole sum of the spiritual forces of the universe ; in other words, each finite reason must form a part, a component unit, of the Infinite Reason which fills creation. Regarding man in this aspect as an unit of spiritual force, are we warranted in assuming for him that continuity of existence which the laws of our being compel us to assume in the case of the great Central Force of creation ? Put in its briefest terms, our argument will be as follows :

The spiritual force of the universe is eternal ; man is an unit of that spiritual force ; therefore man is immortal.

Hence we would make immortality depend on the indissoluble union of spiritual forces existing in the world, and we would define it, in theological terms, as the union of man's spiritual consciousness with God. This, as will be seen, is a claim for the spiritual forces of the universe of the same attribute which the physical inquirer is compelled to assign to the unconscious, and so far brute, forces with which he is most conversant ; and why this claim on the part of the philosophical theologian should be disputed, we confess we cannot see. If, indeed, it could be proved, as the materialist assumes it can, that the force we call Vital or Mental is of precisely the same nature with what he terms Physical forces, no doubt the question might be regarded as settled, so far at least as the human claim to immortality is concerned (although even in that case the *mind*, which finds expression through the laws of the universe, would still be left unaccounted for by his theory, and an eternal witness against its unlimited application). But, as we have endeavoured to shew, nothing has as yet been discovered to render such a result even probable. The gulf between matter and mind still exists in all its magnitude and profundity ; and those who have most closely surveyed it from either side, are unanimous in the conviction that it is primordial and utterly impassable.

Whoever, therefore, recognizes, whether in the operations of nature, or in the course of history, or in the constitution of his own being, a peculiar spiritual force, which cannot even in imagination be conceived as identical with such material forces as electricity or magnetism, will always find a firm standing-ground whereon to build his hope of immortality. This standing-point will, moreover, possess the advantage of being perfectly impregnable to the assaults of

materialism. It does not, indeed, appear to us that those assaults have hitherto been able to affect injuriously even the coarser forms which the doctrine of immortality has occasionally assumed; but it should be remembered—and this remark may prove of use in the panic which materialism is causing among the religious thinkers of our own time—materialism *can* only injure doctrines which possess a common basis with itself, i.e. *which are themselves of a materialistic character*. Hence it has always been unable to effect anything against a truly spiritual conception of the Divine Being; nor, again, can it be of any avail against such a definition of immortality as we have attempted to lay down, viz. the eternal continuity of the spiritual forces of the universe. Against the notion of a mere anthropomorphic Deity, or against the doctrine of a bodily, i.e. flesh and blood, resurrection, materialism will always have much to allege which the defenders of those particular views will find it difficult to answer.

It must, however, be conceded that the view here given of immortality is by no means a new one. In its essence, it is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of all the opinions which have been held on this subject. Indeed, we might go even further and say, that the undeniable fact of man possessing within him such a spiritual force, by whatever name it is called, so distinguished from all other forces of which he can have any cognizance, was the fact which first gave birth to the doctrine of Immortality. But however this may be, it is at least certain that wherever the doctrine has been held, this aspect of it has always assumed peculiar prominence. In order to prove this, let us take a brief survey of the many illustrations which the history of religious thought affords, of the working of this principle of the indissoluble union existing among spiritual forces, which we have here indicated as the root-thought and only true definition of immortality.

To begin with the writings of the New Testament. The main prop of the authority which the Founder of Christianity claims for himself and his teaching is his unity with the Father: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." "I came to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work." A common energy, prompted by a common will, was no doubt the source of that claim to equality

with God which seemed so blasphemous to his materialistic countrymen ; and as this bond of union was the quickening influence which guided his life, so was it the same influence which joined his followers with himself. It is needless to quote the well-known passages in which he makes the mutual unity between himself and his followers, and of both with God, the end and object of his work. The Gospel of St. John abounds with passages bearing on this point. In short, the communion which Jesus claimed with his Father, and into which he attempted to bring his followers, was essentially a union of spiritual forces, a combination of will and energy, having for its object the regeneration of the world.

The same truth in its relation to a future life is not obscurely expressed in more than one place. Especially to be noted is the striking passage, Luke xx. 35, 36 : "They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead are 'ισάγγελοι,' and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection;" where the assumption evidently is that the resurrection, being a spiritual process, takes place *in virtue* of a spiritual union with God. The same thought underlies the well-known passages in St. John, where Christ proclaims himself the Resurrection and the Life, and says that he that believeth on him shall never die. That there are here and there in the Gospels more materializing notions of this great event is not denied. It was indeed hardly to be expected that the people whose gross conceptions materialized the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom here, should have failed in putting an equally gross and material sense on his announcements respecting his kingdom hereafter.

This view of the union of the individual Christian with God through Christ, and the immortality involved in that union, is strongly marked in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. The Epistles of the former are an armoury, whence texts have been drawn in defence of what may be called the spiritual view of immortality from the time of the Gnostics to our own day. The famous text of 1 Cor. xv. 50, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," may, for its point and distinctness, almost be called an armoury in itself ; while the numerous passages which describe Christians as fellow-workers with God or fellow-

heirs with Christ, both as to this life and the next, are too well known to our readers to need quotation.

Throughout the history of the Christian Church we find this conception of immortality to have obtained largely among the more thoughtful of the Fathers of the Church. Not indeed that there were wanting some, of whom Tertullian may be taken as a type, who, in their zeal against Gnosticism, pushed their own materialistic views of this and other religious truths to an extravagant and even painful excess. But the more honoured among Patristic writers explain immortality in a decidedly spiritual sense. St. Augustine, e.g., makes the highest blessedness and *activity* of the soul consist in the intuition of God, and a somewhat similar view formed one of the distinguishing tenets of the Alexandrian school—Origen and Gregory Nazianzen may be taken as examples ;—while almost all the schoolmen interpret immortality in a strictly spiritual manner ; and both among the leaders of the Reformation and their followers to our own day, there have not been wanting able defenders of a similar interpretation.

It is, however, to Schleiermacher that we are indebted for putting this view in a definite form, by the eloquent and happy expression of it given in his *Reden über die Religion* : “Mitten in der Endlichkeit Eins werden mit dem Unendlichen, und ewig sein in jeden Augenblick, das ist die Unsterblichkeit der Religion,”* which may be roughly rendered as follows :

In the midst of the finite
To become one with the Infinite,
And in each passing moment
To have eternal existence,
That is the immortality of religion.

That this, like most happy definitions and good proverbs, is only a fitting expression of a long-held truth, will doubtless be readily recognized by our readers. Indeed, it is only a rendering into modern, and, we may add, German thought, of the familiar words—“God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to Him.” “He that believeth

* P. 121. Schleiermacher's greatest living disciple has put this truth in a more strictly theological form, as follows : “Nur Gott ist ewig ; nur wer in Gott ist hat theil an der Ewigkeit mitten im Strome der Zeit. —Schenkel, *Christliche Dogmatik*, II. p. 1228.

hath Eternal life." At the same time, nothing is truer, nothing more largely borne witness to by the history of religious thought, than the immense influence of a new and striking definition of an old and familiar truth; and this definition of Schleiermacher is no exception to the general rule. Indeed, it would be difficult to point out a modern definition of theological truth which has shewn such vitality in assuming a great variety of forms, and in conciliating the sympathies of diverging schools of theology, as this famous dictum of Schleiermacher. In Germany, it is not too much to say that it is the approved definition of immortality among its most advanced theologians; and this, as in the case of Strauss,* where there is even a bitter hostility to the general methods and conclusions of its author and his school; while in England, the practical side of the same truth has found expression in the sermons and theological treatises of some of our leading divines. And this development of a purely spiritual conception of immortality among the leaders of modern religious thought, is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that it has not been evoked by the recent growth of materialistic tendencies either here or on the continent. Indeed, there seems almost a kind of special providence in the fact, that contemporaneously with the spread of materialism, that very conception of the future life which is least likely to be affected by its destructive tendencies has diffused itself in a corresponding or even superior degree.

It will, however, be probably objected to this view of immortality that it excludes the prevailing belief in the immortality of the individual as such. But the weakness of this objection will be immediately apparent, if it be remembered that the most distinctive feature of the definition of immortality we have here accepted as probably the true one, is that it makes *the present* the only reliable criterion of the future; so that if the individual, in his discovery and promulgation of intellectual or moral truths, be held to be *now* actually "working together" with God, and is at the same time in admitted possession of his individual will, there seems no adequate reason for maintaining that a simi-

* Strauss, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, II. 739. Compare Baur, "*Vorlesungen über die Christliche Dogmengeschichte*," III. 634.

lar union of spiritual forces can *at any time* be considered to annihilate the real *individual* existence of even the smallest of such contributory forces. The physicist assumes, ~~not~~ without reason, that the different natural (i.e. unconscious) forces now in operation, will some day be found to be modifications of one great universal force. Supposing such a consummation ~~attained~~, ~~no one would infer that each single force in actual operation~~ would thereupon lose its individuality and its distinctive existence. Philosophical readers know that there is more than one speculation current in modern philosophy, in which the assumption of the existence of an indefinitely small unit is absolutely requisite to the comprehension of what, after all, presents itself to the human consciousness as one inseparable sum-total, one indivisible whole. The roar of the sea is, as Sir William Hamilton tells us, only the aggregate of the sounds produced by each single wave, and yet the whole volume of sound strikes the ear as essentially one; or, to take a still simpler illustration of the truth that in this as in other cases "the one is many and the many are one,"* when a man accounts himself a part or member of any community, whether national or ecclesiastical, he does not conceive that his membership necessarily involves the loss of all his individuality. To a certain extent, indeed, and so far as the purpose of the association is concerned, a great loss or surrender of his mere individual single will is implied in the very fact of his membership; but, apart from that, he retains the sense of his personal independence unimpaired. When St. Paul, e.g., speaks of the Christian's life as being "hid with Christ in God," no one ever supposed him to mean that the individual Christian lost all sense of personal consciousness immediately on joining himself to the mystical body of Christ's church; on the contrary, the more manifest and doubtless the truer conclusion would generally be, that individual existence or force is enhanced and perfected by its association with other forces of the like kind. So far, then, from concluding from our definition of immortality as the eternal indissolubility of all spiritual forces, that we thereby annihilate the individual force, it would be more

* Compare Stirling's "Secret of Hegel" for a similar answer to objections made to the supposed Absorption theory of that philosopher, II. 579.

consonant with reason to infer that this is the only definition of that truth which gives individual existence its full development and final completion. We confess, for ourselves, that this question of personal, individual existence in a future world is of mere secondary importance compared with the grand fact of such existence. We have, however, adduced the foregoing considerations, in order to shew that there is nothing in the theory here set forth which tends to throw doubt on the immortality of personal and individual spiritual forces as such.

Another objection closely allied to the last must also be answered. Suppose this view of immortality adopted, what becomes of the dogma of a material resurrection so intimately bound up with it? To which objection a two-fold answer may be given. (1.) The resurrection of the body in its original acceptation was nothing more than an expression of the truth of immortality; as M. Nicolas puts it, it is the "Semitic form" of the latter truth.* It is therefore of materialistic origin, and it has tended in its history to exercise a gross materializing influence on every belief with which it has come in contact. It is not therefore surprising that all the more spiritual among Christian writers, from St. Paul downwards, have shewn a desire to strip this dogma of its coarser features, and to merge it in the larger truth of immortality.† (2.) At the same time there seems no reason for affirming that the resurrection of the dead may not express, in a rough material form, a truth which, properly conceived, is of the highest importance. There is no doubt that in the progress of humanity as exemplified in history may be discerned a gradual increase of spiritual activities. Intellectual thought and moral action are extending their bounds and their influence on every side. That such a progress should ultimately attain some kind of completion, seems not only reasonable, but even natural, to expect. May we not, therefore, look forward to a time

* M. Nicolas: "Des Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs," chap. vi.

† The religious thinker scarcely needs to be reminded that the spiritual and materialistic views of the future life stand in an inverse relation to each other. As Baur expresses it: "Je grösseres Gewicht aber auf die Idee der Unsterblichkeit gelegt, und je reiner, und geistiger sie gedacht wird, desto weniger kann die Collision mit der Lehre von der Auferstehung vermieden werden."—Vorlesungen über die Christliche Dogmengeschichte, III. 624.

when the spiritual forces of the universe shall have attained their *highest* perfection?—when the subordinate and particular forces now expending themselves in isolated channels, shall find the fullest scope for their energies in a more intimate harmony with the great central Force of the world?—a time when all hitherto latent and unused (and therefore *dead*) sources of force shall be quickened into never-dying activity?—when even the great spiritual force of Christianity shall be merged and absorbed in the primal Force which gave it being?—when, in the words of St. Paul, “The Son himself shall be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all”? Surely such a glorious consummation might, although but inefficiently, be expressed by the phrase, “Resurrection of the dead”—the eternal vivification of all the spiritual energies of the universe. Moreover, the final extinction of evil and the glorification of good, which are generally accepted consequences of that great event, would in this case receive their fullest and most natural elucidation. That Jesus gave this spiritual sense to the resurrection is strikingly proved by more than one passage in St. John. He who proclaimed himself as a quickening and life-giving influence, and who made the resurrection a spiritual and ever-present fact, could never have laid the great stress upon the material expression of the truth which some of his followers would fain attribute to him.

A curious instance of the effect which materialism has had upon this truth may here be appropriately noted. It affords a striking illustration of the truth which we have already laid down, that materialism can only hurt truths conceived in a materialistic spirit. In an article on “Unsterblichkeit” in Herzog’s *Encyclopädie*, C. T. F. Ulrici, one of the leading thinkers in Germany, has given a summary of the arguments commonly employed to support what we have here designated as the spiritual view of immortality. He especially enumerates the following:

1. The simplicity or oneness of the soul.
2. The imperishableness of the gift of reason, including the Hegelian doctrine of the relation of the individual to the universal Reason.
3. The capability of comprehending eternal truths must itself be regarded as being eternal as such truths.

4. As material atoms are endowed with physical forces, so soul atoms may be with spiritual forces.

We may remark in passing, that whatever force may be assigned to the 1st and 4th of these reasons, and we are far from supposing that in judicious hands they may not prove useful, the 2nd and 3rd have always appeared to us to be essentially irrefragable. Against these arguments, Ulrici, however, brings the usual objections which have been urged by materialists, and honestly admits their force to be overpowering. He thinks that physiology has sufficiently established the fact that continuance of consciousness without bodily organs is impossible, and then he triumphantly remarks that Christianity has met this very condition by its doctrine of the resurrection of the body. He therefore makes this dogma, which is generally regarded by religious thinkers as one phase or expression of immortality, to be its very foundation. Immortality not merely includes, as the orthodox theologians hold, but it actually depends upon, the resurrection of the flesh. In a similar spirit, one of the greatest scientific teachers of our day, Professor Owen, in his recent work on the Vertebrate Animals, appears to regard the resurrection of the body (i.e. the flesh) as absolutely essential to the idea of immortality. He defines the soul as *a result of the work of the brain*; how produced is a mystery. But he believes that, in the resurrection of the body, soul will again, as now, form a part of the re-integrated sum of forces;* so that, according to the Professor, the sum of spiritual forces, instead of being, as we would fain regard it, an ever-growing whole, is here considered as liable to diminution, or, so far as the individual is concerned, to temporary but *total extinction*, to be again re-integrated (note the word) by the resurrection of bodily organisms.

The materialistic consequences of these views appear to us sufficiently manifest to make an elaborate demonstration of them needless. It may suffice to remark, that they strike at the root of the most fundamental articles of religious belief. What, e.g., becomes of the existence of the Divine Being as conscious Spirit, if it is once assumed that consciousness is dependent on material organization? But

* See a review of Professor Owen's *Anatomy of the Vertebrate Animals*, in Brit. Med. Journal, May 22nd, 1869.

not only is this conception thoroughly materialistic, it is also far from fulfilling the purposes contemplated by its authors, for it absolutely contradicts the current belief that the future life is *continuous* and everlasting; nor is it in harmony with the most authoritative utterances of Scripture on the subject. In short, the view brought forward to reconcile the supposed conclusions of science with one unimportant phase of a great truth, effects this purpose only by destroying the truth itself. It only needs a logical development of this conception to bring about a theology as gross and unspiritual as that laid down by the most materialistic of all the fathers, Tertullian.

It is, however, time to lay before our readers the advantages which, we conceive, would result from the method here suggested of defining immortality. We have already adverted to one of these, viz. the rendering of that great truth impervious to the attacks of the materialist. It should be remembered that the tendency of materialism, strikingly exemplified in Professor Huxley's paper, is to set matter above force—the protoplasm, so to speak, above the nucleus, so as to ignore as much as possible the latter element. We, on the other hand, feel convinced that the ultimate mysteries of the world lie in the forces which animate it, especially in that great inscrutable creative Force which we fitly call the Reason of the universe. If this force be admitted to be eternal in its activity, it needs but a little reflection to assign the same attribute to all other forces which possess the same nature and aim at the same objects.

And hence will result another great advantage derivable from this definition of immortality, and that is, the recognition of the essential unity of all spiritual forces. The reasoning powers of man, the moral and intellectual influence which he exercises on the world, will be seen to be indissolubly one in kind with the central force of the Divine Mind. The progress of society in the higher stages of civilization will, moreover, be definable as a progress towards immortality. All human thought and life—in a word, all existence, so far as it is spiritual—will be recognized as forming one majestic whole, of which each individual forms a distinct, though necessarily infinitesimally small, part. Thus as there is an undoubted tendency to unity among physical forces, so among the spiritual, i.e. mental and

ethical forces, energizing in the universe, will be recognized a similar unity. So the finite will be seen to be an essential part of the Infinite, just as the passing moment is a link in the endless chain of eternity, or the ground we tread on is an inappreciably minute fragment of the immensity of space.

Nor are the bearings of this conception of immortality on other religious beliefs unworthy of notice. Recognizing as we do an element of truth as underlying all religious beliefs which have obtained largely among mankind, we cannot but think that the fitness of any given doctrinal definition to reconcile or explain other collateral beliefs is no unworthy criterion of its truth. Take, for instance, the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. Nothing can be more grossly materialistic than the mode in which that doctrine is generally held; but construed in the language we have here employed, and we discern its high spiritual truth, for it is nothing more than an assertion of the unity of will or spiritual force existing between the Father and the Son. This view is so entirely the prevailing one both of the Synoptics and St. John, that to refer to them for its proof would be quite needless. Similarly, every rational interpretation of the doctrines of Inspiration and the Holy Spirit is based upon the assumption that all human discovery and communication of intellectual or moral truth, is by means of that Divine energy which is itself essential and all-embracing Truth; and surely the conception of a church or a communion of saints receives at once the reason of its being and its noblest definition when it is called a union of spiritual forces.

Moreover, the practical effects derivable from this definition are not less conspicuous; for once adopted, and immortality would then become, not, as it is at present, a mere attribute of the future; it would sum up, in one word, a living process ever present and ever active, co-eternal with the universe and its Divine Author. We should then get rid of that unhallowed separation between this world and the next, and the supposed essential differences between the conditions of their respective modes of existence, which we hold to be, in theory and practice, nothing less than immoral. Spiritual force is the *sams* for all men, for all time. Co-operation with the Eternal is itself eternity, no

matter what the conditions of its manifestation. "He that believeth *hath* eternal life." And what can be a nobler incentive to the cultivation of truth and purity within ourselves, and their diffusion among our fellow-men, than the consideration that, so far as we can add to knowledge and diminish ignorance, so far as we can add to truth by lessening falsehood, so far as we can increase virtue by diminishing its opposites, so far are we taking part with the Ruler of the universe; we are adding our infinitesimally small powers to the infinite total of His great forces; we are workers together with Him in imparting activity and a right direction to the unused or wasted spiritual energies of the universe, and so we are advancing that cause of progress and true civilization which may truly claim the appellation of His kingdom. Here, too, may be found that bond of union which has been hitherto wanting, but which a consciousness of being engaged in a common work is calculated to inspire, between the religious philosopher on the one hand, and the physical inquirer on the other; for as the latter finds his noble occupation in lessening the amount of the *unknown* and *hidden* processes of nature—in other words, human ignorance—and increasing the sum of human knowledge and activity, so the former, by diminishing ignorance and vice, will in reality be co-operating in what is essentially the *same work*. Each will then recognize the value of the other's labour; each will see that the one is the necessary complement of the other, and that without either, real civilization and social progress are impossible.

It is perhaps almost needless to add, that we do not assume in the foregoing remarks to have *demonstrated* the truth of immortality. That will always remain an impossibility. All that we purposed was to shew, that taking the very latest generalizations of physical science for our basis, there is nothing improbable, not to say impossible, in the doctrine of immortality when rightly conceived and defined. Notwithstanding the loud rejoicings of a few superficial materialists at what have seemed to their purblind vision to be indications of the immediate triumph of their principles, we may safely take it for granted that no conceivable progress in science can bridge over the gulf existing between mind and matter. No scientific discovery, e.g., will ever suffice to prove that historical progress is the crea-

ture of physical forces, or that virtue is an amiable manifestation of heat or electricity. Hence the ground taken by Bishop Butler, in the well-known chapter of the *Analogy*, will always be that which the more thoughtful of the defenders of immortality will choose to occupy—the ground of probability supported by analogy. This is the ground we have endeavoured, however unworthily, to occupy in the foregoing remarks. Recognizing as we do the scientific impossibility that the least part of a physical force should be annihilated, we have endeavoured to prove the analogical improbability that any, even the smallest part, of divine energy can be entirely and irreparably lost. Moreover, there is another analogy derivable from modern scientific investigation which also points in the same direction of the truth of immortality. The gradual development of mind over matter is a well-known conclusion of history; but we are now told that a similar process on a larger scale is shewn by the successions of geological epochs. Hence we are informed that the course of the world “presents us with a picture of the ever-increasing dominion of mind over matter.”* So that, beginning in the Eternal Mind, the world *tends* towards immortality; so also does modern science afford a striking commentary on St. Paul’s words—“The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.”

It would therefore seem, according to the best of our judgments, that the doctrine of immortality has nothing to fear from the progress of physical science. That a few modifications of popular, and for the most part materialistic, opinions on the subject may possibly be an effect of that progress, we may fully allow and even desire. Still, in essentials, immortality will always be, to the religious and philosophic thinker, a cardinal doctrine of true theology; for so long as spiritual force is recognized in creation and human history on the one hand, or in the individual will on the other (and history is itself but the aggregate of individual forces), so long will there be room for affirming:

1. That all spiritual forces are in reality indissoluble.
2. That they are immortal.

JOHN OWEN.

* Mrs. Somerville’s “*Molecular and Microscopic Science*,” II. p. 11.

VI.—FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER.

The Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber, D.D., Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. By John Edward Bowden, of the same Congregation. London: T. Richardson and Son. 1869.

WHATEVER we may think of the hopes and expectations of Archbishop Manning, we can scarcely deny that, after all due deductions, the Church of Rome has during the last five-and-twenty years achieved in this country no small success. The means by which this success has been attained, and the forms which Roman Catholicism is assuming or may assume, are in themselves subjects of interest, even if we believe that the day will never come when the brightest of all its jewels shall be restored to the Papal crown by the conversion of England. Whatever the reasons may be, it is a fact that the Roman Church continues to attract adherents from other religious bodies in this country; nor do we care to say that the confidence expressed by some of the most earnest Roman Catholics in the leanings of our town populations is altogether without foundation. But apart from all questions as to the number of future converts, we certainly cannot take anything like an adequate view of the condition of religious thought in this country, unless we take into account the influences at work on our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen.

That these influences run chiefly in two channels, few probably will deny; and it is perhaps not less true in fact that they have run in two streams ever since the beginning of what is now known as the Oxford movement. That movement acted chiefly on two classes of minds, and it is not too much to say that the position of the Church of Rome in this country would not have been what it now is, but for the converts which it has made of men belonging to those two classes. On the one side were men who, however keenly they might feel the shortcomings of the English Church, were yet as keenly alive to all that was great and venerable in her system, and who lived and thought not only as Christians, but as Englishmen. To them the one paramount object of search was the truth, and this truth was to be reached by a most careful and exact

historical process, which should embrace the whole course of Christianity from its first propagation to the present time. In this inquiry, they were content to start from the ground occupied by the Church of England; and that ground, from their point of view, furnished them at once with a magnificent ideal which placed them in harmony with the highest aspirations of the greatest thinkers of the Catholic Church in all ages and in all lands. The Church of which they were members seemed in their eyes to claim for itself the character of an integral portion of that Church Catholic, on the very ground that it had retained its essential organization and its necessary doctrines. It fed its children on the same food; and it had the same warrant for its authority which could be claimed for that of all other branches of the Church, whether Greek or Latin. Doubtless the atmosphere into which they were thus thrown would tend to excite in them a lively sympathy for theologians and a theology not much to the taste of the great mass of Englishmen, or even of professed English Churchmen. It could not be pretended that the tone of thought of the great Caroline divines was especially congenial to Englishmen of the nineteenth century; but in their belief the men who agreed heartily in the general spirit of those divines and accepted the details of their teaching were the only men who were really faithful to the teaching of the Church of England, and the logical carrying out of their principles could not possibly lead them wrong unless those principles were in themselves erroneous. This, however, was an alternative which they were not called upon to discuss. The doctrine of the English Church on the subject of the Sacraments, of Baptism and the Eucharist, was the doctrine of Augustine and Anselm, of Bossuet and Fénelon; the language of the Ordinal seemed to confer on Anglican priests an authority even greater than that which the Roman Church bestowed on any of her clergy. Thus, then, on the most momentous of all doctrines, there was not only no antagonism, there was a real harmony of teaching between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and they could thus educate themselves into a thoroughly Catholic spirit, while yet that spirit might co-exist with a thoroughly English character. All that was magnificent and august in the theology of Bernard or Bellarmine they

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might regard as their own by an indefeasible title; and if the remembrance of the divisions of Christendom drew a dark line across the picture, they had yet the comfort of believing that the responsibility for these divisions lay with others rather than with themselves, rather with the Roman Church in its exaggerated claims than with the Church of England, which was ready to yield to it all legitimate deference. In this belief they might live, cultivating all Christian graces, and submitting themselves to all the strictness of Catholic discipline, while yet they retained their love and appreciation for the associations, the history and the literature of their country. This ground was soon cut away from beneath their feet. A hard and painful experience taught them that although their position was legally justifiable, yet this was rather an accident than a result deliberately designed; that if they remained members of the Church of England, they must "stand all the day idle as the very condition of her bearing with them;" and that if they walked consistently in the road trodden before them by Andrewes and Ken, by Laud or Hammond, she would bid them be gone where they would be more welcome, or would sell them for nought to the stranger that passes by. But even when they had been taught that "whatever was generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, fell from her bosom and found no home within her arms,"* these converts carried with them the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which they had lived. They had submitted themselves to the imperial authority of Rome, but they yet thought and spoke as their countrymen; and the language even of their devotion was on the whole a language which their countrymen could understand, or to which they need feel no very vehement aversion. Whether the influence of such men would in the long run avail much with the masses, there was no doubt this danger, that Roman Catholicism, as exhibited in their lives and by their words and writings, might appear a system which Englishmen of the highest education might accept without any very violent wrench to their modes of thought, and without vilifying all which had thus far been to them most valuable. There can be no doubt that if the faith of the Church of Rome

* Newman, *Sermons on Subjects for the Day*, p. 461.

had been presented to Englishmen only under ~~this aspect~~, there would have been an element ~~of sufficient~~ devotion to the Roman See as ~~the centre of Catholic~~ unity, without any ~~of that exaggerated~~ language and practice which must repel many as thoroughly as it may attract a few. With such men, the motive to conversion was not so much an irrepressible longing for a particular devotional atmosphere, as an overwhelming desire to find themselves in a state of safety. From their earliest childhood they had been taught that the one thing needful was the salvation of their souls ; and the whole force of the teaching of the great Elizabethan and Caroline divines had been expended, not in the effort to shew that the Roman idea of unity and of the paramount necessity of remaining within the limits of a particular religious society was itself wholly without foundation, but that the Church of England possessed all the notes of the Church, and therefore could afford to her members as legitimate an assurance of salvation as the Church of Rome herself. When at length, as it seemed to them, the falsity of this position was laid bare, they determined at all costs to obey their conscience, and to make whatever sacrifices that obedience required. In the body to which they were now to belong, they knew that saints like Ambrose and Athanasius, Basil, Gregory and Chrysostom, would have found a far more congenial home than in the Church of England, if in the latter they could ever have found any rest or peace at all ; and they had long felt that the language of these saints, whether in their teaching or devotions, had little or nothing which was distasteful to them, and far less anything repugnant to their English habits and ways of looking at things.

But there was another class of men who were much more ready to answer in the negative the question of Anglican claims, having convinced themselves that, even if the order of Anglican priests were valid and their administration of the Sacraments effectual, yet the mere departure from, or the lack of, modern Catholic usages was an irreparable loss, and hence that it was impossible to imbue themselves too thoroughly with the present spirit and practice of Rome. These men on their conversion had practically little to learn and nothing to unlearn. They had steeped themselves in devotion to the Holy See ; and there

was ~~not one of~~ the thousand forms of devotion sanctioned or permitted by ~~that~~ ~~the~~ which was not in their judgment wholesome and edifying, ~~not one belief~~ ~~avowed~~ by any of her saints which had not its foundation in truth. ~~For them the~~ most extravagant positions of modern Ultramontanes involved no difficulty; the most astounding hagiologies demanded no greater effort of faith than the history of England as related by Dr. Lingard. These men had, in fact, after a very short period of transition (perhaps from the Evangelical to the High-church school), prejudged the whole question. They had convinced themselves that their mission as Anglican clergymen or laymen was to Romanize the Church of England, on the ground that her own dogmas justified and warranted the process; and when they joined the Church of Rome, they were equally assured that their mission was to assimilate the practices and customs of all the local churches to those of the Italian Church, and to familiarize their countrymen with all that they were disposed to regard as extreme and fanatical manifestations of Catholic devotion.

Of these men, Frederick William Faber was the most prominent, and has probably more than all others influenced the future fortunes of the Church of Rome in this country, in the direction whether of success or defeat. The one aim of his life after his conversion, and, in truth, it may be said for a long time before his conversion, was to assimilate the standard of English to that of Italian Catholicism. To all arguments against the wisdom of introducing Italian practices of devotion he turned a deaf ear, or rather he answered them with a reply so far logical as to satisfy himself that his own plans were founded on right reason. The Roman Catholic was the true religion; the Pope at the head of the Latin Church was in doctrine infallible; and the whole cycle of Catholic practice was a development or exhibition of the truth. This truth was a living stem or tree, growing up with a power imparted to it by no human means; and any attempt to check its growth, or to train its branches in one direction rather than another, was practically treachery to the Church to which they professed to have devoted themselves.

"Truth is not ours," he said, "to bate and frown down. Truth is God's; it has God's majesty inherent within it, and it will con-

vert the souls of men, even when it seems rudest and most repelling; and it will do so for this one reason—because it is God's truth, and because we, through the grace of God, have boldness and faith to put our trust in it. And, again, beware of another evil, that of trying to throw aside or to force down what seems most faithful and warm in the devotions of foreign lands; do not tell that cruel falsehood, do not tell it to those whom you love and are longing and yearning to have within the Church, do not tell them that the faith is other here than what it is elsewhere; do not throw aside devotion and sweetness, and worship and affection, as though they were not fit for us, as though God's Church were not one; for this is nothing less in reality than to deny the unity of God's Church.”*

This argument or formula was applied by him, it must be admitted, with a sufficiently sweeping generality to the moral and spiritual condition of England. That condition was to Faber a subject unspeakably horrifying. The spirit of Protestantism had eaten into the very heart of the people, and Protestantism was “the devil's masterpiece,” choking up all the avenues of affection, killing all kindly sympathies, and leaving men to starve and perish in the very sight of an inexhaustible banquet. It had its root in unbelief, and its outcome was simply irreverence and blasphemy. Far from deferring to the authority of St. Peter, they were walking every man in his own way, and each banning or slandering his neighbour; far from finding comfort among the myriads of saints and angels with whom they might hold daily converse, they were fast coming to the conclusion that the physical order of the world was not and could not be affected by any human prayers or any angelic interferences. How were these frightful evils to be remedied? Assuredly, only by the conversion of England. But how was this to be accomplished? Surely, by nothing less than an exhibition of the Roman, or rather the Italian, system in this country in all the aspects of its working. In place of the licence to pick and choose at will, there must be unquestioning submission to the judgments of the Pope, and an immediate intellectual acquiescence in his decrees; in the place of covert infidelity or indefinite doubt, there must be a joyful leaning on the intercession of the saints; and this could be brought about only by the preach-

ing of the extremest or the most fully developed Ultramontane theology, by the most fervent devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and by the hearty adoption of all the new religious practices devised daily by the spiritualized ingenuity of the devout. The ark of God must be carried into the midst of the hosts of the enemy; and in a country where on the walls of towns might be seen scrawled the words, "No Popery, no religion; down with the priests!" these priests were to redouble their invocations to "dearest Mama," and insist that she must win for them the boon for which they should never cease to pray. In a country where men were daily becoming more and more at a loss to reconcile the facts of the humanity of Jesus and the facts of his life as related in the Gospels with the Athanasian doctrine of his divinity, there must be special devotions instituted to the limbs of Jesus as wounded on the cross, to his sacred heart, his sacred hands and feet, and his sacred side. The more that Englishmen shewed a disposition to retreat into an intellectual scepticism, the more must the language of these devotions assume a sensuous or physical character, the more will it be our right and our duty to speak of the Virgin Mother venerating the holy hands of St. Thomas as fragrant with the sacred blood of the wound into which the Saviour had suffered him to thrust it.

Here, then, is a plain issue,—on the one hand, Frederick Faber coming forward as the uncompromising champion of those dogmas and practices which it is thought are likely to receive their final and irreversible sanction in the coming so-called Ecumenical Council; on the other, Dr. Newman still striving to exhibit the doctrines of Papal Infallibility and the Invocation of Saints in a form which, if not attractive, may at the least not be an insurmountable rock of offence to the great bulk of the English people,—still insisting that although the warmer piety of foreigners may lead them to use language of a singularly fervent and ecstatic kind in their devotions to the saints, yet these expressions are the natural outpouring of a genuine affection, and as such must be safe from our condemnation, although we may not be called upon and may not choose to adopt them ourselves.* This is, in fact, the whole gist and essence of Faber's

* Letter in answer to Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon.

work. For this he lived, and for this, it may be said, he died, if, as it seems, his health was impaired and his life shortened by the stern discipline to which he felt it his duty to subject himself in carrying out his plan.

It would argue a strange indifference or even deadness to the cause of true religion, if we were to deny the gravity of this issue. To those who do not believe the dogma of Papal Infallibility in any sense, who look upon Italian devotion in general as on something eminently unwholesome, but who yet think that the Latin Church has done a great work in the world, and that under different conditions she may be made an instrument of doing even a greater work hereafter, it must be a matter of the gravest moment whether Catholicism in this country is to take an Italian or a Teutonic direction,—whether in short, the German protest is to have any weight in the approaching Council,—or whether the Church of Rome is to be committed to those conclusions against which M. de Montalembert, on the very verge of the grave and speaking with the clearness of a man who has nothing more to do with earthly things, has so nobly raised his voice. Six years have now passed since Dr. Faber ended a life of singular beauty (they who differ from him most widely and deeply may yet gladly admit this), and during those years Dr. Newman has distinctly accepted the issue raised by his friend. With the passage before him from Dr. Faber's Notes which we have quoted from the "Life," and in which he says that any attempt to repress or check the introduction of Italian forms of devotion into this country is "in reality to deny the unity of God's Church," Dr. Newman, in his Letter on Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon, has said summarily that he prefers "English habits of belief and devotion to foreign." In this preference he states that he was upheld by Dr. Griffiths, the late Vicar Apostolic of the London district, who warned him "against books of devotion of the Italian school which were just at that time coming into England."* These words Dr. Newman utters in full consciousness that Dr. Faber threw his whole weight on the other side; for speaking of him as one who had "departed amid the tears of hundreds," he asks Dr. Pusey why he rests on him as an authority in the matter of devotion

* P. 22.

to the Virgin ;" and then adds, that Dr. Faber and Mr. Ward "came to the Church and thereby saved their souls ; but they are in no sense spokesmen for English Catholics, and they must not stand in the place of those who have a real title to such an office,"—these being such men as "Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Ullathorne, Dr. Lingard, Mr. Tierney, Dr. Oliver, Dr. Rock, Dr. Waterworth, Dr. Husenbeth and Mr. Flanagan." "Which of these ecclesiastics," he asks, "has said anything extreme about the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin or the infallibility of the Pope?"* None perhaps ; but the question is not as to the past or even as to the present phase of thought and devotion among English Catholics, so much as to the probable course of events in the time to come.

Mr. Bowden, who has taken upon himself the task of writing the Life of Dr. Faber, cannot but be aware that while this question must impart to any biography of Dr. Faber much of its interest in the eyes of a large number even of Roman Catholics, it is almost the only point which gives to it a practical interest and importance in the eyes of all other Englishmen. He was bound therefore to enter into the matter candidly and fully ; and he has not only not done this, but he has treated it in a way which can only be called evasive. In short, his book is manifestly written so as to keep out of sight, so far as may be possible, the fact that there has been any controversy or difference of opinion on the subject. It will not do, he feels, to ignore all that Dr. Newman has said in his Letter to Dr. Pusey, but he will not mention Dr. Newman's name in the passage which treats of Dr. Faber's attitude towards foreign forms of devotion ; and his comment on the words which we have cited from that Letter is briefly as follows :

"It has been well said that Father Faber has no claim to be considered a spokesman for English Catholics. A spokesman is one who expresses the sentiments of a large body, being deputed to do so because he understands and agrees with their opinions. Such a position Father Faber never occupied ; he was a leader, not a spokesman ; the mission he accomplished was to educate, not to represent, the Catholics of England."†

If this really was the case, then Mr. Bowden is the more

* P. 25.

† P. 469.

bound to mention the influences which, in this task of educating his co-religionists, Dr. Faber set himself to counteract. What end can Mr. Bowden possibly hope to gain by repressing the fact that if Dr. Faber was vehemently eager to introduce Italian devotions, Dr. Newman as decidedly preferred English forms to foreign, and as distinctly regretted the attempts made to naturalize the latter? Mr. Bowden has approached his subject confessedly as one which must have an interest for readers who are not Roman Catholics.* Why, then, does he ignore all that Dr. Newman says as to the nature of the more popular devotions carried on in Roman Catholic churches? He knows, of course, that Anglicans or Protestants have read the words in which Dr. Newman speaks of these devotions: "No one interferes with his neighbour; agreeing, as it were, to differ, they pursue independently a common end, and, by paths distinct but converging, present themselves before God."† He knows also that to most Anglicans or Protestants these words can convey but one meaning, viz., that each man may believe as much or as little of the propositions contained in these devotions as he pleases, so long as he does not explicitly reject the doctrines of the Church; and that they can scarcely fail to discern a reference to Dr. Faber in the words, "Loud talkers, in the Church as elsewhere, are apt to carry all before them, while quiet and conscientious persons commonly have to give way." But Mr. Bowden evidently thinks that he is bound, so far as he may be able, to obliterate all traces of such discussions;‡ and thus Dr. Newman's words to Dr. Pusey are passed by in silence, while a kindly letter in which Cardinal Wiseman comforts Dr. Faber, when almost at the point of death, with the reflection that the many saints and servants of God will be near

* Preface, p. v.

† Letter on Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, p. 31.

‡ It is true that Mr. Bowden quotes from Dr. Newman's Letter the words in which he speaks of a wise prelate who "was apprehensive of the effect of Italian compositions, as unsuited to this country." But it is in another connection; and Dr. Newman's words are thus made to have reference only to Italian lives of saints. Of his remarks on the subject of foreign books and forms of devotion we hear not a word; and Mr. Bowden is at least discreet in keeping silence, if, as is probable, he is unwilling to admit that distinction between wholesome and unwholesome devotions to the Virgin, on which Dr. Newman lays the greatest stress. (Letter to Dr. Pusey, pp. 105—119.) There seems to be no evidence that any such distinction was admitted by Dr. Faber.

him whom he has made known, revered and invoked by so many in this country, is quoted as if it completely settled the matter.*

It does not, of course, follow that Dr. Newman thought of Dr. Faber only, or even chiefly, as a loud talker, or that he would have applied this expression to him in any invidious and unworthy sense. But Dr. Faber was endowed with singular command of language, and his feelings were as vehement as his words were clear and to the point; and thus on subjects in which he felt himself deeply concerned, the torrent of his eloquence rushed on as though to sweep away everything in its path. In this sense, he might fairly be spoken of as a loud talker; but, apart from this, Dr. Newman acknowledges, and doubtless rejoices in the remembrance of, "his remarkable gifts, his poetical fancy, his engaging frankness, his playful wit, his affectionateness, his sensitive piety;"† and even they who differ most widely from both must admit that every word in this eulogy was most fully deserved. It is unnecessary, and in the compass of a few pages it would be impossible, to give anything like an analysis or summary of this Memoir of one of the most remarkable men who have left the Church of England for the communion of Rome. It is better to leave the reader to form his own judgment from a perusal of the Memoir, which even as it now stands is full of interest; nor is there any need to dwell on its defects as a biography. That Mr. Bowden has not cared to avail himself of assistance and documents to which he might have had easy access, is now well known; and there is as little doubt that very much more might have been said, and should have been said, of the years which preceded his conversion, as well as of the various currents of thought amidst which he found himself in his new home. But although Mr. Bowden speaks of Dr. Faber as passing through many phases of thought, even to the end of his life, and as speaking frankly of them to his friends, the actual history of his religious opinions is one which may be given very briefly. In his earlier years, the influence which he felt the most strongly was that of the Calvinistic school; and any harsh criticisms or condemnations of the Evangelicals were sure

* P. 510.

† Letter to Dr. Pusey, p. 24.

to arouse his indignation. But Faber, although this school left a certain mark upon him to the last, was not one of those who could remain content with a religion so bare and bleak, a religion which was simply and exclusively a matter between each individual soul and God. This individuality was intensely irksome to him; and the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration and of the Sacramental Life shewed him the way of escape from this "base theology," with its "dreadful facility of turning to God." In the Church he ceased to be an individual, and fell "into his own place quietly and without disturbance."* From this time, his progress in the path which he steadily pursued to the end of his life was rapid and unbroken. He reached almost at once the conviction that the Church of England, in its present condition, might be aptly compared to the valley of the dry bones, and that the spirit which stirred in her with almost imperceptible and strangely fitful pulsation was working mightily and always in the Church of Rome. While Dr. Newman's glance ranged far away to the Church of Augustine, Ambrose, Cyril and Cyprian, Faber found a more ready consolation in the See of Rome and its present occupant. His difficulty was not so much to satisfy himself of the validity of Anglican Sacraments, as to determine how and where he could best live after the highest pattern and standard of Christian perfection. In this matter he was determined not to trifle or palter with himself. He would tie himself to no man's garments; and he becomes almost severe in his language to a friend who had said, "I do not care if you only stick to Pusey." "I do not wish," he adds, "to find my own road to my Saviour; but I do wish my friend to acknowledge, what he does not for a moment doubt, that my allegiance to that Saviour is always too predominant a feeling in my heart to allow of my sticking to any human guide." It is not wonderful, therefore, that the peculiar ground occupied by Dr. Pusey failed to satisfy Faber. To him, all that he saw of Roman devotion and of the practice of Roman Catholics carried the evidence that God was among them of a truth, while the general state of the English Church sometimes almost awakened the doubt whether God was in it at all. So little

* P. 55.

were any scruples which others might feel against copying the practices of the Roman communion present to his mind, that on his presentation to the rectory of Elton he determined at once to go abroad, and, in Mr. Bowden's words, to study the operations of the Church of Rome more as a learner than as a critic. In this step he felt himself justified by the fact that there was an essential agreement between the theology of the best Anglican divines on the subject of the Sacraments with that of the Roman doctors, and that in its protest against the Church of Rome the English Church was palpably in the wrong. Still, whether the Church of England was right or wrong, it is astonishing that a man so clear-sighted as Faber, deficient as he may have been in judgment, could fail to see what must be inevitably the issue of his experiment. Here was a man to whom the atmosphere of the Established Church had become thoroughly distasteful, and who deliberately sets to work to copy the practices of another society, towards which he finds himself powerfully attracted, but which his own Church had emphatically condemned. Nevertheless, he determined "to examine closely in Catholic countries, and especially in Rome, the methods pursued by the Church in dealing with the souls entrusted to her care." Doubtless he thought, as he said, that he "found his attachment to the Church of England growing in Rome, the more he bewailed her position ;"* but this was because, in his own words, he felt that she was still a Church, and therefore might be brought once more to a sound mind. The proof of this lies in Dr. Newman's note of holiness. "Of course, I could not," he says, "make use of a feeling as an argument; yet I confess that sometimes, when I am hard pressed, I feel that there is a little fortress in the background, quite unsuspected by the enemy, namely, recollections of Oxford and of the good people there. I feel, however unable I may be to put it scholastically, that there is evident work of the Holy Spirit, whose sanctifying influences they would restrain, so far as any real advance in holiness is concerned, to the Roman Church."† Still in Rome he felt himself in his heart's true home; it was nothing but dire duty which could tear him away from it.

* P. 186.

† P. 187.

He attends the Pope's celebration of mass on Ascension-day in St. John Lateran, and thinks that he never "returned from any service so thoroughly Christianized in every joint and limb, or so right of heart," as he did from the Lateran on that day.* Thus, glorying amidst the fires, he confesses, "I grow more Roman every day, but I hope not wilfully." For the present he consents to give up the practice of invoking the Virgin and Saints; but he returns to England, and to the charge of the parish of Elton, with the deliberate determination that his "whole life, God willing, shall be one crusade against the detestable and *diabolical* heresy of Protestantism, the very name even of which has been publicly and authoritatively abjured by my own Church,"† although it would be hard to say when and where. In plain English, he could never be more thoroughly Roman Catholic in spirit than he was now. He had conformed himself to Catholic practices abroad as far as he possibly could; he came to Elton, resolved to introduce and to carry out those practices to the utmost of his power. Confession, fasting, the discipline, the hair shirt, the iron chain, nothing was to be wanting (save the outward and visible communion with the Holy See) to enable him and his penitents to lead the lives, not only of priests, but even of monks in the Church Catholic. "I am much altered," he admits, "since I came abroad this time; but I am very, very, very Roman. I have *learnt* an immense deal, both inwardly and outwardly, and I hope it will lead to something better than feelings."‡ It led to, or was followed by, work at Elton which changed the appearance of the village in more ways than one, work which checked and repressed drunkenness and many other forms of vice, and habituated many of the inhabitants to the modes of Roman thought, religion and devotion, probably before many of them had the slightest notion of the nature of the controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. A community of young men met as penitents in the rectory every night at twelve o'clock, and spent some time (three hours on the eves of the greater festivals) chiefly in reciting portions of the Psalter. In these nocturnal assemblies they were likewise introduced to the supernatural atmosphere and supernatural beings of

* P. 192.

† P. 191.

‡ P. 209.

Catholic hagiology or folk-lore ; and Mr. Bowden solemnly remarks : "It would seem that these vigils excited the anger of the evil spirits, for mysterious noises used to be heard in the house at the time, often apparently just outside the door of the oratory where the members were assembled. Sometimes, on these occasions, they took lights and searched all over the house, but without finding anything which could account for the noises which had been heard. These disturbances did not avail to put a stop to the nightly meetings," which were persevered in as quietly as Luther laid his head again on his pillow when wakened by a noise which was made only by the devil.

It was manifestly, therefore, a mere question of time, if his life were extended, how soon this work of imitating Roman practices should be rendered superfluous by submitting himself to the Roman discipline in reality. Doubts and difficulties, in strictness of speech, there were none. What he had been before, that he continued to be after the incident called his conversion,—only, doubtless, happier and more light-hearted for his deliverance from the constrained and uncongenial position which he had cast aside for ever. He would thus far, therefore, be the better for his change ; and it may be doubted whether in any respects he was the worse for it. Long before his actual profession, he had become as extreme in his theology, and as vehement against heresy and error, as he could well be after it ; and the feeling of antagonism to the system and spirit of the Establishment was probably more keenly felt while he still continued to belong to it, than after he had quitted her pale. How far his character was really exalted by the faith which he had adopted years before he abjured his allegiance to the English Church, the reader must determine for himself by examining this Memoir, if his knowledge of Faber will not enable him to do so without it ; and his judgment will take shape from his own convictions on the topics of which Faber is in this biography made to speak. If he regards the full toleration of religious differences as a duty binding on all Christians, he cannot look upon Faber as a man whose life exhibited any growth in this righteous quality. He did not care that it should. He had sought for truth and he had found it. He had reached safe ground for himself, and he doubted the salvation of Protestants ; why, then, should

he behave as one to whom the religious state of his neighbours was a matter of indifference, when in his eyes they were as brands ready for the everlasting burnings.* In his earlier days, when he appealed to Hooker as maintaining all that was essential to Calvinism in his sermons on Justification by Faith and on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, he upholds "in the fullest and most latitudinarian manner the tenets of universal toleration and the supremacy of private judgment."† Only a year later, he speaks of himself as growing "more and more dissatisfied with the world every day, and especially with people making a certain profession of religion. My spirit is not near so catholic and tolerant as it used to be. I see more clearly than ever that *exclusiveness* is one of the leading features of the Gospel of Jesus, and that much of what it is fashionable to call verbal debate is in reality vital godliness."‡ The sight of the Venetian dungeons in 1841 excites in him one of those bursts of genuine eloquence in which few Englishmen have surpassed him; but it seems not to have struck him then that the same awful contrast between the kindness of nature and the fiendish savageness of man might be suggested as forcibly by the cruelties of the spiritual Inquisition as by those of the great merchant republic. Many years later we see that the spirit is not dead within him which inspired the severity of Dominic and Torquemada.

"You are going all over my wanderings in 1843," he writes to his biographer. "You won't get the smell of box out of your nose for a year. I smell the bitter steaming glens of the Pyrenees even still, the bitter of the box foliage, and the honey smell of the yellow fluffy box-flowers in April :

'The breath of thy gardens, the hum of thy bees,
And the long waving line of the blue Pyrenees.'

"Macaulay hadn't been there; the savage valleys smell more aromatically than the gardens; but I regret that Huguenots are allowed to smell the aroma of the box at all."§

This hatred of intellectual, or, as he would probably have

* Dr. Faber had no idea of allowing Purgatory to take the place of a hell of endless torments for all who were not worthy of the former. In the last sermon which he preached, he said significantly, "The devil's worst and most fatal preparation for the coming of Antichrist is the weakening of men's belief in eternal punishment."—P. 503.

† P. 17.

‡ P. 40.

§ P. 420.

preferred to term it, of spiritual error, brought him into an attitude of mind which involved a bitter antagonism with half the literature of Europe and almost all the literature of England. It was not enough for him to condemn the man, or to condemn what was evil in his books ; all that he ever wrote, and even everything associated with his name, comes under one sweeping ban. It is not enough to say that *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan* are in many respects very immoral and pernicious poems ; but he confesses that many a scene in Italy has been marred for him by some officious friend reminding him of the godless Byron,* and he never regrets having, while still at Oxford, thrown his beautiful four-volume edition of Shelley into the fire. But we may form some measure of the heat and ferment in which he lived, when we come across his comparison of Byron the godless with Milton, "that worse child of the devil, whose grand poem is so horribly instinct with hatred of the Son of God and blasphemy against his Divinity." He not only forgets that the failure to grasp or to retain the same conception of a fact which is entertained by another in no way involves contempt or indifference for that fact, but he even loathes those other poems of Milton in which there is no reference whatever either to the fact or to any conception of it. "I cannot conceive," he says, "how anything like a delicate and ardent love of the Saviour can enjoy the works of the Saviour's enemy. The mind admits the distinction, the heart does not. Milton (accursed be his blasphemous memory !) spent great part of his life in writing down my Lord's Divinity, my sole trust, my sole love ; and that thought poisons *Comus*."† In truth, the boat in which he had embarked had drifted away so far down the stream of religious enthusiasm, as to place an impassable gulf between his feelings and the more sober and indifferent judgment of men to whom a thing in itself not evil is not tainted because evil may be found near it or around it. He had come to take a different view of holiness and duty, to infer an inward sanctity from outward gestures, and to measure the purity of a saint by the loudness of the blows which he inflicted upon himself. He is extremely touched by the way in which Gregory XVI., when the Host was being

* P. 205.

† P. 206.

brought to him at his throne in St. Peter's, threw himself down on the ground "in a moment, without arranging his robes, without dignity. While he stood praying before it, his beating and striking of his breast were so vehement, that you could hear them all over, and he looked a saint."* It was scarcely possible that one with an imagination thus inflamed and a bigotry so ardent could be long retained in the sobering or chilling atmosphere of the English Church. Dr. Newman's influence had never been very great on Faber's mind, although Mr. Bowden says (and, in a certain sense, with truth) that "to his teaching his first attraction to the Church had been mainly due;"† but Dr. Newman's conversion was at once regarded as a snapping of the only ties which yet retained him in the Anglican Establishment. Feelings, hitherto checked or pent up, now had full play given to them; and he went forth as a devoted knight, ready to sacrifice strength, intellect, life itself, to vindicate the honour and exalt the glory of the Virgin Mother. "Do you not remember," he asks one of his fellow-converts, "how she stood at the foot of the cross and watched the Passion of her Son, how she counted the minutes and the drops of Blood, how she looked up and would fain have wiped the clotted Blood from out of His beautiful eyes, but she could not reach so far?"‡ and shall they not then make it one of the chief ends of their lives to make up in their poor way to this sweet Mother for the ignorant rudeness of the Protestants?§ Of course, every legend, whether of her or of any supposed relics or objects associated with her, is absolute, unquestionable history. The holy house of Loreto makes a deep impression on him and on his fellow-traveller Mr. Hutchison, and they both "received within its walls a notable accession of devotion to the Blessed Virgin."|| They could now approach her with affectionate familiarity. "I am so, so happy," he exultingly says; "I have had great temptations, very great ones; but I made a pilgrimage to Loreto, and I hardly dare say what happened to me there. It is enough to say that I asked a great thing of our dearest Lady in the Santa Casa, and she got it for me in ten minutes, and I quite burn with love to her."¶ All his hopes for the future of England turn on increased devotion to the Virgin;

* P. 201.

† P. 230.

‡ P. 281.

§ P. 280.

|| P. 283.

¶ P. 287.

"I believe the large manufacturing towns will be converted, and that their weight will decide the rest of England; and few people have any true idea of how far *that* work has already gone. For myself, I have neither wishes nor anxieties about the matter, in a political point of view; I merely long to increase the fruit of my dear Saviour's Passion, and in my beloved England to increase the number of *worshippers of Mary*, for I know no better expression. That sweetest, dearest, and kindest of Mothers is ever with me, and my heart burns, actually burns, with the most enthusiastic love for the glorious, mighty, gentle, enthroned Deipara. I never knew what it was to love Jesus till I laid my heart at the feet of Mary, and that great Lady spurned it not. In the streets of Birmingham she is with me, or my heart is far away with her, and I am hardly conscious to myself that it is not centuries ago, right in the heart of the Ages of Faith."*

At the same time, he could use words which often fall from the lips of Protestant Evangelicals. In addressing the people before his ordination as a Catholic priest, he thanks God for having mercifully shewn him "the dreadful errors and unscriptural doctrines of Protestantism;" and he avows his resolution, knowing the trials and difficulties of the poor, "to endeavour to make religion as easy and as kindly to them as possible,—to make the yoke of Jesus what He himself called it, a light yoke and merciful."† It cannot be doubted that he did so; and in the midst of a self-abnegation which, fanatical as we may think it, left his fancy as fresh and his gentleness as attractive as ever, it is hard to deal out any measure of blame. We have simply to note the facts, and to see that all this earnest work might be done by one who, when going on a mission of some weeks to the Potteries, asks a friend at Rome to think of him "on those Sunday evenings in October, all dedicated to dearest Mama." This epithet of the ancient Rhea had a singular attraction for Dr. Faber. "By the grace of God and dear Mama's help, I hope to steer my little crew into the port of San Filippo without a loss."‡ He makes an attempt to model his whole life on Grignon's devotion to Mama,§ and this devotion seemed to bring with it a more intense and ardent veneration for the wounded members of the Saviour's body. There was the fatal facility of picture-making, and the pictures thus made at once became history. The five

* P. 302.

† P. 323.

‡ P. 336.

§ P. 499.

wounds, and these alone, accomplished the conversion of St. Thomas. "What a devotion he must have had ever after to the five wounds, and how our Lady must have loved him, and I should fancy must have asked to kiss his apostolic hands, which had been so lovingly allowed to probe the blessed wounds."*

If we conceive of any one else relating these fancies of Dr. Faber's as facts, we have the process by which almost the whole of the vast mass of Catholic hagiology has been brought into existence; and for a man like Faber this ready-made history had a wonderful fascination. The labour which he spent upon it brought out the best and the weakest sides of his character; and his life as a Roman Catholic only enabled him to exhibit on a wider field the qualities which mark his *Life of St. Wilfred* (whom he afterwards chose as his patron) in the series of *Lives of the English Saints*, edited by Dr. Newman at Littlemore. Doubtless, in the new series which he projected, and in some part carried out, there may be the same grace of thought and language, the same gentleness and touching tenderness, for all who are ready to receive fiction as fact, and to call no statement in question which has for its object the honour of the holy Roman See. At the least, it must be admitted that Dr. Faber knew what he was about; and we may hope that he was not without some real consolation in a course which, as Wordsworth told him, deprived England of a great poet, and devoted powers of prose writing almost matchless to a propaganda which, if successful, would deal the death-blow to all that is noble and vigorous, truthful and healthy, in English literature. It has been objected to Mr. Bowden's *Memoir*, that he has allowed extracts from published journals to take up far too much space. Few probably will be disposed to quarrel with it on this account; many will find a genuine delight in descriptions of scenes and places which are inimitably truthful and vivid. No words of Mr. Ruskin ever approached Dr. Faber's pictures of Venice, which are in language what Turner's drawings are on canvas, breathed out without effort, but with a power which makes every touch tell. They are the expressions of a love kindled and

* P. 441.

fostered in him by the beauties of the Lake country ; and on the Trinita de' Monti at Rome, "Wordsworth's pine sailing evermore, yet anchored evermore in the pale blue of the morning or the delicate hue of saffron which renders these Italian sunsets so inexpressibly pathetic," makes him "think of the yew-trees on Rydal Head, and how the sun is coming slantwise out of Langdale, and almost consuming their black foliage in his vivid amethyst, and falling in a noiseless cataract of light upon the northern side of Wansfell. That mountain-side is, as it were, a cushion on which my home-sick thoughts repose at ease, in a kind of natural vespers, yet not without religion of their own."

The earnestness of Faber's convictions led him, as we have seen, to turn away impatiently from many fields of learning which he chose to regard as only secular, and to wage war against some of the greatest of English poets, sometimes on the score of their evil lives as well as of their heresies, sometimes only for the latter. The thought of Byron torments him ; he cannot abide the sound of Milton's name ; Shelley's poems he thrusts into the flames. And yet with the latter his own poetry shews him to be in mind and temper most closely akin. Over both alike, the temptation to make pictures, and to regard all questions through a gilded frame of their own making, has an irresistible power. Every subject must be treated, not as if it were a thing which ought to be exhibited as it was or is, not as if the facts of history can only be what they were, but as the fancy, the feeling, or the wants of the moment require. This disposition is closely connected with his singular power of realizing the beauties of the outward world,—a power which in him was scarcely weaker than in Shelley, and which fairly justified the expression of Wordsworth, that Faber might, had he chosen it, have been the poet of his age. His religion made this impossible ; but his name will perhaps be none the less widely known as among the first of modern hymn writers ; and certainly, if we grant that the language of such hymns can profitably be erotic, if we may invent our facts or so colour them as wholly to change their complexion, it is impossible to deny, or even to withstand, the grace, beauty and tenderness of the Christmas hymn in which the Virgin Mother thus addresses her child :

"Ah ! why dost thou, O Babe of mine,
 So early try to weep and sigh ?
 Sleep, sleep, for the time will come
 To weep and sigh,
 To suffer and die ;
 Ah me ! for that bloody doom.

"Now there are rays around Thy Head ;
 But the prickly thorn,
 The Crown of scorn,
 Will come ; but hush ! I will sing
 No word of fear
 In thy sweet ear,
 Lest thou dream of that fearful thing."

And yet from the next verse it would seem that this absolute unconsciousness of the sufferings that awaited him was consistent with the child's determining of his own free choice to be born in the cold wintry season. But when a poet can gravely speak of the visible glory surrounding the head of the infant Jesus, as the flames curled round the head of Servius Tullius, all attempts at a criticism of facts becomes ludicrously out of place ; and we may therefore content ourselves with noting the sensuous aspect given to almost every subject handled in these hymns. Thus the Christian receives the charge—

"Come, take thy stand beneath the Cross ;
 And let the blood from out that side
 Fall gently on thee, drop by drop :
 Jesus our Love is crucified."

But even when we get away from such imagery, we find ourselves in that region of intense longings which filled the hearts of the great monks of the Middle Ages, or, as Faber would probably have preferred to say, which fills the hearts of all true monks in every age,—the longing for Paradise in one who feels that

"'Tis weary waiting here ;
 I long to be where Jesus is,
 To feel, to see him near.
 O Paradise, O Paradise,
 I feel 'twill not be long ;
 Patience ! I almost think I hear
 Faint fragments of thy song."

With songs such as these, criticism, except in so far as it turns on poetical taste and feeling, has nothing to do. To adduce facts or arguments for a view different from that of the poet, would be mere labour lost ; and if the poems tend to strengthen in any the love of what is right and good, we have perhaps no reason to obtrude our dislike of the means used for achieving this result. We are not now criticising either his hymns or the poems, most of them beautiful, some exquisite in their taste and feeling, which bear his name. But it is necessary to mark the tone of thought which runs through both the hymns and the poems, if we desire to form a true and an adequate idea of his intellectual and religious life.

On a man like Dr. Faber and on such a life as his there is no room for hard judgment. He loved much and he suffered deeply ; and if, as we believe, he walked amid many vain shadows and in some things disquieted himself in vain, the voice of censure is repressed by the thought that the same mists are more or less around us all. If our life here is only an education for the life that is beyond (and how can we regard it as anything more ?), we may rest in the quiet confidence, that whatever of delusion there may have been in the faith of Frederick William Faber, it will all be dispelled in the truth of that eternal light which shall enable us to see and know even as now we are known.

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

VII.—MISCELLANEA THEOLOGICA.

ON THE ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN.

WHEREVER we find a system of means regularly arranged for the attainment of certain ends, and especially when those ends are of great importance and utility, there, we are sure, intelligence and design have been at work. It is no mean proof of the real value of this argument that its force has been acknowledged from the times of Socrates, Plato and Cicero, down to that of Paley, who has given such large and beautiful illustrations of it in his celebrated work on

Natural Theology. The reasoning is so clear, and the evidence that supports it is so powerful, that it is surprising how any one can resist it, how it should possibly fail of making its due impression upon the mind of every thoughtful person. The argument is a plain and simple one. Logically stated it is this. The adaptations, fitnesses and relations abounding in all parts of the world, are evidences of contrivance and design, i.e. of a contriving and designing Mind. Hume and others admit the latter, but deny the former. They admit that design proves a designer; contrivance, a contriver; but they deny that we have any right to infer generally that the concurrence of means to ends *does* prove contrivance, design. This denial is founded on that theory of cause and effect of which Mr. Hume is the known advocate. When we say that one thing or phenomenon is the cause of another, all that we know and all that we can really mean by it is, that one thing invariably precedes or follows another. If we have always seen them conjoined, we infer that they always will be so. But of the connection existing between them, of the tie which binds them together, we know nothing. Our knowledge extends only to the fact that the two events take place together, to one of which is given the name of Antecedent, and to the other that of Consequent.

When we look at a steam-engine, for instance, and see how admirably adapted it is to the end for which it is designed, we say at once this was contrived by human skill, this was constructed by human hands. Why do we say this? Not, replies Mr. Hume, that there is any positive connection between them; but having previously known or seen that steam-engines were thus made, we infer, when we see any similar machine lying before us, that this also is the work of human ingenuity, of human labour. Now, as we have never seen a world created, we have no just reason for saying that this also is the effect of wisdom and design, because this would be a conclusion which experience alone can enable us to draw; and as, confessedly, we have not had this experience, the argument cannot be fairly maintained. If, indeed, we had witnessed a world created, as we have seen tables and chairs manufactured, then to reason from such a creation to the existence of an intelligent Creator, would be satisfactory and just.

Mr. Hume's general doctrine of cause and effect is admitted, but the conclusion deduced from it is denied, and not only denied, but may, I think, be shewn to be opposed to the combined testimony of consciousness and experience. From the science of geology we learn that, in the present existing world, systems of organized life have always been adjusted to the actual condition of sea and land. When water covered the globe, life was marine. When land arose, and new conditions presented themselves, terrestrial life came into existence. At length the physical revolutions of the earth brought about that great variety of external circumstances to which organized life is at this day adjusted. Here, then, in this created world, we not only see a system of means adapted to certain ends, but we see at different periods a change of mechanism adapted to changes in the external condition. If this does not prove the operation of prospective and active Intelligence, it is impossible to say what can.

As new races were called into being, as our planet advanced to its present state, man appears—sensitive, intellectual, moral man. There was a time, not very far back among the ages, when man was *not*. And as long as people could amuse themselves with talking of an infinite and eternal succession of finite beings, an opportunity was given to them, of scattering abroad a little metaphysical dust, which blinded their intellectual vision. But this opportunity being taken away by the discoveries of geology, we are taught to consider man as of comparatively recent origin, and must, therefore, owe his existence to a cause far different from, and far higher than, that to which some of our presumptuous speculations have assigned it.

In all the circumstances of human agency, orderly arrangement and co-operation imply an intelligent and directing mind. Putting aside all abstract and metaphysical reasoning, the main argument on which I rely for the Theistic doctrine of a personal God is this: a number of agencies at work for the attainment of great and important ends, cannot be accounted for without the supposition of a Being who had these ends in view, and who made this disposition for their accomplishment.

Let a blank sheet of paper be placed before me, and if I had never known or seen anything of paper-making, I might

suppose perhaps that this was the state in which it always was ; but bring it before me stamped with a number of words or letters, so arranged as to form a complete poem, and then tell me that all this took place without any care or design to make it what it is, and I could only wonder what sort of a person you would take me to be. As another example, let a spark of fire fall upon a barrel of gunpowder, and the explosion that follows is said to be caused by the fire. These two events are always conjoined ; but what necessary connection there is between them, we cannot say. Nay, we can suppose this conjunction to be dissolved, and no such consequence to ensue. This is quite conceivable ; but it is not conceivable, or rather it is next to impossible, to witness a well-constructed house, and fitted up with all convenient furniture and appliances, without connecting such an arrangement with thought and design. So between the mere masses of matter around us, between their rude forms and irregular movements, and a designing mind, it would be difficult to shew that there is any necessary connection. But when we look further into them, and see how beautifully disposed their component parts are, and how well fitted they are to answer various important purposes, and we say with all the certainty that demonstration could give us, these relations and adjustments must be referred to intelligence and wisdom.

Of causation, then, all that we can say is, that one event succeeds another with undeviating constancy. That there is any inherent power in the one to produce the other, is an inference which we are not warranted in drawing. However difficult it may be to divest ourselves of the notion that one thing occasions—exerts a real influence on the other, we only know them as antecedents and consequents. What are termed physical causes are only the forerunners or signs of what is to happen. Thus we say a magnet attracts iron ; all we know is that the one is followed by a certain state or condition of the other. That the one really acts upon the other by some hidden force or power, is more than we are entitled to affirm. Still as we cannot but believe that when certain changes take place, there is some actual, positive cause for them, and as that cause is not to be found in the material objects themselves, we are led to the conclusion that it must exist elsewhere, and be

possessed of power and intelligence adequate to the occasion. If the conjunction of two events told us no more than that when the one is present, the other immediately follows, whence comes our idea of power, of real efficient causation? That we have this idea is certain. Every one is conscious of it. That the true cause does not lie in the material itself is admitted. Assuredly, however, something more is meant by it than mere antecedents and consequents. Universally we do get the idea of power, of real causation. The first and most common impression made upon us, till we investigate the subject more closely, is, that when we see the magnet attracting the iron, the magnet is the true and proper cause of this attraction; and it is only by careful consideration that we discover our mistake, and all that we have a right to assert about it is, that the presence of the one is immediately attended by a certain state or appearance of the other. That there is any absolute, indispensable connection between the two, we have no evidence to shew. Why, then, do we attribute to every outward change, to every phenomenon that begins to be, a cause for this change? It is an intuition of the mind, say some. It is a law of our intellectual nature, say Reid and Stewart; an ultimate fact, of which no further account or explanation can be given. No doubt there are ultimate facts or principles beyond which we cannot go. But there is no necessity, as it appears to me, of regarding our conceptions of real power, of efficient causation, as a fact for which we cannot account. On the contrary, I think it is directly traceable to our internal experience, to the consciousness which we ourselves have of voluntary action. It is the mind willing and exerting itself to carry its volitions into effect, that gives us the notion of real power. Though it does not exist in the material, it does exist in the intellectual, world. Physical causes, as we term them, may signify no more than the invariable conjunction or succession of one thing or event with another. Moral or efficient causes are those by which the changes that take place are really produced.

When we see two things constantly conjoined, we can only say that, according to the present course and constitution of Nature, this conjunction now exists between them. But as I have before observed, it is quite possible to suppose this conjunction to be dissolved, and a totally different

order of things to be established. It is perfectly conceivable that the whole series of relations and dependencies now existing in the natural world, may be actually changed. But, then, my position is, that whatever these changes may be, whatever revolutions in the present order of things may be made, however different the adjustments and fitnesses may be from what they now are, these adjustments and combinations of means conspiring to great and beneficent results, it is impossible to witness without connecting with them a designing Mind.

We can conceive of every other antecedent and consequent being altered and their conjunction broken, but we cannot separate even in imagination a series of beautiful and exquisite adaptations and arrangements from the Mind that contrived them. In fact, it is the expression of Mind, its outward, visible manifestation, as much so as are the words that now lie before me.

The doctrine which resolves the relation of cause and effect into mere antecedents and consequents, especially when it was taken up and set forth with all his ingenuity by a sceptic like Mr. Hume, was very generally thought to be a dangerous doctrine, and adverse to the principles of religion. So far, however, from being unfavourable to the cause of Theism, it appears to me to supply one of the strongest arguments for the existence of a creating and governing Mind. If the only relation between matter and matter be that of invariable sequence; if it possess, in itself, no inherent power; if all real cause be denied to it; if no change can take place, nor anything begin to be without an efficient cause, without the agency of real power,—where are we to look for it but in that moral volition which is the property of Intellect, of Mind. Mind, then, is the spring of action, the source and fountain of all power.

THOMAS MADGE.

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